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The Augsburg Confession

*A Collection of Sources
with
An Historical Introduction*

By
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PREFACE

The Lutheran Church in America has produced two works of lasting value concerning the Augsburg Confession: the second volume of Dr. H. E. Jacobs' edition of the Book of Concord with its collection of documents relating to the history of the Augsburg Confession and Dr. Theo. Schmauk's *The Confessional Principle* with its translations of a number of Kolde's publications on the subject. But the first appeared in 1883 and was last revised in 1908, while the other, which was finished in 1909, was published in 1911. Consequently neither presents an adequate account of the most recent researches in the history of the Augsburg Confession. For the same reason neither Dr. Richard's capable book, *The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church*, nor Dr. Bente's careful introduction to the *Triglotta* (1921) are any longer adequate.

As a lack of acquaintance with the latest investigations was shown even in the publications of the present Jubilee year I resolved at the last moment, in the second half of this year, to attempt the preparation of a volume that would provide our Church with a source book of the history of the Confession and also with an historical introduction, which would both reflect the present status of scientific investigation and also include the most recent documentary discoveries.

The collection of sources is designed to bring together the most important documents necessary for a clear understanding of the basis and origin of the Augsburg Confession, its most important texts, its defence and its influence on other lands. Almost all of these documents were available in German or Latin but were nowhere gathered together and had to be sought in the most widely scattered sources and in various publications

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that have appeared from 1730 to 1930. Even Kolde's collection is restricted to what is most essential. Hardly one-third of the material has been available in English. What was at hand has been thankfully used, though not without considerable revision and with the additions made necessary by the most recent investigations. The close relation between Luther's "Confession" of 1528, the Schwabach Articles and the Augsburg Confession, which was first recognized and stressed by Wernle (*Der evangelische Glaube nach den Hauptschriften der Reformatoren*, I. Luther, 1918, p. 268ff.) moved me to include this treatise in an English translation. The "Instruction for the Visitors" is given because there is no other document that so clearly portrays the contemporary church regulations of the Electorate of Saxony to which there is such frequent reference in the Confession itself. Indeed the Elector sent a copy of the *Instruction* to the Emperor at Innsbruck for the express purpose of informing him about these matters. There is also a clear connection between the doctrinal statements here made and certain articles of the Augustana. Many other documents would gladly have been included had space permitted.

The four recensions of the Confession, which are here presented for the first time in the convenient form of parallels and of which the actual text of the second has only been known since July of this year, require a special word of explanation. All four have been printed in German as it is to be expected that the students of history, for whom they have a special value, will have a reading knowledge of German. Out of consideration for the readers three of them have been printed in a slightly modernized form, but the text of June 25th is given in its original antiquated form, so as to reproduce the very pronunciation and verbal form in which the Confession was read before the Emperor and Diet at Augsburg. It is true that this copy has turned the Saxon into the South German dialect, or, more properly speaking, as no single word has been changed, preserving it in South German orthography. The *Editio Prin-*

ceps has been added in the fourth place to show what considerable alterations it already discloses.

According to the original plan the historical introduction was to have included three additional chapters: 1. The Augsburg Confession in America; 2. Luther's Share in the Augsburg Confession; 3. The Permanent Value of the Augsburg Confession. The first two have already been written but lack of space compels the postponement of their publication. They will probably appear in the course of several months under the title of "New Studies in the Augsburg Confession." The three chapters to which the introduction had to be limited make no pretence at being anything except a concise and accurate synopsis of the latest results of historical investigation concerning the Augustana. On this account I have frequently simply adopted the presentation of particular investigations that have been given by the scholars who made them. Everything that has appeared in Germany up to October of this year has been carefully considered. Students of history will at once perceive how, in some particulars, the picture of the origin of the Confession has been completely changed by the new sources that have been made available in July and August of this year. The third chapter presents much that is independent of the investigations of others. Over a hundred questionnaires were sent to various European countries, and beyond, to gain accurate information concerning the extent of the use of the Confession at the present time.

In spite of the most arduous labors this book could not have been prepared in such a limited time if I had not had assistants. My good friend the Rev. Dr. J. C. Mattes of Scranton, Pa., and my beloved colleague, Prof. Julius Bodensieck of the Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque, have provided the translations of almost all the documents, printed in the second part of the book, that appear here for the first time in an English version. Only a deep and unselfish interest in the work united with real scholarship made it possible for

them to perform their often difficult task in such an acceptable manner. In addition Dr. Mattes undertook the tedious task of making verbal revisions of a considerable part of the manuscript.

Besides them my former pupil, the Rev. Wm. Hertel of Somonauk, Ill., gave untiring assistance in other work of translation. For the smooth rendering of the difficult Italian document (No. 23) I am indebted to Prof. W. F. Kracher of Dubuque, Iowa.

I have still to express my gratitude to the senior among the church historians of this country, Dr. H. E. Jacobs of Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, who cheerfully granted the privilege of using the translations he had made, and to the Board of Publication of the United Lutheran Church for permission to use similar materials covered by its copyrights. I would likewise convey my appreciation to the many scholars, both personal acquaintances and those personally unknown, the librarians and mission directors of many lands, who have replied to my inquiries or have otherwise assisted in furnishing necessary information.

Professor Ottersberg of Waverly has prepared the index and much clerical work was done by the Rev. P. Moeller in Waterville, Ohio.

With the publication of this volume the Wartburg Publishing House terminates its independent existence. For almost thirty years it made possible the publication of many of my works. Now it has surpassed all its previous efforts in the ready co-operation manifested in this undertaking. It has not inquired about the profits that might be expected—and in this case the returns will hardly cover the outlay—but only questioned, as it has always done through its whole career, its ability to render to the Church that service which it recognized as its proper duty. So I would express my heartfelt thanks both to it and to its Board of Directors.

The reader will find some inaccuracies in punctuation and

capitalization. They find their explanation in the fact that the printery was ordered to close on December 31; consequently the proof reading had to be done in undue haste.

And now I offer this work to the Church in whose service it has been written. May it find readers whose hearts are still warmed with love for their Augustana.

M. REU.

Wartburg Seminary,
December 15, 1930.

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Abbreviations. C. R. = Corpus Reformatorum.

Enders = Luthers Briefwechsel, edited by Enders.

Erl. Ed. = Erlangen Edition of Luther's Works.

W. Ed. = Weimar Edition of Luther's Works.

FIRST PART

Historical Introduction

FIRST CHAPTER

THE ORIGIN OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION

Theodor Kolde, Theodor Brieger, Hans von Schubert, and Wilhelm Gussmann—these are the men who during the last thirty years have helped us to an accurate and correct understanding of the origin of the Augsburg Confession.¹ Since 1908, when H. von Schubert began his investigations of the various events leading up to this Confession, it has become clearer than ever that all these events depend on two concepts and the facts connected with them: BUENDNIS and BEKENNTNIS, federation and confession. In accord with these investigations it is also necessary to distinguish three, instead of two periods: The first period aiming at a political federation of the Protestant forces; the second, the period of disintegration of these forces, and the third, in which, a political federation made way for a confessional union, which found expression in the Augsburg Confession.

While the lines of demarkation between the first two periods are obvious, those between the second and third are not so distinct, since the period of political disintegration was brought about by the emphasis upon the confession and so was preparatory for the third period.

a. The Period of Political Federation.

The Second Diet of Speyer, 1529, is the starting point for a correct understanding of the events leading up to the Augsburg Confession.

The decision of the First Diet of Speyer, 1526³ had been very favorable to the Evangelicals. Although Emperor Charles V had demanded that the Edict of Worms, 1521,²

be carried through, thus ending the whole work of Reformation, the political situation prevented him from realizing his aim. Pope Clement VII, Francis I of France, the cities of Milan, Venice, and Florence had just then (1526) formed the alliance of Cognac against the Emperor, thereby bringing about the Second Italian war. Then, in the same year, Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V, by the death of Louis II, had inherited Bohemia and Hungary. Welcome as this inheritance may have been, it made acute the menace of the Turk for the Habsburg possessions. The Emperor was face to face with two enemies, either one strong enough to make trouble. In this situation he was powerless to prevent the Evangelical princes of North Germany, under the leadership of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse and the Elector Johann of Saxony, from forming a confederacy at Torgau in 1526. Nor could he prevent them from forcing a decision at the First Diet of Speyer in 1526, which gave them, in the matter of the Reformation, a free hand for the following years. Two resolutions were decisive. On the 7th of August, the Diet decreed that, for establishing religion and maintaining peace and order, it was necessary that a lawful general or provincial council for Germany be held within a year. The Emperor was to come to Germany as soon as possible to arrange it. Of still greater importance was the decree of August 27. Until the council met, each estate was to so live, govern and conduct itself as it hoped to answer to God and His Imperial Majesty. In form this was merely a postponement of the religious question. In reality, however, it was a charter of mutual toleration. Each estate was left free to regulate its religious affairs as it saw fit. We know in what measure they made use of this decree. During the years, 1526 to 1529, the Reformation struck firm and deep root in many districts, nor was the Emperor able to prevent it.

However, when the Second Diet of Speyer was called for February 21, 1529, the political situation had completely changed.⁴ The Emperor had signed a treaty at Barcelona with the Pope, in June 1528, and expected to negotiate peace with Francis I which was actually signed in July at Cambray. On the Evangelical side the Landgrave Philip had seriously injured their cause by the notorious Pack affair. The Lutherans came to Speyer disorganized and discouraged to face a compact, confident Catholic opposition. The Emperor, still detained in Spain, was unable to be present and so his brother Ferdinand presided. According to the summons⁵ (Second Part, 3), the Diet was to take up the matters of the Turkish invasion and the religious schism in Germany. The Emperor also promised in this summons, that, since his relations with the Pope had improved, he would soon call a general council in order to bring about unity of faith. But until such a council could be held, the sovereigns, both spiritual and temporal, were forbidden, under penalty of the ban, to allow their subjects to join any false faith or new sect. Thus, the Emperor, upon his own authority, declared null and void the Speyer decree of 1526.

Until recently this has been generally believed. But Kuehn⁵ furnished proof in 1927—more detailed in 1929—that the well known Imperial proposition which led to the severe decree and so to the protest of the Evangelicals, had been substituted by Ferdinand because that of the Emperor, who was then in Spain, had not reached the Diet in time. When it finally did reach Speyer it proved to be very much milder in its demands. We present it in Part Two as document No. 3a. Here Ferdinand, as so often, again proved to be the firebrand. When, however, the Emperor's document arrived, the events had taken their course and Charles evidently backed up his brother.

What stand would the Diet take toward the proclamation offered them as Imperial? In a resolutions committee of eighteen, there were only three Evangelicals, the Elector of Saxony, Jacob Sturm of Strassburg, and Christopher Tetzl of Nuernberg. They, obviously, were not able to accomplish anything. The majority recommended the revocation of the Decree of 1526⁶ (Second Part 4). The Edict of Worms was to be enforced in such a way that, in those territories where it was in force, secession to the Evangelical faith was still prohibited. In the territories where the new faith had found entrance, and from which it could not be expelled without the use of arms, all further innovations were rigidly to be avoided until the meeting of the proposed council. Sects, who denied the sacrament of the true Body and Blood of Christ, were not to be tolerated; Anabaptists were to be suppressed everywhere and all religious books were to be under censorship. Although the three Evangelical members of the committee refused to sign this report, the majority report was adopted by the Diet on April 19, and became a law of the Empire.

The Evangelicals were much alarmed by this action of the Diet, all the more so because it was understood to be merely a first step in the Emperor's policy. Much more drastic measures were expected to follow. George Vogler, the Chancellor of the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, was commissioned to draw up a formal reply. When presented, King Ferdinand refused to accept it and declared the incident closed. The Evangelicals, however, were successful in having their Protest read in the Diet and so included in the minutes. They furthermore refrained from attending any subsequent sessions of the Diet. On the following day, April 20, the Protest was rewritten, enlarged in form, but unchanged as to contents. In this form it was signed by John, Elector of

Saxony, George, the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Ernst, Duke of Brunswick-Lueneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt. On April 22, these protesting princes were joined by fourteen imperial cities: Strassburg, Nuernberg, Ulm, Constanz, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Noerdlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, St. Gallen, Weissenburg in Franconia, and Windsheim.

This Protest⁷, as it is expressly named, has been rightly called the *Instrumentum Magnum* of the Reformation (Second Part, 5). Two reasons are given for protesting against the decree of the Diet and refusing to be bound by it. The first is constitutional: Since a council had been promised to consider religious matters, but none had been called, a mere majority cannot set aside this unanimous Decree of 1526. The second reason is a religious one: The Decree contains matters that "concern the glory of God and the welfare and the soul's salvation of every one of us"; as to these things they are pledged in Baptism and by the divine Word to hold God as highest King and Lord of lords. In matters of religion the Word of God alone can decide.

We give the full text of the "Protest" in the Second Part of this book (document No. 5), here we call attention only to a few high lights: "In matters concerning the honor of God, the welfare and salvation of our souls, each stands for himself and must give account before God. Therefore, in this sphere no one can make it another's duty to do or to decide less or more, which one is not bound to do for other honest, well-founded and good reasons. If we would concede to the Decree, we would not only implicitly but openly deny our Lord and Saviour Christ and His holy Word, which beyond all doubt we hold to be pure, clear, clean and right, and (would) not confess that He has redeemed us from sin, death, the devil and hell and would give the Lord Christ

ground also to deny us before His heavenly Father." In answer to the Decree's demand that the preaching of the Word of God be in accordance with the teachings of the Church, the "Protest" states: "That would be agreeable if all parties were agreed as to what is the true Holy Christian Church. But as long as there is a great contention about this *"we propose to abide by the Word of God alone, since indeed according to the command of God nothing else shall be preached, and to make clear and explain one text of holy divine Scripture by another; as indeed this same holy divine Scripture, in all things needful for Christian men to know, will be found in itself clear and bright enough to illumine all darkness. Therefore we purpose, with the grace and help of God, to abide by it to the end, that only the Word of God and the holy Gospel of the Old and New Testament, as contained in the biblical books, shall be preached clearly and purely, and nothing that is against it. For with that, as the one truth and the correct rule of all Christian doctrine and life, no one can err or fall, and whoso builds on it and endures shall prevail against all the gates of hell.* Nevertheless, on the other hand, all human additions and trifles shall fall, and cannot stand before God. And if this third announcement of our evident grievances is rejected . . . then we herewith *protest* and testify openly before God, our sole Creator, Preserver, Redeemer and Savior, who alone searches and knows all hearts, and therefore will judge justly, likewise before all men and creatures, that we for ourselves, our subjects and in behalf of all, each and every one, consider null and void the entire transaction and the intended decree, which in the afore-mentioned or in other cases, is undertaken, agreed, and passed, against God, His holy Word, all our soul's salvation and good conscience, (and we protest) not secretly nor willfully, but for reasons above stated and others good and well founded."

What, in 1521, Luther alone advocated at Worms was in this critical

hour accepted and confessed by a third of the German Empire.

Human calculations now suggested and even demanded a *political federation* of the signers of the Protest for the protection of the confessed gospel and the newly organized Church. It was particularly the Landgrave of Hesse who thought so and did everything to reach this goal, a goal which had been for sometime in his mind and which, with others, he had done much to reach. In North and Middle Germany the previously mentioned Torgau-Magdeburg agreement with Saxony and Hesse as a solid bloc, had materialized in 1525-26, while in South Germany certain Evangelical cities, with Ulm, Strassburg and Nuernberg as a nucleus, had combined since the *Day of Ulm* in 1524. Finally, with the establishing of the "Burgrecht" between Zuerich and Constanx in the year 1527,⁸ a third Evangelical group had come into being which soon energetically sought to establish itself in South Germany and, after winning Muehlhausen, had reached Strassburg. That the North German and Swiss group could not meet on common ground can be readily understood. Many things worked together to make this difficult. On the one hand⁹ it was the ancient difference of culture between north and south, based on nationality and blood, the difference between monarchical and democratic government, the position occupied by the Elector of Saxony in the Empire, and the traditional friendship between the houses of Saxony and Austria, which was even then a matter of remark; and on the other hand it was the fact that Zuerich was no longer a part of the German Empire and considered Austria its mortal enemy. All this had the effect of driving these groups farther apart. Then probably each group thought itself strong enough alone to ward off any possible Catholic attack, the North depending upon its military power, the

South upon its influence, wealth and cleverness. To this must be added the undeniable difference in the conception of the Gospel which Zwingli, as a matter of principle, would not let go beyond Humanism, while Luther and the Wittenbergers viewed everything from the standpoint of the tortured soul in search of a merciful God. Then to all these old differences had come a new one which went far deeper: the difference in matters of Holy Communion. Zwingli's stand in the matter must have appeared to Luther as the laying of vandal hands on the Most Holy and emptying it of its contents, and as in sharpest contrast to his fundamental views regarding the divine and human, the eternal and temporal. Probably the North was also aware of the questionable tactics which Zwingli and his followers had used in the controversy regarding the Sacrament.^{9a} Adding to this also the Diet's decree that sects denying the Sacrament of the true Body and Blood of Christ would not be tolerated, one can very readily understand why cities like Constanx and St. Gallen gladly signed the Protest, but that on the part of the North Germans little enthusiasm was shown towards a political alliance with them. The "Protest" itself, to be sure, was quite negative in tone. It did not confess a certain doctrine but limited itself to the rejection of all authorities outside of Scripture. In this point the North Germans agreed with the Swiss. There were also enough differences between the middle group of the South German cities and the North Germans. Capito, Bucer and Sturm of Strassburg, the most powerful of the South German cities that had become Evangelical, had championed a doctrine concerning the Sacrament which, although not Zwinglian, differed essentially from that of the Wittenbergers. But in the great hour at Speyer the consciousness of unity was stronger than that of difference, indeed, the latter receded so far into the background that the Landgrave

Philip and Sturm of Strassburg succeeded in uniting these two groups into a *political federation*.

On the same 22nd of April, when the Catholic leaders signed the fateful Decree, the leaders of the minority, Saxony, Hesse, Nuernberg, Ulm and Strassburg (Margrave George of Brandenburg, although invited, had not yet joined,) united in a "particular secret agreement" (Second Part, 6). The object of this agreement was the defence of their faith when attacked or whenever hindered in the visitation of their churches under pretext of spiritual jurisdiction. In reading this document one is amazed to note in what detail questions of organization were already being discussed. It shows what preliminary work Sturm of Strassburg and Philip of Hesse must have done when they had met the previous Christmas in Worms.

This secret agreement was a great triumph for Philip.¹⁰ His fond hope,¹¹ the political union of all Protestants and with it a solid front against the Catholic Emperor and Rome, seemed to become a reality. At the time, when Germany permanently separated into a Catholic and Evangelical part, he not only preserved the unity and union of North and South German Protestantism, but also the unity of the new German intellectual life. A number of prospective members for this little group were at once at hand. The addition of Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, as much to the interest of the Princes as of Nuernberg, and suggested by the negotiations of the previous year between Saxony and Brandenburg, was at once considered. Furthermore, it was presupposed that all who had joined in the Protest would show a willingness to join the federation. Beyond that there were the members of the North German Torgau-Magdeburg confederacy, and to the south the German cities which already were united in a German-Swiss federation. This brought even Zuerich

in line as a possible member of the new union. To the north the way would easily lead, by way of Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein, to Denmark and Sweden. But would not Zwingli's and Luther's difference in doctrine, concerning the Sacrament, bar the way? Even for this the Landgrave had an answer. He was certain that a religious colloquy would clear the way of all obstacles. He had already agreed with Sturm of Strassburg; on the same day (April 22) he wrote to Zwingli; Melanchthon would arrange the matter with Luther, and even the Elector himself was now not adverse. At the beginning of June the final negotiations concerning the federation were to be held at Rotach in Franconia. The federation could also be advanced when at the end of May they would meet in Nuernberg to dispatch their representatives with the appeal to the Emperor, as had already been decided in Speyer.¹²

The Landgrave now seemed to be the leader of Protestantism and everything apparently hinged on the thought of a political federation. "Federation," was the cry. Little was heard of "Confession." It is not once mentioned in the secret alliance of April 22. And in the instructions for Rotach¹³ (Second Part, 7) the confessional standpoint, for which possessions and blood are to be sacrificed if necessary, is briefly mentioned as "the articles which are to be discussed at the council" (to which they had again appealed at Speyer). True, "the divine Word," "the holy Gospel, our faith and religion," are mentioned in the recess of the convention, called *Confederations-Notel*,¹⁴ but nowhere are they defined nor is it stated how they are to be understood.

b. The Period of Political Disintegration.

Melanchthon had been at Speyer but had not insisted upon a separation from the Swiss and Strassburgers and also had declared his willingness to take part in the religious

colloquy planned by the Landgrave. The meeting was hardly past when his eyes were opened. He bitterly reproached himself for remaining silent regarding the differences in the doctrine of the Sacrament which separated the Wittenbergers from the Swiss and their faction. He now became convinced that a clear cut separation from the Swiss at Speyer would have made a more favorable impression upon the Roman Catholics and would probably have helped to obtain a more agreeable decision. He also clearly saw that the Landgrave merely wished to use this religious colloquy as a foundation for the desired political federation of all Protestants. Melancthon probably returned home from Speyer on the 6th of May. As early as May 14, he wrote John Fredrick, the Elector's son, with whom he had had a personal discussion in Weimar regarding the matter. He enclosed a copy of his *Judicium* which he had there presented orally. In it he stated: "Personally I am not afraid to discuss the Sacrament with Oecolampadius and his ilk, and so I have not refused it to the Landgrave . . . ; to deal with Zwingli is entirely useless. So I thought that not he, but Oecolampadius is to be summoned; for if he has been summoned, it is not to be expected that he will come I persist in this that I will have nothing to do with the Strassburgers as long as I live, for I know that Zwingli and his associates are wrong in their writings regarding the Sacrament" (C. R. I, 1069 f.). Three days later, May 17, he opened his heart in letters to Camerarius, Spengler and Baumgaertner in Nuernberg regarding the union. To Camerarius he wrote: "I have (since my return from Speyer) been so restless that I almost died. I suffered all the pains of hell" (C. R. I, 1067). To Spengler: "My conscience is in no small peril regarding the matter. In the mean time I am helpless about it" (C. R. I, 1069). To Baumgaertner: "My conscience urges me to write

you regarding this matter" (C. R. I, 1070). But Melanchthon went still farther in these letters to his friends in Nuernberg. He directly asked for aid in his efforts to thwart the federation. For to Baumgaertner he wrote in the same letter: "I plead with you to do everything you can that the Zwinglians will not be admitted to the federation. It is not right to defend their ungodly opinions (*impiam sententiam*) or to strengthen those who follow godless dogmas (*impium dogma*) so that their subtle poison may spread Some of us do not reject the association with the Strassburgers but I beg of you, act so that this shameful federation (*turpis societas*) be not established." To Spengler again he wrote: "I adjure you for God's sake that you take care of this matter with all your wisdom and piety, otherwise not only the Empire but religion itself will be endangered." Melanchthon knew why he turned to Nuernberg. The pastors there, especially Osiander, were strong opponents of the Sacramentarians; also, in future negotiations, the Saxons would be more successful if the Nuernbergers were in agreement with them and came to their aid. Then, also, the representatives of the signers of the Speyer Protest were to meet in Nuernberg on the 23rd of May for the purpose of instructing the delegates who were to submit their appeal to the Emperor.

What was it that prompted the gentle and reserved Melanchthon to take such steps? Was it his opposition in the matter of the Sacrament that disquieted him and drove him to attempt to frustrate the federation before it became a reality? Certainly, but this was not the only reason. From his letter to John Schwebel (C. R. I, 1046 f.), written from Speyer, it is evident that neither Zwingli's nor the Strassburg doctrine of the Sacrament offended him as much as it did Luther. There was much, beside the Sacrament, that could cause him and many other Wittenbergers to reflect.

H. von Schubert has formulated these doubts in the following words:¹⁵ "Conditions in Saxony were already more stable. The second Evangelical ruler was on the throne, the Evangelical succession was secure; visitations were held and order maintained; Catechisms were being written for the unlearned; Mayence had withdrawn the episcopal jurisdiction from Saxony and Hesse; Hesse was even the proud possessor of an Evangelical university. However, the city republics were still struggling with the Catholic minority, among them those high and mighty in the council; Strassburg had only as recently as February abolished the mass; the Evangelical victory had been won but was not completely established in Ulm; in Augsburg the Catholics, Lutherans, Zwinglians and Anabaptists were quarreling. It, also, had had a deep impression on the Wittenbergers that even such cities as Schwabian-Hall, the home of Brenz, had lacked the courage to join the Protest at Speyer. To be sure, it is never enticing for monarchies to federate with republics! Did it not weaken one's own position to unite with such unstable people? And even if one was certain that the Reformation had finally been victorious in certain localities, what peculiar ideas these people held! One would also be responsible for them in case of a federation. Since a new center, independent of Wittenberg, had been established in Switzerland, from whence a strong uncontrollable stream of propoganda poured down upon the cities; since the peasant uprisings and the Anabaptists had thrown everything in confusion, any sort of doctrine seemed possible there. Did not even the very foundation of the old *and* new doctrines tremble, even faith in the two natures in Christ and the ancient doctrine of the Trinity? Did not justification by faith give way again to a doctrine of good works, and did not Scripture share her authority with the inner workings of the Holy

Spirit? Were not all visible means of grace ignored and Baptism, especially infant Baptism set aside! The worst rumors were faithfully carried to Wittenberg by good friends. Not everything, however, was untrue. Schwenckfeld at that time came to Strassburg and remained there for years, the guest of a Strassburg pastor; Capito also caused Bucer deep embarrassment; Zwick, in Constanx, wrote about the last conversations of Hetzer, who had been executed for bigamy and adultery: "Would to God we had printed it!" and Thomas Blaurer published a report of his edifying end: Right or wrong, Wittenberg believed anything. And this was what a Christian government was to defend even with the sword! And at what price? The end could only be the ruin of the unity of the church, especially the German. For this ideal of unity was by no means extinct in Wittenberg. Saxony still kept alive the supposition that they were on the way towards accomplishing the reformation and cleansing of the true Catholic Church, of which the Emperor, the true supreme authority, was regarded as the protector. On the other hand, however, the spirit of revolution was also felt, according to which, in line with Zwingli's well known words, empire and emperor were as much Roman offshoots as the papacy. The association with such people must be shunned. Care was to be taken not to let Zurich and the confederates entangle one in strange plans." Two sentences in Melanchthon's letter to Spengler, "There is danger that from these beginnings not only a change in the Empire may follow," and "Not only the Empire but also religion is in serious danger" are proof sufficient for this statement of Schubert.

Whether Luther at this time, 1529, still seriously believed that the whole church of Germany could be reformed and retain the Emperor as protector I will not answer now. He certainly knew all of these doubts and shared most of them; decisive

for him, however, were the religious reasons against the projected federation. Both are apparent in his significant letter of May 22 to the Elector.¹⁶ We quote it here *in extenso*:

"Grace and peace in Christ! Serene Highness, most gracious Lord, M. Philip has brought me, among other things, the news from the Diet that the Landgrave of Hesse is to establish a new federation with certain cities. All of which moves me not a little. For I was severely burned last year, when God by His wondrous grace relased us from the dangerous federation (Luther is thinking of the Pack affair). And although I hope God will continue to preserve us, and will give your Grace His Spirit, to keep you henceforth from all such and similar federations, I have, nevertheless, due to the prompting of my conscience, not been able to desist from writing to you, since one cannot be too diligent in circumventing the devil. Christ, our Lord, will hear our prayer and grant that, although the Landgrave continues his making of federations (May God have mercy on him), you be not fettered and bound by them, for we cannot even conceive of the trouble that would follow therefrom.

"*First of all* this is certain that such a federation does not come from God, or from trusting in God, but arises from human wit and human help alone, all of which is building without a good foundation and likewise is fruitless, aside from the fact that such a federation is unnecessary. For the mob of Papists have neither the courage nor the ability to undertake anything against which God has not already protected us with the wall of His might. So the federation will accomplish nothing more than incite the opposition to do the same and undertake for their protection and safety things they would otherwise not do. Then we must remember—it is probably very certain—that the Landgrave, after he has established such a federation, inasmuch as he is a restless young prince, might not keep the peace, but, as happened last year, may find cause not only to defend but attack. It is certainly not godly to assume this attitude, since no one is pursuing nor seeking us.

"*In the next place*, and this is the worst of all, we will be compelled to admit into this federation those who strive against God and the Sacrament, as wanton enemies of God and His Word. We shall all become participants in their blasphemy and become entangled with them. No more dangerous alliance could be undertaken to disgrace and suppress the Gospel and damn us in body and soul.

This is what the devil desires. If there is no other way, may God help your Highness to part from the Landgrave as I have heard that the Margrave (George) says he will. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the past has helped your electoral Grace without the Landgrave, yes, even marvelously against the Landgrave, will doubtless help and guide in the future.

"In the third place, God has always condemned such human alliances in the Old Testament, as Isaiah 30, 15 says, "in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength," for we are to be children of God in faith and trust. Are we to have such a federation then it will be given us without our planning and seeking as He promises in Matt. 6: "Take no heed therefore, all this shall be added unto you if ye seek the Kingdom of God." and St. Peter says: "Cast your burdens upon Him for He cares for you," and Isaiah: "Who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of a man." The Landgrave, who once has made such a great mistake, is not to be trusted, especially since there does not seem to be any change in him, nor has he experienced any repentance or sorrow for his sin.

"This I have written your Grace in the hope that Christ already has in a better and fuller measure given it into your heart. We pray, and will continue to pray, and hope to be heard, that God, the Father of all grace, would guide us and protect your Grace from all onsets and attacks of the devil. Amen. May your Grace pardon this letter."

This letter of Luther, containing as it did the principle "No federation without confessional unity," made a deep impression on the Elector. It agreed so completely with his own thoughts which the efforts of the Landgrave had been only momentarily able to repress. From now on all his actions were animated by the thought of *thwarting the planned federation or at any rate joining only such as were of the same faith.*

As early as May 19 he had stated, in a letter to Melancthon,¹⁷ that the religious colloquy, which was to formulate the basis for securing the Swiss as members of the federation, would at all cost be postponed. It would be still better, he wrote, to drop it, as well as the federation, entirely. At any

rate, no federation should be definitely established before the colloquy had established unity of faith. At the same time the Landgrave must be counterbalanced by such dependable Lutheran powers as Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, the Duke Ernest of Lueneburg and those other princes who were united by the Torgau-Magdeburg agreement. Like Melancthon, he also turned his eyes to Nuernberg.¹⁸ It was to bring them back from the course on which they had entered and prevent the consummation of the federation planned at Speyer as well as block the colloquy, fostered by the Landgrave. For this purpose Nuernberg was ideal not only because its pastors were, as has been stated, avowed enemies of the Sacramentarians but also because it was in close touch with the cities of South Germany. Then, also, it had been tentatively chosen as the place where the proposed colloquy was to be held. Chancellor Beyer, who was to be in Nuernberg on the 23rd of May to instruct the delegates who were to present the appeal to the emperor, was to do preliminary work along these lines. It would also be especially valuable for the consummation of these plans to get in touch with Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach. It was well known that the latter cared little for the Sacramentarians and preferred to stand alone rather than enter a political federation. A conference¹⁹ between the Elector and the Margrave at Coburg, late in October 1528, had already suggested co-operation between them. Then also Nuernberg and the Margrave were in such close relations that the City hardly would have undertaken anything definite without consulting the Margrave. So it need not surprise us to note that Chancellor Beyer also visited nearby Ansbach at the time of his stay in Nuernberg on May 23, or that the Margrave got in touch with Nuernberg regarding these matters late in May.²⁰ He evidently had decided to send a personal rep-

representative to the meeting called at Rotach for June 7 where he actually was represented by Caspar von Seckendorf.

Although Luther's letter had made a deep impression on the Elector, so that he was all the more determined to prevent a federation with the South Germans and Swiss, it could not prevent the meeting of Rotach, which had been decided on in Speyer. But now it was to be the means, not of bringing about a permanent federation, for which purpose it was originally called, but to postpone, if not definitely block such a federation. Since H. von Schubert has published the actual text of the instruction given H. von Minckwitz, the Elector's representative at Rotach, this is clear²¹ (Second Part, 7). According to these instructions Minckwitz, before he took part in the proposed meeting, was to come to an agreement with the representatives of Nuernberg that the whole action of April 22 be set aside. That, of course, was no longer possible, for Nuernberg's hands were already tied. Nuernberg had asked Spengler to work out a plan for a proposed federation which it had not only shown to the representatives of the Landgrave, who likewise were in session in Nuernberg on May 23, but had also on May 31, upon request, sent a copy to the Margrave. Then, on the 2nd of June, they submitted it to the Strassburgers, who then were on their way to Rotach.²² Still in Nuernberg the Elector's representatives found a welcome support for the idea, that nothing definite should be decided in Rotach but that a later meeting was to be called at Schwabach the 24th of August. The Elector's representative was not compelled to show his cards to gain his goal. Several things seemed to justify the postponing of definite action.²³ The question concerning the number of troops each member of the federation was to furnish; regard for the Margrave, who, although represented in Rotach, had not definitely decided

to join the federation, and the question, now asked for the first time, whether the princes of the Torgau-Magdeburg federation of 1526 were to be admitted to the planned federation, all played an important part.

That Nuernberg, although it was able to meet the Elector's desires only partially, was completely won over to oppose a federation with Sacramentarians as well as the planned colloquy, may be seen from the fact that the Nuernberg council on June 22 sent an opinion of their pastors to Chancellor Beyer. In strong terms it undertook to prove "why it is not desirable to bring together, in this labyrinth of error of the Sacramentarians, these two mistaken parties to discuss their errors." and then especially emphasizes "a vast difference is to be made between believing and unbelieving members of a federation."²⁴ More significant, however, was the fact that the Brandenburger Chancellor Vogler, referring to the Rotach "Notel" issued a document,²⁵ "Points to be considered in proposed agreement," in which he clearly stated, "As to the fanaticism of the Strassburgers and others, we are definitely determined not to enter any federation with them." So Brandenburg had finally taken a definite stand. Now the Landgrave was also to be won over to this principle. To this end the Elector asked both the Margrave and the Landgrave to meet with him in Saalfeld for a personal conference. The Landgrave suspected at once why the meeting was being called and declared it unnecessary and at the same time warned against abandoning the South German cities. Since the Margrave was also prevented from coming, only the representatives of the three princes met at Saalfeld on July 8.

The Margrave had sent instructions with his representative, which left nothing to be desired in matter of clearness. These instructions were to be of the greatest importance

for the so-called Schwabach Articles and consequently also for the origin of the Augustana. Kolde has given us the most important passage from the "Ansbach Religionsakten," now preserved in Nuernberg (Tomus VII fol. 64 ff).²⁶ There it is stated:

"For the fifth part (it is necessary) that we, the electors, princes, and other estates, who are about to form a federation for our mutual aid, before and while we establish such a federation, mutually, yet definitely, compare the present status concerning the holy Christian faith and its ceremonies in all and every estates and cities ready to join the federation, what they teach and how they hold it in all their churches, institutions and monasteries. Also what position we are to take concerning the assertion of the bishops that the decision in matrimonial and similar affairs belongs under their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, until such time when a universal or general Christian council or national convention can be held. Then we know why we are giving each other help and aid and do not act each one according to his own mind and ideas . . . Our uncle's, the Elector of Saxony, etc., theologians and other teachers are well able to supply a Christian Order and a doctrinal summary based upon a good, firm, Christian foundation. Thereby further errors would be avoided and a unified faith and life established which undoubtedly would be a guide for others. Much that is Christian and good would certainly follow such unity. And especially must we consider well and seriously whether we, even if Strassburg will not compare her doctrine of the Holy Sacrament and other matters with us, nevertheless should or want to enter a federation."

According to this the Margrave demanded, as a preliminary condition for a federation, nothing less than the *adoption of a uniform confession*, a uniform church order and an equal rule in all questions pertaining to churches, institutions and monasteries in all domains of those who wish to join the federation. A common, uniform church order for all Evangelical states had long been a favorite wish of the Margrave.²⁷ That, in view of the approaching council, the disputed articles were to be formulated and proven, he had already stated in a meeting with the Elector in the fall of 1528. At that

time the latter had also promised to have his scholars formulate the articles; Luther and the Wittenbergers had agreed to do the work.²⁸ What the result was at the time we do not know, although there is much that leads us to believe that the Wittenbergers kept the idea alive and therefore, as we shall directly see, showed their willingness to co-operate. However, it can now be shown by documents that the idea of formulating a confession of faith for the coming council, in the fall of 1528, came from the Margrave and that, in his instructions for Saalfeld, he again voiced the slogan: A political federation presupposes a common confession of faith; such a confession must, first of all, be formulated.

The Margrave's principles prevailed at the meeting in Saalfeld. Saxony, represented by H. von Minckwitz, and Brandenburg's representative, Caspar von Seckendorf, declared that on account of the Sacrament they could no longer be allied with Strassburg.²⁹ Due to this new development the representatives (Hesse was represented by Sigmund von Boyneburg) deemed a personal meeting of the princes unavoidable. It was to be held *before* the day in Schwabach where not only the princes but also the cities (therefore also Ulm and Strassburg) would be represented. Naumburg was designated as the place of meeting. The convention in Schwabach was to be postponed until St. Gall (16th of October).²⁹

We must thank Kolde for the documentary proof of the Elector's reactions toward this arrangement. He found, in the *Ansbacher Religionsakten* (VII fo. 36), the Elector's statement in reference to the Rotach "Notel" which also has reference to the Margrave's instructions to his representatives in Saalfeld.³⁰ In connection with the general statement in the "Notel," "If any member of the federation is attacked on account of the divine Word, the holy Gospel or his faith" the Elector says: "So that no one, referring

to these general words, enter into a federation with anyone who is not one in the faith with the other members of the federation, who does not now or in the future agree with us in the matter of Baptism or the Sacrament, it is necessary, as Margrave George of Brandenburg has pointed out, to confess openly the articles on which this unity of faith and Christianity rests. And if any estate refuses to do this in one or more of these articles, he is to be barred from the federation. Also, if in future it is proven that an estate has fallen from one or more articles of the confession of faith, he shall, if found guilty, no longer be considered a member of the federation." Therefore the Elector wished to see the "Notel" supplemented so that only those were to enjoy the mutual aid who were attacked on account of the articles (appended in a special sheet) relating to the holy Gospel and the faith. So while Saxony ignored the Margrave's wishes regarding uniform church order, etc., it accepted in full and even augmented, his request regarding the formulating of an agreement concerning a confession of faith. They were, from the start, quite certain that under such conditions Strassburg, and probably other cities, "would withdraw from the federation and would not care to compare this article of Christianity with us (Saxons and Brandenburgers)." Still the consequences of these correct principles did not cause them to waver. The Margrave had already reckoned with the possibility, and the Elector agreed with him, that in their place such cities as Noerdlingen, Memmingen, Bibrach, Weissenburg and Windsheim could be gained.³¹ Immediately before the day of Schwabach, Nuernberg was to receive their confidence. Above all it was necessary to win the Landgrave for their new plans. Both the Elector and the Margrave were well aware that this would be no simple matter; so in harmony

with their representatives at Saalfeld, they agreed that a personal meeting with him would be necessary.

It is easily understood that the decision of Saalfeld offended Landgrave Philip. While he had prepared everything to peacefully iron out existing differences between the leaders of the two factions—the official invitations for the Marburg Colloquy, to be held end of September, had been sent to Wittenberg on July 1—Saxony and Brandenburg, without even considering the possible success of the Hessian peace movement, followed a plan which was to shatter all of his dreams! He declared the intended meeting of the princes in Naumberg as unnecessary. Regarding the insinuation, that Strassburg and Ulm were not orthodox in matter of the Sacrament, he said: "Since this article is not of such supreme importance that our faith and salvation depends upon it—and, at that, Strassburg is not so very much at variance with us regarding this article since they also confess Christ in the Sacrament as do we—for these reasons and others we ought not to separate from them."³² He also calls to attention that according to Scripture the erring are not to be "cast aside nor despised" all the more since they are willing to listen to "friendly discussions and instructions." He expresses the hope that the Elector will urge Luther and the others to adjust their differences with each other in a Christian and brotherly way." The Elector, however, did not let this deter him, even though he did substitute, as a place for the meeting, the town of Schleiz which was more accessible for the Hessians. On the 10th of August, he set the 16th of October as the date of the Colloquy of Schwabach while the meeting of the princes in Schleiz was to be held during the first week of October. This he did in spite of the fact that he must have been aware that it would conflict with the Marburg

Colloquy and so it would hardly be possible for the Landgrave to attend.

The new state of affairs, as definitely decided in Saalfeld, must have in some way, become known at once in Wittenberg. How else can we understand why Luther and Melancthon who on the 22nd and 23rd of June still hesitatingly answered the Landgrave's invitation to the colloquy,³³ now, on July 8, and therefore at the time of the meeting at Saalfeld, no longer have any qualms about attending,³³ in spite of the fact that it was not to be held in Nuernberg, where conditions would still have been tolerable, but in Marburg under the very eyes of the Landgrave. If only a confession of faith was formulated beforehand and adopted as the basis of the planned federation, then the colloquy had lost its terrors. Be the result what it might, it could not then have a baneful influence upon the course of events. If the Swiss and Strassburgers embraced the confession—which was hardly to be expected—then one could federate with them; if, however, as was to be expected, they rejected it, then the necessary basis would be lacking and they would withdraw voluntarily.

On the 23rd of September both the Elector and the Margrave urgently begged the Landgrave to appear personally in Schleiz on the 3rd of October. His reply,³⁴ that due to the Colloquy it would be impossible for him to be in Schleiz, made little impression on the other two princes. They came and held the meeting from October 3-6. The Landgrave was represented by several of his counsellors who, however, were instructed to agree to nothing regarding Strassburg and the Rotach "Notel." So it seemed that the other two princes would have little opportunity to come to an understanding with the Landgrave before the imminent meeting in Schwabach (October 16). This did not prevent them

from presenting a solid front against Strassburg. So they wrote an exhaustive letter and requested the Hessian delegates to deliver it in all haste to the Landgrave. Kolde has published this document for the first time.³⁵ In unmistakable language it announces the break with those of the South and, if the Landgrave persists in his stand, also with him. The princes declare that they could not, with a good conscience, think of defending with arms anyone who advocates a doctrine which they themselves, by the grace of God, "recognize as a sham and an unbelievable piece of business," and so important "that not only those who, for the sake of the doctrine, adhere to it are to be reckoned as unbelievers and under the wrath of God, but also every one who through association, assistance and aid shares in it." They also ask the Landgrave to ponder the fact that they "do not intend to enter a federation with such as are now or in future connected with these errors in matter of the Sacrament; neither with such who will not confess the chief articles of Christianity with us." Now since the Colloquy was past, it ought to be easily seen whether these enemies of the truth were willing to be instructed by the Word of God.

After the departure of the Hessian delegates they probably set to work formulating the instructions for the meeting in Schwabach. After the above, it is easy to guess their contents.³⁶ In conjunction with the above mentioned demands of the Margrave they stated: "In order not to federate with anyone who is not agreed, with every other member of the federation, in *one* true Christian faith, as well as in matter of Baptism and the Sacrament, it is absolutely necessary that they openly confess their faith, one to the other. And this confession is to be incorporated, article for article, in the constitution of such federation."

But were these articles of faith, again and again men-

tioned since the Brandenburger instructions for Saalfeld, actually already formulated or were they agreed on at Schleiz or shortly after that meeting?³⁷ To history they are known as the "*Schwabach Articles*" (Second Part, 8) since they were presented at Schwabach on the 16th of October. Until 1908 it was generally held that they were formulated shortly *after* the Marburg colloquy, immediately *before* the meeting in Schwabach, and that Luther was their author. It was thought that Luther, on his return from Marburg, had, upon request of the Elector, come to Schleiz from Eisenach by way of Weida and had there written the articles. Or, since Kolde has proven that Luther had not gone to Schleiz at all upon a counter command of the Elector, he had done so in Eisenach where he, with Melanchthon and Justus Jonas, had arrived on the 7th of October and remained for two days. Since Luther himself later on said of the articles, "It is true that I have helped in writing such articles (for they are not of me alone)" (E. E. 224, 337) we may also include Melanchthon and Justus Jonas, who were with him in Eisenach,³⁹ as the authors. Then on October 9, they probably were sent to the Elector who, on the following day sent a copy to his representative at Schwabach, H. von Minckwitz. He was to hand the articles, with a letter from the Elector, to the Council of Nuernberg so that they could fully inform themselves (letter and articles reached them on October 13) and with the Saxons and Brandenburgers plead a united cause at Schwabach on the 16th. Over against this H. von Schubert, in 1908, (on the basis of Kolde's fruitful investigations of the events between Rotach and Schwabach) furnished the proof that the Articles were not incidentally written during the journey but in the time between Saalfeld and Marburg. Or to be more exact between the 8th of July, or yet closer, the 26th of July—Melanchthon in a letter of that date to

Camerarius states that he is busy formulating a number of articles of faith³⁸—and the 14th of September, the day Luther, Melanchthon and Justus Jonas were called to Torgau to discuss the “most important matters.” They left for Torgau either on the 15th or 16th of September. Aside from other considerations H. von Schubert bases his conclusions on the following two points: 1. When on the 2nd of December at Schmalkalden, Saxony and Brandenburg were asked by Strassburg and Ulm to tone down the Articles of Schwabach, they declared, “upon their conscience they knew nothing they could change since *the articles of faith had been well considered and had been formulated by an impressive council of theologians and laymen.*”⁴⁰ There is little time between Marburg and Schwabach for such an important affair of state which commanded an impressive array of theological and lay counsellors. 2. The text of the instruction for Schwabach, *agreed upon in Schleiz*,⁴¹ presupposes the Articles, for it states: “When the counsellors reach Schwabach they are above all to demand that the basis of our federation, that is, our holy belief, and what we believe of the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Body and Blood of Christ be openly confessed and *at once present the articles of confession, which they have received with these instructions.* For us they are also to declare that neither can nor will enter a federation for mutual aid with anyone who does not now fully agree with us in our faith, in matter of the Christian Sacrament and other Christian usages, and remain therein.” These reasons of Schubert’s are decisive. Otherwise it would certainly seem odd that the Wittenberg theologians, in spite of the fact that both Saxony and Brandenburg recognized and emphasized the necessity of formulating articles of faith, and in spite of the fact that the Schwabach meeting was postponed until such articles could be secured and the Landgrave’s agreement ob-

tained before the meeting, as well as the fact that they would be so valuable for the Marburg colloquy, would have waited until the last moment to formulate such articles. It is equally unbelievable that the Brandenburgers, who since the Nuernberg Diet in 1524 had been anxious to confer with other Evangelical states regarding the form of the Evangelical faith, and now since 1528 had again and again demanded a formulating of the sum of their articles of faith, had not demanded that these articles be submitted to them for a complete review by their theological and lay counsellors before they staked their whole future upon them. And again, since these articles of faith were finally to form the foundation of a political federation the Elector could hardly do otherwise than discuss the whole matter in detail with his secular counsellors. There was hardly time enough for this in October, but the summer between the meetings of Saalfeld and Marburg would have been ample. In this time the Articles of Schwabach, and with them the first part of the Augsburg Confession, came into being. From the deliberation of Brandenburg and Saxony in connection with Saalfeld and Rotach light is shed on a passage in the Articles of Schwabach.⁴² When it is stated in Article XII: "This church is nothing else than the believers in Christ, who hold, believe and teach the above mentioned articles in all their parts and for this suffer persecution and martyrdom in the world," this is absolutely in agreement with the demands made by the Margrave, and also the Elector, that such general terms as "Gospel" and similar ones are not sufficient to determine the basis of church fellowship. From the above it is also seen how incorrect it is simply to name Luther as the author of the Articles of Schwabach. Although sentences in the Fifth (justification) and the Seventh Articles (the oral Word which produces faith) unmistakably point to Luther, yet according to his own words, mentioned

above, we must ascribe a considerable, if not the major part, to someone else, probably Melanchthon (compare my "New Studies in the A. C.").

While the Elector and Margrave, from October 3 on, were conferring in Schleiz, regarding the course to be followed at Schwabach, the well known Colloquy at Marburg between the Wittenbergers on one side and the Upper Germans and Swiss on the other had already begun.⁴³ It lasted (although the Strassburgers arrived on the evening of the 27th of September and the Wittenbergers on the morning of the 30th) from the first to the fourth of October and must be divided into two distinctly separate sections. The first section was taken up by private discussions between Luther and Oecolampadius and between Zwingli and Melanchthon. These discussions did not deal with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper but with other articles of faith of which it was said, partly in truth and partly in error, that the Swiss had deviated from Scripture. According to Melanchthon's own statements they discussed original sin, the office of the ministry, the use of the sacraments, the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, justification by faith and the question how such a faith is obtained. In this both Luther and Melanchthon proceeded from the articles which they had formulated in the time between July and September (the so-called Articles of Schwabach). Although in regard these points the differences were cleared away, and the Swiss had "yielded," Luther, in the second section of the colloquy, the public session (Oct. 2-3), once more went back to these articles so, as Hedio reports, "those at home could not say that he was afraid to open his mouth." The following deliberations regarding the Holy Communion (October 2-3) are in their main parts well known or can be conveniently read in Koehler⁴³ and compared with the letters and documents which have been handed down to us.

In the main they were without results. But another thing has been nearly forgotten, namely, that on the evening of the 3rd of October, another private effort to unite was made which resulted in Luther making far-reaching concessions. Bernhard Bess⁴³ had again called attention to it in 1901; but in 1928 H. von Schubert gave us the facsimile of Oecolampadius' notes.⁴³ When Koehler, in 1929, made an effort to reconstruct the whole Colloquy, he republished these notes. We present the exact text of Luther's statement in the second part of this book. With it Luther, who for his stand in Marburg has ever since been decried as "obstinate," presented a proposition with which the Strassburgers may well have been satisfied. Both Zwingli and Oecolampad rejected Luther's offer because they could not interpret it in the sense of spiritual manducation, which they alone granted. So the Marburg colloquy ended, notwithstanding Luther's advances, with the well known Marburg Articles. These, in the first fourteen points, recount the apparent concord, but in the Fifteenth Article, in agreement with the Franconian-Saxon Articles (i.e. the so-called Articles of Schwabach), stated the difference in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which could not be settled. That Zwingli was also not really convinced regarding many of the fourteen points was soon apparent, and is manifest in his *Fidei Ratio*⁴⁴ which he sent in 1530 to Augsburg.

That the Marburg Articles, especially the already noted proposition of Luther's, had been of great value in promoting the co-operation of Erhard Schnepf with Ambrose Blaurer since 1534 in Wuerttemberg, and bringing about an understanding with the Strassburgers in the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, has been shown by von Schubert⁴³ but does not concern us here. Neither is this the place to consider the fact that the Landgrave, in the days before the arrival of the

Wittenbergers, seriously discussed the possibility of a Hessian-Zuerich federation with Zwingli, Sturm and Bucer. On the other hand, however, it must be noted that the Marburg Articles were important for the discussions which finally ended in the Augsburg Confession; here the Landgrave had an instrument at hand which went much farther in meeting the Strassburgers and Swiss than the Saxon-Franconian confession, and so, if necessary, could be used against it. For this reason we touched on the Marburg Colloquy. And for the further reason: The Marburg Colloquy did not produce the necessary foundation for a federation with the Swiss. Since Rotach the general trend of things was not toward concentration of the Evangelicals, but toward decentralization, not toward union but toward disintegration. In place of the cry "Federation, federation," the other, far louder cry, "Confession, confession," was heard. Schwabach and Schmalkalden led these lines of development to the end.

When the representatives of the princes and cities met in Schwabach, on the 16th of October, Saxony-Franconia simply presented, according to the instructions agreed upon in Schleiz, their confession, consisting of seventeen articles, the so-called Articles of Schwabach. They were here for the first time, although not yet offered the general public, nevertheless placed before the representatives of the Landgrave and the cities. The representatives from Strassburg and Ulm, however, were compelled to declare that they were not authorized to deal with this matter, and since the Articles were to form the basis of the federation they wished to submit them, for examination, to their principals. So it was agreed to meet again at Schmalkalden at the end of November, and at that time settle the matter of sending a delegation with an appeal to the Emperor, (they had namely received bad news regarding the fate of delegates sent from

Nuernberg on the 23rd of May) and also, to settle the question of confession and federation⁴⁵ (Second Part, 10). Since the final decision was to be made in Schmalkalden, the Landgrave through his representative, Sigmund Boyneburg, end of October once more made a stirring appeal to the Elector to consider how much stronger the federation would become if Strassburg and Ulm were not barred on account of their teachings regarding the Sacrament. So, on November 14, the Elector commissioned Chancellor Brueck to again confer with the Wittenberg theologians if, and how far they would go in making concessions.⁴⁶ The result of this conference will be found in Brueck's Opinion in the Second Part of this book, document number 13.⁴⁷ But Strassburg was also prepared, for Bucer had drawn up a counter-confession to the Articles of Schwabach⁴⁸ (Second Part, 11) and the theologically trained Sturm was able to present it. The meeting at Schmalkalden began on the 29th of November⁴⁹ (Second Part, 12). The Elector as well as the Landgrave were present; the Margrave was represented by his Chancellor, Vogler, Nuernberg by Christopher Kress, Ulm by Bernhard Besserer, Strassburg by Jacob Sturm. The negative result of the discussions was to be foreseen. Sturm and Besserer declared that their principals had examined the seventeen Articles but had found them "too rambling, conducive to discord and debatable" and that they could not accept them in this form. The Landgrave again demanded, although again in vain, that the question of the Sacrament, at least for the time being, be put aside and not be allowed to block the federation. Nuernberg declared itself in harmony with the Articles of Confession but was not willing to enter a federation, not even the Torgau-Magdeburg agreement, without the other cities.⁵⁰ Saxony and Brandenburg declared, through the Elector, that "On their conscience they did not

know of anything in the Articles they would change for they had been well considered and formulated by an eminent council of theological and lay scholars."⁴⁰ The lay delegates held a private meeting on the 2nd of December.⁵¹ Also, the leading statesmen, Sturm, Vogler, and Brueck, held a secret conference in which Sturm, casually referring to Bucer's counter-confession, undertook to show why Strassburg objected to the seventeen Articles.⁵² In the "Religious Documents of Ansbach" we still have short notes of Sturm's main objections. Schubert has noted them in his reprint of Bucer's counter-confession. However, this secret conference of the statesmen did not change the course of events.⁵³

So Schmalkalden (Second Part, 14) is the end of the line which began with the "secret agreement" of April 22. The proposed federation was wrecked on the rock of a common confession! Such a confession was now at hand—that is the lasting gain of these months—but Strassburg and Ulm, refusing to accept it, made their exit before the federation ever became a reality. Without them, Nuernberg, although it accepted the confession, would not enter a federation, and Brandenburg again would not join without Nuernberg. The confession had defeated the federation!

At Schmalkalden a definite decision was also to be made regarding the appeal. The Emperor had very ungraciously received the messengers with the first appeal against the Decree of Speyer, and had even thrown them in prison. Was a second one now to be dispatched? In connection with the appeal something happened which, on the whole, was rather unnecessary. It was thought by the Saxons that also in the matter of the appeal they no longer could go with all the signers of the Protest, but only with those with whom they were one in faith.⁵⁴ At first this went too far even for the Margrave's representative but the Elector's

bitter word, "Those cities who teach wrongly regarding the Sacrament, consciously sin against the Word of God and the Holy Spirit," and Brueck's "opinion" (Second Part, 13) brought them again into line. That the Elector took this stand was partly due to the fact which the advocates of the federation again and again emphasized, that the federation is a necessary consequence of the Protest. He simply drew the conclusion. The general doubt regarding a union with the South German or even the Swiss cities, as above noted, also the idea that much more could be gained from the Emperor if among the appellants none were found who leaned toward Zwingli, may have helped him draw this conclusion. Other questions then hanging fire between him and the Emperor—of which we shall speak later on—may have unconsciously helped to swing the balance. But even if the Elector did not lack a number of non-religious reasons, not they, but the religious ones were the driving factor in his stand against a common Protest and Appellation, and for opposing a proposed federation without a united confession.

The session in Schmalkalden ended with a decision to meet again at Nuernberg on Epiphany 1530. Only those in agreement with the seventeen Articles were asked to attend. This meeting was to decide if a separate appeal against the Decree of Speyer, signed only by Lutherans, was to be sent to the Emperor. Therefore only the Lutherans, Saxony and Brandenburg, Lueneburg, Anhalt and Mansfeld, Nuernberg, Reutlingen, Windsheim and Weissenburg (in Franconia) attended this meeting.⁵⁵ The Landgrave thought it unwise to break with the Lutherans and so also sent a representative. This was taken as an indication that he now was ready to accept the Confession.

So the second period ended with the Speyer federation broken up; the Zwinglian, Swiss and South German cities

eliminated; all agreed that a united faith was the necessary foundation of all federations, and such a confession now at hand. Furthermore, at the meeting in Nuernberg, nearly all of the states and cities who then on June 24, or immediately thereafter, in Augsburg signed the Augsburg Confession, had come in touch with each other.

c. The Union of Confession

When the representatives of the Lutheran princes and cities met, in Nuernberg, in January, 1530, they agreed not to send a new appeal to the Emperor since he had announced that he soon would come to Germany to hold a diet. The very thought of the Emperor's coming made it evident to the Elector that a personal meeting, before the diet, would be highly advisable. There were many things that hung fire which must be settled.⁵⁶ One was the matter of the electorate. Although the Elector had been ruling since 1525 the Emperor had not officially conferred him in the electorate, but had silently permitted him to hold his position. All efforts in the past to secure the confirmation had been in vain. On other questions it had been impossible to obtain the Emperor's answer. An example of this was the important agreement in the Juelich-Kleve succession question.⁵⁷ It had been agreed that if the Duke of Juelich died without a legitimate male heir, his son-in-law, the electoral prince John Frederick, or his heir, was to be his successor. The Elector had also been compromised by the Pack affair. His interest in the Speyer Protest and the joining with those who stood near the Sacramentarians; the gossip that he, by force, intended to restore the Duke of Wuerttemberg to office and prevent the Emperor's visit, as well as other matters made it advisable for the Elector to confer with the Emperor. That at this time the question of faith could not be ignored is also evident. So he greeted with satisfaction the invitation

of his own and his son's friends, the Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr, to send a special delegation to the Emperor with a detailed report regarding all of these matters.⁵⁸ Count Henry of Nassau had at one time been Charles' V tutor and now, since 1522, lived at the royal court as his lord-chamberlain while his brother, William of Nassau, resided in Dillenburg. The Elector had met his two friends in the fore part of February, at the Day of Arnstadt in Thuringia when about thirty counts met to settle the quarrel of the Mansfeld counts, and had discussed the matter with them.⁵⁹ They, partly guided by selfish interests, represented the matter as of such great importance that they wished the Elector's experienced Chancellor be sent with them to settle all of these questions with the Emperor before the meeting of the Diet. The Elector agreed in so far that he promised to send his Counsel, Hans von Dolzig, to Dillenburg before the 27th of March to accompany the Counts to the imperial court.

In the meantime, March 11, the Imperial summons, dated January 21, for the Diet April 8, reached the Elector.⁶⁰ It brought what no one had hoped for nor expected: The Emperor invited all the Electors, princes and estates of the holy empire to help deliberate, decide and execute "How in the matter of errors and divisions concerning the holy faith and the Christian religion we may and should deal and resolve, and so bring it about, in better and sounder fashion, that divisions may be allayed, antipathies set aside, all past errors left to the judgment of our Saviour, and every care taken to give a charitable hearing to every man's opinion, thoughts, and notions, to understand them, to weigh them, to bring and reconcile them to a unity in Christian truth, to dispose of everything that has not been rightly explained or treated of on the one side or the other, to see to it that one single,

true religion may be accepted and held by us all, and that we all live in one common church and in unity."

How was this friendly summons, which probably had its origin in the German chancery, and was most likely written by Vice chancellor Balthasar Merklin, Prior of Waldkirch, to be understood? Gussmann and J. von Walter have given the best answer to this.⁶¹ After attaining full manhood, basking in the glory of his victories and power, master of his own thoughts and deeds, one who had defeated his enemies, had forced the Pope to his side, had established order in Italy and Spain, the Emperor felt himself the autocratic ruler of a vast domain and not the willing tool of the Roman papal court. What therefore animated his actions and conduct was not so much regard for the Church as the political necessities of the Spanish-Habsburg empire. This may already be seen from the place allotted the question of faith in the summons; it had to give first place to the Turkish danger. In certain respects that was a matter of course. The skies were still dark with the unspeakable horrors of the last Ottoman attack which had reached the very heart of Germany and was checked only at the walls of Vienna. The horror of this recent experience still re-echoed in the agitated sentences and involuntarily threw the question of a determined defence in relief. But the Turkish danger did not seem quite as important to the German estates, who felt that they were only indirectly endangered, as it did to those of the house of Habsburg who were fighting for their very existence, for their possessions and for the front rank in the empire. So a common crusade of the whole German people against the Turk was not to be thought of as long as their recent religious differences had not been settled. Even if religious and ecclesiastical motives may also have helped Charles V to determine his actions, they certainly were not decisive. Those motives

were political considerations. If he, by defeating the Turk, expected to come a step nearer his dream, a Spanish-Habsburg world power, he first must establish peace in Germany just as, according to the conceited words of the summons, he had already brought peace to two parts of his empire, Spain and Italy.

But would not force be the simplest and easiest way to accomplish this? Many things argued for this solution. On one hand there was the church's decision, voiced in the papal bull of condemnation "Exsurge Domine" of June 15, 1520, together with the Papal bull "Decet Romanum pontificem" of June 3, 1521, and on the other hand the state's resolutions regarding the Edict of Worms and the ever renewed attempts to give it weight and authority. Again, on one hand, were the binding agreements, from the one with the Spanish estates to the more recent one with Pope Clement VII in Bologna, and on the other hand, the Emperor's solemn coronation oath which in the eyes of all the world placed on him, as patron of the Church, the responsibility to watch over the purity of the Christian faith. All of these facts pointed toward an immediate and thorough extermination of the German heretics by force. Yet this was only the one side of the question. On the other side there were not lacking many weighty aspects which urged just the opposite, a peaceful agreement with those who dissented. Whether among them were those odd reports, which were then current at the royal court, and spoke of a strong longing for peace of the Elector John of Saxony and his theologians, we leave undecided. At any rate the Emperor could not ignore one fact. During his long sojourn in Spain, especially since the Decree of Speyer, 1526, a decided change had taken place in his empire. What Charles would face in Augsburg, and actually did face, was not longer as in Worms, a lone indi-

vidual, without position or rank but the regularly convened representatives of the newly organized, established church, the princes of the Holy Empire and the free cities with whom he would be compelled to reckon in every way. Without their consent there would be no enduring relief from the Turk, much less the election of his brother Ferdinand as Roman King, not to speak of a religious peace. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Emperor did not at once go to extremes but first tried peaceful methods. In the same measure, however, as the reformatory movement went forward and, led by the aspiring princes of the Empire, found a secure support in the orderly affairs of life, the church question became one of political power for which there was only one solution, sword and blood. But everything forbade the Emperor from trying such a solution at this time: The unstable political situation, the continual lack of financial and military aid, the wavering position of the Pope, the indifference of the orthodox faction, Austrian lands endangered by the Sultan Soliman and finally his own pondering nature which never struck without having coldly calculated each and every contingency. So after all a peace policy would be the better way as he had taken this way when he sent his mild proposition to Speyer 1529 (compare page 5f.).

That the Emperor was sincere in his willingness to discuss and adjust difficulties can hardly be questioned. Indeed he had time and again declared that the current ecclesiastical conditions were no longer to be endured. The call for a Christian universal council, which was to check the spreading abuses, even connected him with the reformers.⁶² And it also can be stated with certainty that he expected his efforts to be successful. The thought, that the small insignificant little princes could resist him for any length of time, was absolutely foreign to him. He believed in himself, in

the towering might and the inviolable dignity of his singular personality which just recently had received the highest benediction through the consecrating hand of the Pope. But where his own efforts were not sufficient he could always fall back on the notorious skill of his Machiavellian diplomats. Very few were able to cope the mastery of their practice. They understood the policy *divide et impera*; to take each prince or city alone and with promises, threats, or suspense, with favors or slights make them pliable and finally so completely ensnare them that they helplessly agree to anything so as not to lose the Emperor's necessary goodwill. How characteristic it therefore was that the Emperor's proclamation offered only a hasty reference regarding the course to be taken. Every single estate was to be heard and given an opportunity to voice its opinion, thoughts and ideas. Evidently the Emperor did not care to deal with a larger group such as had come together in signing the Protest at Speyer. He intended to recognize only individual, independent princes and cities who would be able to inform him regarding the actual conditions in the churches of their own domain. In this way he hoped to gain an insight into their doctrine, their innovations, their whole ecclesiastical outlook, and to make practical use of this information; to keep the separate cities apart, to make more acute their differences, especially those concerning the doctrine of the Sacrament, and so nip in the bud every effort to form a party. Then again it was to gain a suitable point of departure for a varying treatment in particular cases and finally to obtain the necessary foundation for his office of arbitrator. No wonder that the Emperor later on clung, with a firm logical determination, to his first idea and demanded again and again that only individual confessions and defensive writings be presented.

The Edict of Worms, the bull, the imperial ban, and the decree of Speyer of 1529 were wisely not mentioned in the summons. Not that the Emperor refused to recognize their reality. He simply set them aside, for the time being, since he wished to play the role of a mediator. If he should succeed in leading the heretics back into the bosom of the Church they would become superfluous. If he failed in this undertaking then they still were in force and could be invoked at any time. Prudently nothing was said in the summons whether the discussion of the opinions submitted was to take place in public or privately and in secret, nor if the Evangelical theologians would be allowed to be present and take part in the deliberations; it was not even stated whether the confessions, which were to be presented, were to be delivered and read in public. We know that the Pope made it the Emperor's duty to conduct deliberations secretly and in private, without public hearing and debates. This is easily understood for if Luther's doctrine, already condemned by the Pope, was again to be debated, the opinion might prevail that the Pope's decision had not definitely settled the matter.

The imperial summons received a varied reception. The old faction heard only generosity and could not understand nor become reconciled to it. They furthermore, could not understand how a matter already settled by the Pope was again to be considered, much less that this could happen through the Emperor who now expected to judge in matters of faith. But also among those of the new faith the summons was not everywhere read with undivided joy. The Landgrave of Hessa, this born statesman and farseeing politician among the Evangelical princes, also a sworn enemy of the Habsburgian world power, probably understood the document better than all. He understood that, in spite of the conciliatory tone, it was inspired by the spirit of "Divide et impera"

and, therefore, must be received with great caution.⁶³ It was also dangerous for him to appear before the Emperor for long was the list of his offences. The Pack affair, his leaning toward Zwingli, his alliance with Strassburg and the Swiss cities, his unceasing efforts in helping the banned Duke of Wuerttemberg to return to his land, his attempt to slip a heretical book into the Emperor's hand;⁶⁴ all this and more stood between him and Emperor Charles. But dangers rather incited the Landgrave than frightened him. Not out of fear, therefore, did he first refuse to attend the Diet, but out of consideration that it could be useless or even dangerous for the Evangelical cause. The Emperor would play one Evangelical opinion against the other and in the end try to present the Catholic doctrine as the happy medium. But above all the Landgrave was of the opinion that the Christian and the secular are to be strictly divided; neither Emperor nor Diet have any jurisdiction in religious matters. Not they, but the whole Christian Church, embodied in the general council which deliberates and decides on the basis of the Word, had, according to his opinion, the last word in all matters pertaining to conscience and the salvation of the soul. In harmony with this he then instructed his delegates. Moreover, he refused to admit that the relations between emperor and princes were that of master and servant, subject to the Fourth Commandment. The Saxons, following Luther—although not entirely without faltering—saw in the Emperor the god-given ruler who was to be obeyed in all things. If he demanded something which violated their conscience they were to offer only passive resistance, as Luther wrote to the Elector as late as March 6, 1530, "Even if the Imperial Majesty errs and transgresses his duty and oath this does not abolish his imperial authority nor the obedience of his subjects as long as the empire and the electors recognize him

as their emperor and do not remove him." Over against this the Landgrave stressed that there also could be an end to this obedience and that the princes' duty toward their own subjects was far more important than their duty toward the Emperor. Finally, made wise by his experiences in Rotach, Saalfeld, Schwabach and Schmalkalden, he must have told himself that no united Evangelical stand for the gospel against the Emperor could be expected. Many of the South-German cities thought likewise.⁶⁵ Above all, Strassburg did not think the Emperor capable of any honest thoughts of peace and denied him, as a matter of principle, every right to decide in religious affairs.

The imperial summons reached the Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach in far-off Krakau. Therefore he could not appear in Augsburg at the set term. Still he has the honor of being the first of the Evangelical estates to realize the necessity of equipping himself for the Diet with writings of vindication.⁶⁵ As soon as the 29th of January he commanded all of his superintendents to point out, on the ground of Holy Scripture, the basis and cause for their faith as well as the newly introduced church order. They were also to demand similar reports from all pastors under their jurisdiction. Especially were these three questions to be answered 1. What is right and true worship? 2. Which are the abuses which God Himself has condemned through his prophets and apostles? 3. If, and for what reasons, has a Christian government the power to abolish abuses? In the "Ansbach Religious Documents" we still have 49 of the Answers that were handed in at that time. Gussmann gave us three of them in 1911; in the collection "Die Fraenkischen Bekenntnisse" (Franconian Confessions), Muenchen, 1930, thirteen more are found. The Margrave also instructed his Counsellor, Fritz von Lidwach, to go, with one or two

theologians, to Augsburg and defend the abolishing of abuses and intercede for the establishing of goodly Christian order. It would also be well if he did not remain isolated but if all estates, who are one in faith and Sacrament with the Margrave, would unite in peace. Especially was he to get in touch with Nuernberg and the Elector of Saxony, with whom the Margrave previously had dealt regarding the articles of faith and the order of visitation.

The proclamation was received by the Elector and his people with unclouded joy. Before its arrival a resigned spirit had prevailed at his court. It had caused offence that nothing had been heard from the Emperor, although he had landed in Genoa as far back as the 12th of August. They began to believe those mysterious rumors that Charles V really did not expect to come to Germany at all but would return immediately after his coronation by the Pope to his Spanish court. They had become reconciled to the inevitable even if with bad grace. So much greater therefore was their surprise when the summons finally did arrive and on the 11th of March was handed the Elector. Its contents brought unadulterated joy. Upright and honest, to the core, the Elector, Luther and Melanchthon did not deem it possible that the Emperor's words should not mean what they said. The winning, fatherly tone awakened in them again something of the former old enthusiasm—a mixture of naive good nature, religious awe and monarchical faithfulness—which at the time of his first visit to German soil had so warmly greeted the “young Charles, the noble blood.” The Elector, in notable difference to the Landgrave and his position of principle, voiced the hope, “that such Diet probably was to be held in place of a council or national assembly.”⁶⁰ It is not surprising that now the special delegation to the Emperor that had been planned, did not seem quite so important. Only because the

Counts von Nassau and Neuenahr, who probably knew the language and temper of the court far better than he, still thought it necessary, did the Elector instruct (March 16) Hans von Dolzig for his journey to Dillenburg and the imperial court (Second Part, 16). H. v. Schubert has again given us the text of these instructions. In it Dolzig and the Counts were instructed, in the Elector's behalf, to make many significant excuses and pleas in the above mentioned matters, but they were in no wise authorized to make any concessions in religious matters. In these matters, the Elector, although sharply separated from the Sacramentarians, is still standing, firmly, as a matter of conscience, behind the Protest of Speyer. He is willing to submit his confession of faith as well as his churches' order of service to the Emperor. For this purpose, he gave Dolzig a copy of "The Sum Total of Articles which concern the Faith," i.e., the Schwabach Articles, also a statement about "the customs followed in our land regarding the ceremonies," probably a copy of the German Mass of 1526, or, as seems still more probable, the Instruction for the Visitors of 1528 (Second Part, 1). It is easy to understand that this "Instruction" was sent because it is a detailed advise to the ministers what they are to preach and what the order of service on Sundays and other Festival Days ought to be.⁶⁷ How, however, the Elector could justify sending a document like the Schwabach Articles to the Emperor without conferring with the others who joined in this confession, especially with the Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach and the Council of Nuernberg, remains, to say the least, a question. As energetically as the thought must be rejected that the Elector wished to betray his fellow-believers, still there never was such a combination of subjective honesty, deplorable selfishness and political simplicity as in this portentous hour. Hans von Dolzig reached Dillenburg on the 26th of

March and left later with the Counts for the imperial court. Led astray by false reports regarding the Emperor's route from Italy to Augsburg, they reached Innsbruck on the 30th of April, only five days before the Emperor.

Of greater importance for the Elector than the special delegation, was the question whether he should attend the Diet and if so what preparations he was to make for it. His counsellors, to whom he referred the matter, all advised him, with especial consent of the prince, John Frederick, to attend the Diet if his health permitted. He was to make arrangements to leave at once, if possible before Judica Sunday. They thought that in this way it would be easier for him to obtain the Emperor's endorsement of his electorship and, since questions of faith were to be treated—and in a way the Diet would take the place of a council—they thought his presence doubly to be desired. So arrangements for his visit to the Diet were made in all haste. The attendants were chosen, authorized substitutes were selected for cities and offices, allied princes were urged to attend the Diet at Augsburg, letters of safe conduct were secured for the lands through which they would travel and not even was it forgotten to order public prayers in all churches for the success of the Diet.⁸⁸ It probably was the far-seeing electoral Chancellor, Dr. Gregory Brueck, who had collected all the documents, which in any way could be of value in the Emperor's well-known separate negotiations and had them ready for the journey to Augsburg, packed in a black, a white and a red chest.⁸⁹ But he recommended one thing more. Since, according to the imperial summons, "every one's opinion and ideas are to be heard" he advised "that those opinions on which our party so far has stood and remained, be brought together in an orderly way, in writing and thoroughly confirmed by the divine Word so that, if the estates are not per-

mitted to present their opinions through their theologians, we may do this in writing."⁷⁰ Then the statesmen, not familiar enough with the facts, would always have something to fall back on. The Elector was willing to attend the Diet in person and also adopted Dr. Brueck's suggestion. So the electoral request went to Luther, Justus Jonas, John Bugenhagen and Melanchthon (already on March 14) to speedily deliberate regarding the articles "in which there is declared contention both in faith and also in outward church usages, rules and customs" and personally report to him by March 20.⁷¹ But although the matter was rushed as much as possible—Luther, in the same night of March 14, called back Jonas who was absent on visitation—a second admonition was necessary on March 21 and the result of the Wittenberg deliberations was probably not handed the Elector until it was delivered at Torgau by Melanchthon on March 27.⁷²

What was the result? Long the search had lasted and yet no document was found bearing the title "Torgau Articles" or "Opinions Delivered at Torgau." The search failed since the electoral instructions seemed to refer to a series of articles which took up both the faith and the ceremonies. Then Foerstemann was fortunate in finding a report of the religious deliberations of Augsburg written by none less than the Saxon Chancellor Brueck himself (*Verzeichnus der handlung, wie sich uf dem reichstag zu Augsburg in der religion sache zugetragen. Anno Domini 1530*). They were published in the first and only number of his *Archiv fuer die Geschichte der Reformation* (1831). Documents are appended to this manuscript which deal mostly with some phase of the Augsburg Diet. The third of these supplements contains seven separate essays. These Foerstemann also published—unfortunately in a different order than in the original documents—two years later in his *Urkundenbuch zu der Geschichte des*

*Reichstags zu Augsburg im Jahre 1530.*⁷³ In the original order they dealt with the following seven matters: The *First*, *De missa*, is a separate article, while the rest, copied by the same hand, runs on without any notable break, and later on received—although probably wrongly—the comprehensive title, “Report of the Elector of Saxony, how religious matters in their electoral states and principalities shall everywhere be conducted and what shall be taught and practiced in their electorate, etc.” The *Second* consideration is divided into an introduction and ten articles: 1. Of human doctrine and human order; 2. *De conjugio sacerdotum*; 3. Of both forms; 4. *De missa*; 5. Of Confession; 6. *De jurisdictione*. Of episcopal jurisdiction and government; 7. Of ordination; 8. *De votis*. Of monastic life; 9. *De invocatione sanctorum*; 10. Of the German song. The *Third* is headed: Of faith and works. The *Fourth* deals with three cases: First, if his imperial majesty asked or demanded that my gracious Elector should require that fish and not meat be eaten on Friday and Saturday. Then also if his imperial majesty should demand that his electoral grace should not allow preaching. And for the third, if his imperial majesty should demand that his electoral grace attend mass. The *Fifth* contains nine articles. The first article of both forms in the Sacrament; the second article, of priest’s marriage; the third article of the mass; the fourth of ordination or consecration: the fifth article of the Pope; the sixth of monasteries; the seventh article of confession; the eighth of fasting and differences in food; the ninth of the Sacraments. The *Sixth* Article is again divided into two parts. The first part begins: “In the churches of the Pope these things are found.” The *Seventh* Article has three chapters: 1. The power of Keys. *De potestate clavium*; 2. Of the ban; 3. *De gradibus consanguinitatis*. Of the degrees of relationship.

Now Foerstemann defended the double supposition that

these six essays (with the exception of the fourth) were the long sought Torgau Articles and that these had not contained any articles of doctrine at all but only had treated of the abolished abuses. The second supposition proved to be right but not the first one. With the correctness of the second supposition the fable, which with tenacity descended for centuries from generation to generation, that nothing but the twenty-three Visitation Articles, or the real seventeen Schwabach Articles were presented in Torgau was forever discredited. Since Jacobs also accepted Foerstemann's first supposition he translated all of the essays (excepting the fourth) as "Torgau Articles." But Engelhardt had already attacked this supposition and Theo. Brieger rendered us a service in 1888 when he proved that the Torgau Articles by no means are the contents of all of these six articles, but of the second one. This is the essay which under the title, "The Wittenberg theologians' considerations, what his imperial majesty is to be presented concerning the ceremonies and kindred affairs," was taken along to Augsburg. Neither Gussmann nor J. von Walter could render this uncertain.⁷⁴ Yet Gusmann may be correct when he stated (1911) that the fifth essay is in so far connected with the Torgau Articles that it presents, so to speak, a summary record of the oral deliberations of the Wittenberg theologians, while the second is Melanchthon's careful compilation of what these scholars agreed upon.⁷⁵ It reads, in many ways, like a formal defense, intended for the Emperor, for the abolishing of abuses in Saxony. This second essay, as stated above, is divided in an introduction and ten articles: 1. Of human doctrine and human order; 2. *De conjugio sacerdotum*; 3. of both forms; 4. *De missa*; 5. Of confession; 6. *De jurisdictione*; 7. Of ordination; 8. *De votis*. Of monastery life; 9. *De invocatione sanctorum*; 10. Of German song. (Second Part, 19). One

only need read these articles to understand without difficulty that they are, in spite of all later changes, the basis of the second part of the Augsburg Confession. That in everything it was not yet meant to be the final draft of the document to be presented to the Emperor, but that much had to be changed and polished, is to be seen by this Latin remark found after the first paragraph of the introduction: *In hanc sententiam prodest praeponere praefationem longam et rhetoricam*. Also it is stated in the introduction why, in opposition to the electoral request to report on faith and ceremonies, they had concentrated on the latter: An exposition of faith and doctrine is not necessary since even the opponents admit that the doctrine preached in the Elector's land is "Christian and comforting and correct in itself," and the "contention primarily had arisen about certain abuses which had grown due to human precepts and doctrine." Also it is finally declared, "If one should desire to know further what our gracious Lord also permits to be preached, articles may be presented him in which the whole Christian doctrine is stated in order, so that it may be seen that our gracious lord does not permit heretical doctrine but has caused the true gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to be preached in all its purity." There can be no doubt that Melanchthon, when speaking of articles "in which the whole Christian doctrine is stated," thinks of the Schwabach Articles. These the representatives of the Lutheran princes and cities had again adopted in Nuernberg in January, these the Elector handed, March 16, to Hans von Dolzig to be delivered to the Emperor (this of course Melanchthon did not know) and these, later on, really became the foundation of the first part of the Augsburg Confession.

On the 3rd of April, Luther, (accompanied by his assistant, Veit Dietrich) Justus Jonas and Melanchthon left Witten-

berg, expecting to accompany the Elector at least as far as Coburg. Here they hoped to hear "what would be done at the Diet at Augsburg in the presenting of everyone's opinions and ideas," especially as to whether the theologians were to have a part in this or not. As soon as the next day, Monday after Judica, they left Torgau with the Elector and his whole retinue. On the way there were joined, in the order mentioned, by George Spalatin from Altenburg, John Agricola from Eisleben and as a voluntary companion, Kaspar Aquila from Saalfeld. Weimar brought a lengthy rest—word had been received that the Emperor would reach Augsburg at a later date than announced—so that the party first reached Coburg, the point farthest south in the Electorate, on Good Friday, the 15th of April. Here the Elector and his company celebrated Easter while waiting for news of the Emperor's arrival and the time of the Diet. On the 23rd of April he continued his journey. It would have pleased him to take Luther along to Augsburg but due to the fact that the ban rested on Luther, it could not be considered. He did expect to take him as far as Nuernberg, partly because he wished to know him to be in a safe place, and also because he wished to have him as near as possible. But the negotiations with Nuernberg did not lead to this result. Kolde published the pertaining documents,⁷⁶ but he was mistaken when he blamed the "fainthearted" Nuernberg council that was anxious to retain the Emperor's good will at all cost. H. von Schubert⁷⁷ showed that the Nuernbergers were led by reproachless considerations: To open the city for Luther would be no service to the Gospel and would be against the best interests of Luther, the Elector, and their own city. In no way did they falter in their attitude to the Gospel or to Luther. The Elector understood their position quite well and did not feel hurt at all. So Luther was

taken to the fortress Coburg while the Elector, with the others, went on to Augsburg. The route was by way of Bamberg and Forchheim to Nuernberg, where the Elector tarried a day, and then by way of Roth, Weissenburg and Donauwoerth to Augsburg. He entered the city on the 2nd of May, the first of all the princes to arrive for the Diet.

While yet in Coburg, Melanchthon had begun to revise, in matter of style, the so-called Torgau Articles, the "Apology" which was to be presented at the Diet, and had also written the missing preface (C. R. II, 39). Since 1912, we are familiar with this Coburg preface. Willkomm published it from the manuscripts of the University of Jena.⁷⁸ We present this text among the documents in Part Two, document number 12. From this preface three things are evident: 1. The Elector's court and the Wittenbergian theologians at this time expected, aside from God, everything from the Emperor, whose jurisdiction, to decide in this religious question, (thereby differing from Strassburg and the Landgrave) they did not question; and of whom they believed that he would listen to the Word of God and judge accordingly: 2. What had been prepared for the Diet was a defense of the Elector and was to justify the introduction of new church customs in his land; 3. It was to be exclusively the Elector's defense; the other Evangelical estates are not considered, discriminating against the Margrave George, who from the very beginning referred his representatives to Nuernberg and Saxony and with whom he had come to an understanding regarding the articles of faith and the nature of the Sacrament. But much more was this discriminating against the Landgrave, who wished to absent himself from the Diet because he only reluctantly wished to break with the Swiss and altogether refused to do so with the Strassburgers although he realized that the others would not unite with them. The situation

can be briefly described: The Landgrave wanted a union of all Evangelical estates in spite of their differences in the doctrine of the Sacrament; Brandenburg wished to unite only with those with whom they agreed, especially in the matter of the Sacrament, while the Elector did not think of uniting with anyone, but expected to remain and act absolutely alone.

The indefatigable Melanchthon continued to labor in the following days while *en route*, as well as after reaching Augsburg on the document, which was to be presented, particularly on the preface. If all appearances are not deceiving, then we still have a page from Melanchthon's very own hand which is being treasured in the archives at Weimar. It is nothing else than one of these corrected pages of the preface written in Coburg. Foerstemann had already given us its contents without realizing its true character. Kolde and again Gussmann pointed in the right direction, until finally Willkomm⁷⁹ proved the identity of the page and arranged it in its proper connection. We also reproduce this document in the Second Part of this book (document No. 21). The changes consisted mostly in this that while Melanchthon in the first draft of the preface anxiously avoided mentioning Luther's name now, probably since it had been definitely decided that Luther was not to go to Augsburg but remain in Coburg, calls him by name several times:

"When then Luther rebuked this unseemingly preaching and proclamation of indulgences, as was his duty, with a short Latin sermon and yet everywhere diligently treated the papal power with all consideration, the opposition began to press him hard with Latin and German abusive writings, so that he was compelled to point out the ground and reason for his opinion. In this he has spoken about so many great and important matters, how the conscience was to be consoled by faith in Christ, that many educated and honest men have found his doctrine Christian and necessary; how formerly so many false and untrue doctrines of this, how grace and forgive-

ness of sin was to be obtained, were preached and written, and yet the grace of Christ ought to be the most important sermon and doctrine in all Christianity. So Luther first did not touch upon any other abuse but put forth alone this chief doctrine, which is necessary for all Christians to know. The opponents, however, did not cease but again and again have fought against Luther with citations, bans and improper writings and have caused much more abuse, and through their own impropriety have caused themselves so much apostasy that changes followed in many places. At the same time Luther stood firm and fought against all incompetent teachings and unnecessary changes with all his might. For before Luther many have attacked not only the morals of the clergy but many dogmas, which would have caused much more damage if Luther had not offered resistance."

When Melanchthon from Augsburg on the 4th of May wrote to Luther: "I have fashioned the Preface to our apology more rhetorical than I had written it in Coburg," he hardly had these changes in mind but only such as we find in the Preface and Confession found by Schornbaum and published by Kolde. More of this anon.

The first week of the stay in Augsburg, however, brought a far greater change in the Saxon protective document than these changes in the Preface. Hardly had Melanchthon reached Augsburg when he became acquainted with the newly issued publication, Dr. Eck's "Four hundred and four Articles for the Diet in Augsburg." It created an entirely new situation and produced new problems. Already in the just mentioned letter to Luther of May 4, Melanchthon himself touches on the matter, for he wrote: "Eck has compiled a large mass of inferences."

What are the facts regarding Dr. Johann Eck's theses or 404 articles? Until recently a few printed copies were still available but were getting rare. In this country, H. E. Jacobs, in 1908, used the copy of the seminary library at Mt. Airy for his translation.⁷⁹ To be sure, all specialists in Augs-

burg Confession research were acquainted with the articles and some of them, as Plitt, Kolde and Ficker has shown their influence on the Confession. But a critical edition, with a reliable historical introduction and commentary, had not been published until Gussmann did so in this year of the Jubilee.⁸⁰ Here the historical background of Dr. Eck's articles was first made clear and the form, especially the very significant dedication, which was sent to the Emperor, made known to us. Most important of all, Gussmann carefully examined the structure and purpose of the 404 articles and showed their influence on the Augsburg Confession.

The same Ferdinand, who in Speyer (1529) did not hesitate to substitute, in place of the Emperor's his own proposition with the demand that the Worms' Edict be enforced, also had a hand in Eck's articles. As early as July 4, 1524, while at the Regensburg Convent, he had already sent a request to the senate of the Vienna University asking the four faculties to prepare in all haste a compendium which would afford a complete insight in the heretical writings and innovations in the faith recently circulated among the people.⁸¹ Ferdinand came back to this idea in January 1530. In his mandate of January 12, to the members of the *Collegium Archiducale* in Vienna,⁸² he demanded that they were first to examine Luther's writings but were also to arrange carefully, with notations as to sources, all the others of the last twelve years, together with all the old and new heresies, changes in the sacraments and ecclesiastical order, seditious speeches, investives and other errors, in a summary. This was to be in his hands by the first of March 1530. So that they could know what was required of them he also enclosed an outline. The first part was to cover the dogmatical: Old and new apostacies from the Catholic faith were to be listed. Then was to follow: Changes in the sacraments, adulteration

of the Scripture, and confusion in the religious life. Finally the political: Abolishing, opposing and vilifying of all spiritual as well as secular government, riots, bloodshed, disobedience and insolent attack on all divine and human laws. So when the imperial letter of January 11, which authorized Ferdinand to call the diet for the first of March or the first of June of 1530, reached him, he extended his demand, made to the Collegium at Vienna on January 22, so that it was also sent to the other Catholic princes and their universities⁸³ (Second Part, 17). He realized that the time was at hand to make a frontal attack. Armed with the largest possible bill of indictments which was backed by all the theological minds of whole Germany, the papal faction was to advance in closed formation and frustrate, from the very beginning, all efforts at a peaceful agreement. Then the Emperor and the faltering estates would be forced to agree to an unequivocal enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The demand made of the Duke George of Saxony at the time is still in existence. It is not known whether it—and others—were effective. But the Dukes of Bavaria passed it on to their University Ingolstadt⁸⁴ and Eck's 404 Articles are the result. They, therefore, are and remain the result of Ferdinand's vast attempt to bring about the final ruin of the Evangelicals, although they were the only fruit of this action.

The request of the Bavarian Dukes reached the theological faculty in Ingolstadt on the 19th of February. Very little time would be left to write this summary if it was to be ready for the Diet. Furthermore, Dr. Eck, who alone in Ingolstadt could be considered for this task, was a very busy man. But, as Gussmann has said,⁸⁵ his singular talents, characterized not only by a clear brain, a dependable memory, a ready eloquence and unbridled pugnacity, but also by an iron diligence, a vast knowledge, an unscrupulous sophistry and

an audacity, taken aback by nothing, placed him in a position to solve extraordinary problems with remarkable ease. And where, in all the Roman camp, was another theologian to be found who, with the same clearness and care, could whip in shape the vast amount of material, as Eck? As one of the first to enter the battle he had attacked both the Wittenbergers and the Swiss—later on also the Anabaptists; had remained in uninterrupted touch with the Roman court, maintained an intensive intercourse with most of the Catholic leaders and had taken part in all the important conferences, diets and meetings. Besides he could make use of a considerable number of his own and other similar papers as also the outline for a similar undertaking which as early as 1523 he had worked out in minutest detail for Pope Hadrian VI. So even if it sounded phantastic when later on, in his quarrel with Erasmus, he stated that when he took up the pen to write the 404 Articles he had before him 3000 sentences gathered by himself; and even if his love of exaggeration compels us to make a sharp reduction, still his statement may be true in this case. At any rate we know that he undertook the task and that the desired compendium was finished in less than a month. The copy prepared for the Emperor carries March 14 as date of the dedication (Second Part, 22). Yet the document was not wholly what had been desired. First of all, it did not show how the teachings of the heretics could be refuted since it was planned as a series of theses which Eck hoped to refute in an open disputation during the Diet. Calling attention to himself as the well-known and victorious defender of the truth he catalogues in opening: 1. The 41 theses of the Bull *Exsurge Domine* which really were his own; 2. The theses which he had presented in July 1519 at the Leipzig Disputation; 3. The articles for the discussion at Baden in Aargau (May 1526) and the subse-

quent remarks on the documents of the meeting at Bern (January 1528). Then in Articles 66-404, the main part, he takes up his new material giving it the heading, "Errores novi et veteres iam ventilati." In these he loosely followed the outline which had been given the Vienna faculty, for three groups, a dogmatic (66-169), an ecclesiastical (170-332) and a political-social section (333-404), are visible in these articles. Within these groups there is, however, little to be discovered of a definite plan, since the theses are often very arbitrarily joined to each other. Wherever he noticed a deviation from the Roman doctrine or tradition or some thing that is contrary to anything that has been taught him, he drags it forth at the most suitable opportunity and, as it were, tossed it as another fagot on the ever-growing pyre on which the heretics are to suffer a well-earned punishment. Therefore, no better description can be found for the Four hundred and four Articles than the one which in recommendation is stressed on the title page, "*Habes hic compendium errorum, quos hoc saeculo aeditos et conscriptos novimus, immundum certe Augiae stabulum, quod ut bene mundetur, summopere optandum et petendum a Deo Opt. Max.*"

Luther's name dominates the catalog of heretics. He is the accursed heretic, the father of lies, the head of the Lernaean snake. Around him are massed the group of his scholars, disciples and friends: Phil. Melancthon, Johann Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Johann Lange, Jacob Strauss, Antonius Zimmermann and in a certain way also Andrew Bodenstein of Karlstadt. At this point the lines divide. The one leads to the Sacramentarians, the Anabaptists and fanatics. The first in line are the Swiss and their associates, the South-Germans: Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Ambrose Blaurer. Otto Brunfels, Bucer, Benedict Burgauer, Berthold Haller, Capito, Franz Kolb, Conrad Schmid, Stephan Stoer, the Strassburg clergy, the Zuerich and Bern council. Then follow the Anabaptists: Balthasar Hubmaier, Oswald Gläub, John Landsberger. The last in line are the fanatics represented by John Denk and the Zwickau prophets.

Another of Eck's lines is geographic. It cuts straight across

Germany and unites, according to provinces, here individuals, there larger heretical groups. From his immediate neighborhood Eck names John Freisleben, Henry Spelt, Theobald Billikan, Hans von Schwarzenberg and the city of Memmingen; from Nuernberg: Osiander, the two priors George Pressler and Hector Poemer, the clerical college, Sebald Heyden, Ulrich Zeuleysen, Willibald Pirkheimer, Lazarus Spengler and the city's council; of Augsburg: Michael Keller and Urban Rhegius; from Swabia: Michael Stiefel, John Lonicer, Conrad Som and Philipp Mehlhofer; from Hessia: Franz Lambert; from Magdeburg: Eberhard Weidensee, John Fritzhaus and some obscure Premonstrant; from Amsterdam: the local Augustinians. If some well-known names are missing it may be traced back to the fact that he had not quoted from their works.

In the quotations which he offers he not only, to give the whole an appearance of reliability, cites the source from which they are taken but also gives the very page number. And yet in several ways the very opposite of sincere objectivity, yes even a willful attempt to lead the reader astray, is noticed: 1. He does not separate the quotations of the Lutherans from the Sacramentarians, Anabaptists and fanatics but, by throwing them together, gives the impression that there is very little difference between the Lutherans and the others. 2. In connection with some of the quotations he calls attention to the fact that it is an ancient heresy, long ago discarded and damned by the Church, which is now being warmed over again. No more effective way could be imagined to discredit the Lutherans in the eyes of the Catholics. And this was just what Eck had in mind.

But he capped the climax with the preface by which he dedicated the whole to the Emperor (Second Part, 22). It is missing in the printed copies and is only found in the manuscript, sent to the Emperor, a copy of which Gussmann has published. In sending the document to the Emperor Eck hoped to secure his permission to refute the theses in public debate but also to kindle in him—whose mildness,

as shown in the summons for the Diet, he could not understand—a new fire of hatred against all Evangelicals.

The dedication opens with sheer flattery: All Catholics worship in the Emperor the vessel, chosen by divine providence, to defend the faith, to strengthen the Church, to return the priesthood to their former rights, to free Christendom from the bloody tyrant Soliman and give back the whole earth, now in anguish and woe, its lost blessing of peace and good will. Then Luther is painted in the darkest colors. With him, in spite of all fatherly admonition and warning, things have not improved but grown worse. No power of heaven or earth is safe from his delirium. As he dares to lay vandal hands on the glory of God in the highest so he defiles the imperial edicts with his sneering comments. Already near the abyss of despair, he revolts against every law, denies every authority, glorifies sedition, fires rebellion and threatens to deliver poor, goaded Germany over to a nameless slaughter. But the generation of vipers which he has bred outdoes him, if such were possible, in this accursed horror. One heresy gives birth to another. Iconoclasts, Sacrament-defilers, Capernaumites. Neohussites, Anabaptists, modern Epicurites, fanatics, atheists join hands in endless ranks. And how they have all defiled and torn in shreds their mother, the Church! Not enough tears are at hand to bewail the misery of the Church's discord, confusion and devastation. But what distresses Eck more than anything else is the discovery that the sectarians have no scruples in appealing to the recess of the Speyer Diet (1526) and even hope that the Emperor, in his inborn magnanimity, will call their disgraceful injustice right. Therefore, as soon as the Emperor has given his sanction, he, Eck, expects to defend, at Augsburg, all the laws, doctrines, usages and traditions of the Catholic Church and slay the heretics, who wish to appear to the common people as the only true believers, with their own sword.

Ferdinand, in Eck, had a man according to his own heart. His document is nothing but a malicious slander which by heaping sentence upon sentence wish to make certain that every doubt in the endless guilt of these heretics has been answered. But that does not seem to suffice. Eck is not satisfied to only see the enemies unmasked, he demands that they be punished, yes, even destroyed. His dedication knows

only one goal: The phlegmatic Habsburger is to be prompted to action, the wavering estates are to be whipped in line and the enforcement of the Edict of Worms is to be secured in spite of everything.

We need not be surprised at Melanchthon's alarm when he read this book which was being offered for sale in the Augsburg bookstores. It was terrifying enough without the preface, which, as noted, was not contained in the printed edition. He appreciated at once the far reaching effect of this masterstroke of the opposition and saw that his "Apology" of defence would no longer be sufficient. The Apology had to be changed into a confession and also must contain a summary of the articles of faith as Brueck and the Elector had always wished. A writing was necessary *which on the one hand would make clear the connection of the Lutheran church with the old faith and the doctrines accepted at the ancient general synods, and on the other hand would most emphatically stress the differences between them and the Sacramentarians, Anabatists and fanatics.* Only in this way would Eck's attack be successfully halted and the danger to the Lutherans routed or at least the influence of Eck's articles on the Emperor and his council paralyzed.

So the industrious and indefatigable man at once went to work to write as an introduction to his defence of the abolishing of abuses, a short—the Emperor refused to hear any long discussions—and yet concise exposition of the Lutheran faith. The task was made much easier since the Schwabach Articles, the confession of the Franconians and Saxons, were already at hand. They formed an excellent basis no matter how much he wished to extend, supplement or change. They had been written with Luther's help; had been officially adopted by the Brandenburgers and Saxons; they had already been sent to the Emperor by the Elector as a summary

of the faith preached in his domain (although Melanchthon hardly knew this); and above all they were formulated for just this reason, to draw the line between the Lutherans and the Sacramentarians. This last consideration recommended them to Melanchthon for the task at hand far more than the Marburg Articles in which the emphasis had been placed on things that they had in common and not those which separated them.

So we must thank Eck's articles that the Augsburg Confession received its first part, the Articles on Faith. In his letter to Luther (May 11) Melanchthon himself voices this (Corp. Ref. II, 45.): "Our 'Apology' is being sent you, but in truth it is rather a 'Confession.' For the Emperor has not time to listen to lengthy disputations. Yet I have succinctly given nearly all the Articles of Faith, since Eck has circulated the most Satanic slanders against us. Over against these I wished to oppose a remedy. Please give judgment on the whole writing according to your spirit."

But not only the adoption of the Articles of Faith in the writing of defence was due to Eck's slander but in detail Melanchthon's whole arguments are now motivated by his opposition to Eck as has been pointed out by Plitt, Kolde, Ficker, and Willkomm and shown in detail by Gussmann. This opposition is to be seen in every part, the Preface, the Articles of Faith, the Articles against the Abuses and the originally planned Conclusion. Since, thanks to Kolde and Willkomm, we now know the various forms of Melanchthon's Preface this influence is clearly seen. In the first draft Melanchthon already sought to blame the uncouth preaching of indulgences and also Luther's opponents for the changes in the religious situation and the abolishing of abuses. He did the same in the second draft although he now calls Luther by name. But although he there, in regard to Luther's ap-

pearance, only stated, "it had been done in a Latin sermon" (therefore, not before the open public), in the third draft (Second Part, 31), he plainly said, "in several minor writings in school and not before the people, without slandering or injuring the Pope." The action of the Elector in regard to Luther and his teachings is more clearly defined as demanded by conditions and conscience: "Therefore since this teaching had been accepted by many pious people so that it would have been difficult for the Elector of Saxony, in view of so many splendid and learned people who clung to it, and in view of his own conscience, to undertake anything definite against the originators of this doctrine" (Compare the whole section in the Second Part, 31).

We note three facts in the Preface which were caused by Eck's writing: 1. A sharp division from the Sacramentarians, Anabaptists and Bohemians; 2. A clear statement as to the beneficial effects of the new doctrine in Saxony as are shown in the comforting, truly Christian conditions in church, schools and life, which are a refutation of Eck's absolutely opposite statements: 3. The endeavor to minimize as much as possible the deviation, in public services and other church usages, from the Catholic Church. That probably is also the reason why in the third draft of the Preface the statements regarding the abuses are considerably shorter. But when Melancthon says of the mass that the difference in its celebration in the Electorate is merely in that the German hymn is also used besides the Latin he has reached the border of sophistry. For the *canon missae*, which although it was not found in the liturgy of the mass in the first centuries, but had gradually become its very heart, was after all abolished from the Evangelical mass, not to mention the abolishing of the private mass, etc.

But not only in the Preface—which later on was aban-

doned—but in the articles themselves this influence of Eck's writing is felt. Here also the sharp contrast between them and the Swiss and Anabaptists is seen. Melancthon disagrees with the Swiss in the doctrine of original sin; the two natures in Christ, the means of grace, the Church, Baptism, confession, the Sacraments, the secular government, and writes in Article 10: "Here the opposite teaching is condemned," and in the 24th Article (according to the oldest form) even says, "Here is condemned the unchristian doctrine which denies that the Body and Blood of Christ is truly present." Emphasizing the differences in the teachings of the Lord's Supper was certainly to be expected after all that we today know about the days of Rotach and Schmalkalden, as was also his reluctance to associate in any way with the Strassburgers and Swiss; but that he voiced both so energetically and, in spite of Marburg, also formulated all the other points in opposition to the Swiss, can hardly be explained in any other way than due to his reaction to Eck's grouping the Lutherans with the Swiss and other Sacramentarians. Naturally his line of demarcation against the Anabaptists is even sharper. In five separate places we hear the unrelenting "Damnant Anabaptistas" and in four other places their views are, at least objectively, dismissed. The stressing by name of the Lutheran agreement with the old, yes, with the one holy Christian Church, the same through all ages, is not only found—as in the Schwabach Articles—in the article on the Church but going beyond these Articles also in the First Article of the Confession with its recognition of the Nicæan Creed and the rejection of the Manichæans, Valentians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans and Somosatenes; in the Second where it condemns the Pelagians; in the Third which recognizes the Apostles' Creed and undeniably borrows the whole passage regarding the Son of God from it, also in

the passage found in the *Editio princeps*, "and we condemn all heretics who oppose this article;" in the Sixth appealing to Ambrosius; in the Eighth with its condemnation of the Donatists; in the Tenth with a formulation of the essence of the Lord's Supper which goes so very far in meeting Rome; in the Twelfth which condemns the Novatians; the Eighteenth with its reference to Augustine with these significant words, "So that it may be seen that nothing new is here taught," in the Twentieth with the repeated reference to Ambrose and Augustine. The epilog of the first part goes farthest in this matter, where Melancthon writes: "This is about the sum of our doctrine, in which as can be seen, there is nothing that varies from the Scriptures, or from the Church Catholic or from the Church of Rome as known from its writers." Melancthon especially aimed at Eck's "Assertio" (Gussmann 103ff) who calls the sentences condemned by the bull as heretical, erroneous and scandalous and declares their author a heathen and publican. A fuller discussion of this phase of the subject will be given in my forthcoming book: *New Studies on the Augsburg Confession*. That Melancthon, moreover went beyond his source, the Schwabach Articles, and added Articles 18-21 can be explained in part also from his opposition to Eck's sentences which completely garbled Luther's doctrine of Free Will and Faith and declared him an enemy of good works (Theses 187-208).

In the second part, regarding the abolishing of abuses, it is important for our consideration to note that the church fathers have been far more extensively quoted in proof of the assertions that are made than in the Torgau Articles. Eck's Theses 294-298 are also considered in Article 23; and Article 28 speaks of the *Horae canonicae* and the observance of Sunday in opposition to Eck's 177-179 and 279 theses. When we mentioned above that in Melancthon's closing words of

the whole confession, which, however, were not adopted, an opposition to Eck's sentences is also to be noted we thought of the section which Willkomm quotes in 343ff (Second Part, 32). Of this more later on.

Melanchthon worked rapidly. The new form of the Confession was finished May 11, so that on the same day the Elector was able to send it to Luther in Coburg. In the accompanying letter (Corp. Ref. II, 47) the Elector said: "After you and our other learned men at Wittenberg had, at our gracious thought and desire, made a draught of the Articles of Religion concerning which there is now strife, it is our wish to let you know that Melanchthon has further revised the same and drawn them up into a Form, which we are sending you herewith. And it is our gracious desire that you would feel free to further consider and revise the same Articles; and where you deem it wise and well to take away or add anything, please do so on the margin. Send back the same carefully secured and sealed without delay, that we may be ready and prepared for the arrival of his Imperial Majesty whom we expect in a short time" (Second Part, 24). On the 15th of May, Luther returned the document and wrote regarding it to the Elector (Erl. E. 54, 145): "I have read the Apology of M. Philip. It pleases me right well, and I do not know what to improve or change in it; neither would it be proper, for I cannot tread so gently and quietly. Christ our Lord help that it bear much and great fruit, as we hope and pray. Amen" (Second Part, 26). In spite of the ironic reference to Melanchthon's ability to tread lightly, Luther's words are hardly anything else but his complete agreement with its contents. When we remember what we have said above, especially regarding the Preface, we can fully understand Luther's irony.⁸⁷ We do not know whether or not Luther added any marginal remarks.

A far different question, however, is what all the document, sent to Luther contained. In the past much has been said about it, as well as about Luther's share in writing the Augsburg Confession, which is untrue. Today we know with certainty that it contained three sections: 1. The often mentioned Preface of Melanchthon; 2. The Articles of Faith; 3. The Articles justifying the abolishing of abuses. But about the form of each of these parts we know very little in detail. We do not possess a single copy of the document sent to Luther, nor any other copy going back to those days. The copy, in question of time, nearest is the one of the 31st of May, which the Nuernberg representatives sent home with the notation: "It still lacks an article or two at the end and also the conclusion on which the Saxon theologians are still working." This, in a German translation by Baumgaertner, was found by Schornbaum in Nuernberg and published by Kolde in 1906.⁸⁶ Definite conclusions regarding the individual articles on May 11, however, cannot be drawn from the copy of May 31, since Melanchthon's letter (Corp. Ref. II, 59-61) to Luther (May 22) states that he had made many changes in the document and daily found much to change. "In the Apology we daily change many things. The Articles on Vows, as it was more meager than it should be, I have removed and supplied its place with a complete discussion. I am now treating of the Power of the Keys. I wish you had examined the Articles of Faith whether there is nothing wrong therein according to your judgment. The remaining ones we shall treat as well as we can. One must change from time to time and adapt it to the situation." So for example we do not know if the above mentioned extraordinary conclusion of the first part: "This is about the Sum of the Doctrine in the Electorate of Saxony, in which there is nothing that is contrary to the Holy Scriptures or the Church Catholic or the

Church of Rome, in so far as it is founded on tried and accepted teachers," which is found in the copy of May 31 was already written on May 11 and in Luther's hands when he was reading the Confession. Only the 28th Article we have, as it seems, in the form presented to Luther (Second Part, 27). It is a unique presentation of the Lutheran view of the Power of the Keys, the power of the popes and bishops, since later on through all the days of Augsburg we do not again hear such a clear statement in this matter. It opens with the courageous words: "Of the power of the Keys it was formerly held that *potestas clavium*, by virtue of the Keys, is the spiritual and secular government and that the Pope through it had received the power to crown or discard kings and no one is to become king without the Pope's confirmation. Such deception has been practiced that those who believed otherwise were condemned as heretics" and it closes with "And if the Pope makes laws he does not do this by virtue of the power of Keys but makes such laws as any other secular prince, all of which he has no authority to do nor to dispense with or annul them again as a prince frees a common thief. And when these laws and dispensations are against the Word of God we owe God more obedience than man as has been said above. For, since the Keys are nothing but preaching the gospel and administering the Sacraments, the Pope has no more power through the Keys than any minister as the Canons themselves say when they declare in the *Articulo Mortis* that a minister may absolve all *casus reservatos*." in the draft of May 31 the Pope is not mentioned at all, in the following recensions, even the bishops are treated with a strange accommodation (compare the author's "New Studies in the A. C."). So Luther's opinion concerning the document of May 15, in no way must be used as an opinion of the present Confession. The document, after Luther returned

it, passed through some minor, as well as, important major changes.

To be sure, it has been claimed that the document on May 22 was returned to Luther. In America, this has been held by Dr. Krauth in his *Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession*, p. 26-31, and also by Schmauk in *Confessional Principle*, 1911 p. 363-268. There seem to be two facts which speak for this: 1. It seems strange that the Confession, returned by Luther on May 15, did not reach Augsburg until the 22nd, as Melanchthon writes in a letter of that date to Luther: *Inter scribendum sunt nobis redditae tuae literae posteriores per tabellarium D. Apelli*; 2. Another passage of the same letter seems to warrant this. Yet at the same time this supposition must, at present, stand as unproven. The passage in Melanchthon's letter is as follows: *Vellem percurrisses articulos fidei in quibus si nihil putaveris esse vitii, reliqua utcunque tractabimus*. Regarding it Schmauk remarks p. 366: "What Melanchthon meant to say here is a problem. He opens with an unfilled wish ("Vellem"), and yet closes with a definite future intention ("tractabimus"), apparently based on the fulfilment of the wish. The meaning would be clear if Knaake's hypothesis that Luther had not yet returned the document sent on the 11th were true; or it would be clear on Kolde's suggestion that Melanchthon had not yet looked at the document, returned by Luther and coming perhaps just while Melanchthon was writing. Or, if Luther had sent back the Apologia (the second part of the later Confession), and not the Articles of Faith; or if Melanchthon was sending Luther the Confession a second time, Melanchthon's words were clear. Possibly Melanchthon was elliptical: (If I be not asking too much) I wish you would examine the Articles of Faith (whether or not you think there is some thing defective in them; and) if you should think there is nothing wanting in them, (then) we will elaborate the remaining ones in like manner (as we already treated the Articles on Abuses)." But 1. It is not impossible that a letter carrier from Coburg had reached Augsburg late;⁸⁸ 2. It is by no means certain that the words in Melanchthon's letter of May 22, "inter scribendum sunt nobis redditae tuae literae posteriores per tabellarium D. Apelli" refer to Luther's letter of May 15 which had just been received while he wrote and had not had the time to read. Parts of the May 22 letter read like answers to Luther's May 15 letter, also we actually know that Luther wrote to Justus Jonas on May 19 and to the Elector on May 20. Why cannot the words "literae posteriores" refer to these last

letters received in Augsburg? 3. The difficulty vanishes if the punctuation in Melanchthon's letter is altered. I offer this change: *Vellem, percurrisses articulos fidei, in quibus si nihil putaveris esse vitii. Reliqua utcumque tractabimus*, and translate as in the above text. That would produce the following situation. The returned Confession and Luther's letter of the 15th had been received by the Elector in Augsburg. Luther's remark in it regarding Melanchthon's ability to tread lightly had reference to the Preface and especially the second part, the Articles on Abuses. And Luther censured the far reaching concessions that were made in just this part as he also voiced his disappointment that a more determined stand had not been taken. Of this part Melanchthon speaks in the letter: *In Apologia quotidie multa mutamus. Locum de votis, quia erat exilior justo exemi, supposito alia disputatione eadem de re paulo uberiore. Nunc de potestate clarium etiam disputo*. Then he goes on to speak especially of the Articles of Faith: *Vellem, percurrisse articulos fidei etc.* Luther had written nothing about them since they rested on the basis of the Schwabach Articles, which had already been accepted by the Franconians and Saxons. So it seems to Melanchthon that Luther had not examined them at all and therefore he wrote: *Vellem*, etc. But it was just the *articuli fidei*—as we shall see—which at this time May 15 as well as 22 were not finished; and so: *Reliqua utcumque tractabimus*. Even if it should be correct that the above mentioned form of Article 28 had been sent to Luther he nevertheless could speak of Melanchthon's soft and gentle treading. The assertion that the form of the Confession sent to Luther May 11 contained the original form of article 28 would at the same time explain why on May 15 Luther did not miss a paragraph on the Pope while he did so later on.

Since the finding of the mentioned Nuernberg copy we now know the form the document had acquired on May 31 (Second Part, 37). Like the copy sent to Luther (May 11) it also consisted of three parts: Preface, Articles of Faith and the Articles on the Abuses. Compared with the final form the last part shows many deviations but none of importance. The article "Of the Power of the Keys" agreeing with Melanchthon's letter of May 22, is changed to "De Potestate Ecclesiastica," The closing sentence of the articles on the Mass, with its sharp word against the Sacramentarians, has already been mentioned.

More remarkable are the deviations in the Article of Faith from the final form of the Confession. The two articles: "On Faith and Good Works" and "Of the Worship of Saints" are still missing, while the articles presented show a considerable difference in their construction and even the order of succession has been changed in several places. Kolde,^{88a} who has published the Nuernberg manuscript, stated what is important in the matter in these words: "Following the first article, of God, the second, of Original Sin, the third, of the Son of God *who justifies and sanctifies through the Holy Ghost*, comes a fourth, corresponding to the later fifth article (The Office of Teaching the Gospel), on *Obtaining the Holy Ghost* through the Word and the Sacraments. The article on Justification does not appear until the fifth place, and, in comparison with the later statement, in a form somewhat less dogmatical. The doctrine of the *imputatio* (*Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justitia coram Deo*) is not yet clearly expressed. In article six more stress at that time was laid on the "through grace," later more on the "faith." The later articles seven and eight, which are essentially in the same form, are still combined in *one* article and clearly show that Melancthon's endeavor was not to treat of the Church but of the "unity of the Church." The article "On Baptism" was then an article on the necessity of *infant baptism*, while the one on the Lord's Supper had its present form. The later article eleven, *de confessione*, was intended to treat of private absolution. This was followed with slight variations and changes of order by the articles on "Repentance" and the "Use of the Sacraments," and then (in an order which was soon thereafter changed) the 13th article, "Of Human Ordinances," Of the *ordo ecclesiasticus* (evidently omitted in the manuscript), and 15th, Of Civil Affairs. The following 16th, which was later changed to the 17th, "Of the Second Coming of Christ," originally treated, in a by no means biblical fashion of the

resurrection of the dead ("That all deceased shall be awakened with the same body of theirs in which they had died"). It turned against the doctrine of the "followers of Origin and the Anabaptists" of the ultimate redemption of the damned and the devils, and rejects, besides Chiliasm, specially those who "in Jewish manner teach that the promise of the possession of the Promised Land is to be considered in a corporeal sense." This is followed by the article (17) on the "Freedom of the Will," the "Cause of Sin" (18) and the Summary, with their wording only slightly different from the final form.

Of the Preface Kolde in 1906 still could rightly say that it was the most important part of the Nuernberg manuscript of May 31, since up to the time of the finding of this manuscript it was unknown. But now (since 1912) that we know the Coburg form of the Preface and even a later changed form, (Second Part, 20 and 21) this statement of Kolde's is no longer true.

Nevertheless, the form of May 31 still retains its value for us. The influence Eck's 404 Articles had on it has already been noted above. This third form of the Preface (Second Part, 31) differs from its predecessors mainly in three things: In its opening, which voices its faith in the Emperor's mercy and justice and of whom everything is expected ("his electoral grace places next to God, his whole hope and trust in his imperial grace and mercy"), is far more extensive and speaks of the Emperor's love for peace in a highly "rhetorical" manner; 2. In its lengthy discourse, regarding the Elector's house which stresses his merits, especially his loyalty. Due to this copiousness former sections, which maintained that in matters of faith the Scriptures can be the only guide and that from the time of Paul until Hadrian (1522/23) it had been recognized as one's right, as well as duty, to protest against and abolish abuses which had arisen in the church, fell by the wayside; 3. That it

showed in detail how well regulated the religious and church affairs were in the Electorate of Saxony. True this third Preface is decidedly more "rhetorical" but it has also lost in firmness and backbone. We are learning to appreciate Luther's words about "treading softly" more and more.

That on the 31st of May Melanchthon and the Saxons still thought that such a preface would serve their purpose indicates two things:

1. The complete misunderstanding on the part of the Saxons of the Emperor's intentions. They still hoped that the Emperor could be convinced of the truth of their doctrine and their right to abolish abuses in the Electorate. A passage in the quoted letter of Melanchthon's (May 22) helps, at least in a measure, to understand this mistake: "The Emperor is not yet here, and, it appears to me, will scarcely arrive before Pentecost. He has drawn neither the Dukes of Bavaria nor the Duke of Saxony into consultation about the religious affairs, for he desires to remain impartial. It is reported that there are two opinions in the Emperor's council: one, that he should not hear the Lutherans, but have them speedily condemned in a public decree; the other, that he should hear them in an orderly way and remove the abuses in the church. This latter is said to be the opinion of the imperial chancellor Mercurinus, an exemplary and very reasonable man, who is reported as saying that, in his bodily weakness, he followed the Emperor, inasmuch as he thought that the religious matters would end well, and consequently he would not be participating in compulsory measures. We have heard nothing which we think more worthy to communicate. And I myself have a special admiration for this utterance and judgment of this very sensible man. May Christ be with us and support us, and so rule all counsels that they may serve for peace and the general welfare. Mer-

curinus has also said: "The Diet of Worms proved that nothing substantial can be accomplished with compulsory measures! For he was in Worms in the Emperor's retinue and council" (C. R. II, 59f.). To what straws men clung in such a portentous hour!

2. A complete ignoring of the faith and welfare of the other Evangelical or even Lutheran territories. When others are mentioned it is in reference only to the Anabaptists, Swiss, and Sacramentarians, eventually, also the Landgrave (though not by name), and if they are mentioned it is only as a dark background against which the Elector and his country stand out so much the brighter. Not even George of Brandenburg or Nuernberg are considered and yet they had been in close touch with them since the Diet of Speyer. Neither is the general council, to which they habitually referred, mentioned by a single word. They simply considered the Diet as such. Granted that the Elector and the Wittenberg reformers, when once they had won their own religious freedom, expected to help others to gain the same rights; and no matter how much we emphasize the fact that the Emperor in his call asked for the opinion of every individual prince and city; and even if we admit that the Elector in recent years had only too often experienced the bitter truth that too many cooks spoil the broth, we still can hardly come to any other conclusion than that the Saxons displayed a selfishness and lack of love toward their fellow-Lutherans as one would hardly have expected. Gussmann, therefore, calls the document of May 31 "narrow-chested."⁸⁹ If we then also keep in mind the secret negotiations with the imperial court, instigated in January, begun in March and now in May carried on in all secrecy; and if we remember that such negotiations were being held simply for the benefit of the Saxons, then this impression is heightened. In opposition—a

justifiable and necessary opposition—to a federation that was not based on the unity of faith they were now on the way to a particularism which no longer knew its own fellow-believers.

Still God found a way to lead the Saxons out of this narrowness and bring the Lutherans to a *common* confession of faith. He demolished, blow by blow, their foolish hopes of gaining the Emperor's approval and, through the splendid confessions of the other Lutheran princes helped them to realize how self-evident and precious it is to have brothers in the faith. Rightly Schmauk gave a whole chapter of his book, on the origin of the Augsburg Confession—although at the time many of the details were still unknown to him—the heading: “The Hand of God in the Formation of the Augsburg Confession.”

It was no easy matter to induce the Elector to leave his particularistic ways. The Landgrave of Hesse, who after all had come to Augsburg, forgot all the treatment he had received in matters of his planned federation and declared that he was willing to join the Saxon Confession (although in no wise completely satisfied with its present form). This was done probably very shortly after the Margrave George's arrival (May 29) by the councillor of Ansbach and the representatives of Reutlingen and Nuernberg.⁹⁰ But the Elector would not listen to them. To the Nuernbergers he said through Chancellor Brueck: “His electoral Grace did not like too many counsellors in such an affair, for the devil is fond of too much counsel.” They obtained, according to their letter of May 17 to the Nuernberg Council (C. R. II, 53), merely the promise that they would be allowed to see the Confession when it had been returned by Luther. But also the fulfilment of this promise was postponed. The Confession had been returned about two weeks before they received the above mentioned copy of May 31 which they forwarded to the council

of their city. Still as late as June 8, the Brandenburger Chancellors and the Nuernberger Kress, complain that the Confession was made only in the name of the Elector. They thought what Melanchthon had said in the Preface regarding the Elector he easily could also say about all of the princes and estates (C. R. II, 88f.). Still the Confession even then would have been primarily a confession of the Saxons in which the others had joined. However, about this time the Elector began to listen to reason.

The previously mentioned secret negotiations with the Emperor had taken a very unexpected turn. Since this turn of affairs was the weapon in God's hand to demolish the Elector's particularistic ideas and lead to a common confession of all Lutherans, we shall examine it more closely. We owe it to the eighth essay in Hans v. Schubert's "Bekennnisbildung und Religionspolitik 1529-30" that we are able to say anything certain regarding it. Since this essay, like everything that has been produced by the German Augustana critics since 1906, and even since 1888, has been ignored by the American historians, I will take up the matter in detail.

The Elector's representatives for the secret negotiations with the Emperor, Count William of Nassau, William of Neuenahr and the electoral counselor Hans von Dolzig were to meet the Emperor on his journey from Italy to Augsburg (compare p. 38). They finally reached Innsbruck on April 30, after wandering through Lorrain, Savoy, Switzerland, Upper-Italy and Algau, only five days before the Emperor. On April 19 or 20, while still at Coburg, the Elector had sent a special fast messenger to his representatives urging them to greater haste in their negotiations with the Emperor. But since the messenger had better information regarding the Emperor's route he reached the imperial court before the representatives. So the Elector's message reached wrong

hands, namely, those of the imperial Vice-chancellor and the above mentioned Henry of Nassau. Both answered the Elector, who in the meantime had reached Augsburg (May 2), in a most friendly way. This confirmed his sanguine hopes to such an extent that he not only wrote a letter to Count Henry of Nassau on May 4, expressing his great joy, but also on the 5th wrote to Hans of Minckwitz, then in Innsbruck, where the Emperor had in the meantime arrived. Minckwitz was to announce the Elector's arrival in Augsburg to the Emperor and express his willingness to meet him in Innsbruck or somewhere on the way.⁹¹ Before Minckwitz reached Innsbruck Dolzig had submitted all the matters, excepting those of religion, to the Emperor. These included the questions regarding the electorate, marriage contract, a fair for Gotha, safe conduct for the Countess of Brandenburg, and the current reports regarding Wuerttemberg. The Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr had agreed to speak with the Emperor about the religious matters. Their first accounts led them to believe that their efforts were effective so quarters were privately engaged for the Elector. But on the 8th of May, Dolzig was compelled to report to his master that the Emperor had refused to have him come to Innsbruck, that he had postponed his decision in all the other matters; that he was very much wrought up because the Elector had arranged Evangelical preaching in Augsburg; that all arguments regarding such preaching had made no impression on the Emperor and that shortly an official request would reach the Elector to discontinue this preaching. Added to this was what at the time was not told the Elector but is now certain from Italian sources found by Brieger and published by J. W. Richard, C. Stange and the catholic St. Ehses, that on the same day (May 8) the Emperor had received the Elector's confession (The Schwabach Articles in a poor, hasty Latin translation).⁹²

It made a very bad impression on the Emperor. It at once was remarked that the confession was, "In the beginning the most sacred and catholic of the world but in the middle and the end full of poison." The fact that it recognized only two sacraments was enough to condemn it. The papal légate Campegius reported it to Rome on May 9, although at the time he had not seen it. What he had heard regarding the Confession in the imperial council was enough to form an opinion. On the same day, while riding with the Emperor, he made two requests: That the Emperor would not receive any one who did not confess wholly and completely all the articles of the old religion; 2. that he was not to permit anyone to dispute with him in matters of this religion. The Emperor promised and asked him to put down his opinion in Italian as to what procedure was to be followed and what remedies were to be applied. The document that resulted was the famous "Instructions" which demanded the extermination of these stiff-necked heretics with fire and sword. Maurenbrecher has again brought these instructions to light (Second Part, 23). The Emperor fully agreed with the document. On the 12th of May, the Bavarian Dukes and Duke George of Saxony came to Innsbruck and by the next day Campegius had these old enemies of the Reformation under his thumb.⁹³ Melancthon hardly realized the seriousness of the deliberations, which were taking place in Innsbruck, when he wrote to Luther under date of May 11: *Habentur de cervicibus nostris comitia*, i.e., at the Emperor's they are holding a diet over our heads (C. R. II, 45), since he had placed his whole hopes (in his letter of May 22) in the sick imperial chancellor Mercurinus!

At that time also a clean copy of Eck's theses, containing the dedication, probably reached the Emperor to have its evil effect on him.⁹⁴ But it did not turn him from his

promise in the summons for a diet. He still was ready to hear everyone's opinion. But he was also more than ever determined to hear these opinions, if possible, in private and use his office as judge to declare the Catholic religion as the only true one. Furthermore he was determined to use the Edict of Worms against all those who would not submit to his official judgment. All of his actions of the next weeks and months were animated by this decision.

Between the 13th and 15th of May, Count von Neuenahr and Dolzig brought the Emperor's answer to the Elector's request. They promised nothing and what was of the greatest importance, the position the Emperor expected to maintain in matters of religion, was not even mentioned. The Elector was so angered by this omission that he was about to leave Augsburg and return to Saxony. Deeply grieved, Neuenahr and Dolzig returned to Innsbruck and reported to the Emperor (Second Part, 28). Their report occasioned Charles' message of May 27 to the Elector which has been published by Foerstemann (Second Part, 29). Even if they originally were only instructions as to what the messengers, the Counts von Nassau and Neuenahr, were to report to the Elector, still they really were meant for him and in fact were delivered to him. In it the Emperor accused the Elector of despising the Edict of Worms, which had been unanimously adopted by him and all of the other six Electors (including his own brother, the Saxon Elector Fredrick) and suppressing it to its own disgrace and the mortal harm of the Empire, and furthermore had even joined with other enemies of the Edict and as their leader had endangered the Empire and all Christendom. He expected the Elector to enter no more agreements and "like the others deport himself willingly and obediently as it is proper for an honorable Elector." Although a personal meeting with him or the prince in Innsbruck or in

Muenchen—which was on his way from Innsbruck to Augsburg—would be very welcome, still, the Emperor repeated, that even then an agreement would only be possible if the Elector was not tied by other alliances and would in good will behave himself as is proper. He closes with the determined words: “At that, he or they both may come to Muenchen or not, as they see fit” but he does demand that they “with their preachers absolutely cease their preaching and avoid much disputation.”

This imperial document showed the Elector how he had deceived himself in regard to the Emperor. On the 31st of May he answered with dignity, yet determination (Second Part, 30): “The Emperor is in error when he states that his brother Fredrick had agreed to the Worms Edict. Its contents have nothing to do with His Imperial Majesty and the honor of the empire but only with God’s eternal Word and our holy faith. These could be so little opposed that at every diet since Worms the edict has been ignored and a free, Christian council had been unanimously demanded. He is well able to give an account of his faith as he also knows how to expose the abuses in the preaching and in other matters. These abuses are the cause of much of the religious dissension and for just this reason he has come to the Diet to express his “opinions and ideas.” The Emperor’s right to appeal to the Edict of Worms is doubtful for the imperial call states in clear words that it is impossible to declare a thing wrong “unheard and unconsidered.” As to the federation the Elector answered: It is well known that in matters of the gospel he and his brother have never depended on federations but solely upon God. Such federations, however, as he had entered, had been made necessary as protection and defence, in the Emperor’s absence, against attack and danger, and were easily explained when one remembered these

ominous threats that were afloat. It is also an undeniable fact that the opponents had started this making of agreements. As to the Emperor's demand that preaching cease, he pleaded, urged by his conscience, that the Emperor would not insist upon this. Their preaching is based on the word of God, is necessary yet loyal, checks and instructs the people and had also been allowed in Speyer. To forbid it now would cause only dissension and awaken the suspicion that the Emperor, contrary to his own word of the summons, expected to suppress the Evangelical doctrine without a hearing. The whole valiant letter closes with the solemn warning not to let anyone turn him from the goal set in the summons. Anyone who urges differently does so to the ruin of the Emperor, Empire and all Christendom. He, the Elector, expected to act as he can account to God, his imperial Majesty, the estates and everybody.

The Elector had not received an answer by the 10th of June, not even by the 12th. The fact that it did not arrive at all—the Emperor reached Augsburg on the 15th—must have finally completely opened the Elector's eyes to the fact that nothing good could be expected of the Emperor either for himself or for the gospel. So it is not surprising that suddenly he became more willing to unite with other Lutherans in a common confession. Something else also complicated the situation.⁹⁵ The delegation sent to Augsburg to arrange for the Emperor's arrival, declared that, as Emperor crowned at Rome, Charles would settle the religious controversy at the Diet; the papal delegate would be admitted in his full character and commission, with precedence over all other ambassadors and electors, and that the Emperor expected to celebrate the festival of Corpus Christi, with all the estates, with all the papistic ceremonies. This promised little good for the Evangelicals. Then came the news that the

imperial Chancellor Mercurinus, the only true friend the Elector had at the imperial court, had died June 5. He is reported to have said: "There is nothing I desire so much as to see the Elector of Saxony and his allies persevere courageously in the profession of the gospel, and call for a free religious council." Also the fact that Luther's courageous "Admonition to the Clergy Assembled at the Diet of Augsburg" (Second Part, 33), which in a way was to take the place of his personal appearance, had just then left the press and was being circulated in Augsburg (June 7) where it caused much comment, hardly helped to strengthen the Elector's hope of a peaceful settlement. Even if it (the admonition) spoke of the Emperor with consideration ("At Worms the noble blood, our dear lord Emperor Charles was compelled to do your wishes and condemn me and my whole doctrine") it nevertheless did not spare the Pope, bishops, priests and monks and recited a long list of abuses fostered by them. The diet, said Luther, is not necessary on his or the Evangelical's account, but it is necessary on account of the clergy and the poor people under their jurisdiction and for their sake the Emperor must act so that these conditions do not grow worse.⁹⁶

Not later than the 15th of June, the day the Emperor entered Augsburg, the Elector decided to drop the particularistic character of the confession and admit the other estates as co-confessors. For on this day the two delegates from Nuernberg, Christoph Kress and Clemens Volkamer wrote to the council of Nuernberg: "Now the Saxons' short summary of faith has been completed in German and we send your Wisdom herewith a copy. Preface and conclusion are still lacking. Melanchthon declared that these two parts probably might be so changed that they be put forth, not in the Elector's name alone, but in the name of

all the united Lutheran princes and estates, as he has already made such changes in the German articles. For when the Latin text still states that this or that is preached in the Electorate, the German already has substituted a general term comprising all the estates in place of "Electorate of Saxony." Such summary your Wisdom will please hand to the ministers and jurists to be considered by them and inform us of your thought and opinion" (C. R. II, 105). Gussmann was fortunate in finding (1925) this German copy in the Germanic Museum in Nuernberg. He reported on it in the "Theologisches Literaturblatt" and "Kirchliche Zeitschrift" of the same year. He intended to publish it, but the owners of the manuscript had granted this privilege to Johannes Ficker who in the same year mentioned it in the "Christliche Welt." Last July Ficker gave it to the public in an expensive facsimile edition accompanied by an introduction and a text edition. The title is: *Die Augsburgerische Konfession in ihrer ersten Gestalt als gemeinsames Bekenntnis deutscher Reichstaende zum 25. Juni 1530 in Lichtdrucktafeln herausgegeben im Einverstaendnis der von Scheurl'schen Familie von der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Universitaet Halle-Wittenberg, Halle 1930.* We give the text of this valuable edition in Part II, document 38 (with corrections of the errors which crept into Ficker's copy). Out of consideration for our English readers we present it in a partly modernized form without however changing the contents.

This form of the Confession of June 15 is of the greatest importance. It differs considerably from the one of May 31 which was found by Schornbaum and published by Kolde in 1906 and which we also offer in modernized form in Part II, 37. It practically covers, as far as the articles are concerned, the final form which was read on the 25th of June. As the Nuernberg representatives reported in the above mentioned letter of June 15, the preface and conclusion are missing. Melancthon's preface, which we know from the form of May 31, (Part II, 31) had been dropped since the Con-

fession had ceased to be a separate Saxon confession while the conclusion, proposed by Melancthon, (Part II, 32) is not included. Both were to be replaced by new ones. The articles themselves cover those of the form which was read on June 25 so that everything we said above p. 72f. regarding the form of May 31 and the final form can be said of the one of June 15. To supplement we stress a few things. The very first sentence of the First Article shows that it no longer is purely a Saxon confession, for the words: "In the Electorate of Saxony it is with common consent taught" have been replaced by: "First it is taught with common consent." The antithesis of the First Article is already enlarged while the one of the Second Article, which was still missing on May 31, is included. The fourth Article now treats of justification and has, in place of the statement that the Holy Spirit is received through faith, the new statement concerning the imputation of faith for righteousness with the proof passage Rom. 3 and 4. If this has shortened the Fourth, the Fifth is now longer and is in the final form. The Sixth Article now has the quotation from Luke 17. The Seventh Article of May 31 is already divided into the Seventh and Eighth. In the Ninth, infant baptism is already in the second place and the Tenth for the first time has the equivocal form "under the form of bread and wine." The Eleventh already has the quotation from Scripture, as also the Twelfth where, in comparison with May 31, the antitheses are reversed. The Thirteenth sounds more complete. The Fourteenth, which is missing in the Nuernberg translation, probably due to an error of the copyist, is included. The statements in the Fifteenth are reversed. In the Sixteenth the Scripture passage is not only included but the place is named where it is to be found. In the Seventeenth the reference to the followers of Origin as well as the conquest of the promised land has been deleted. In the Eighteenth the second sentence is also enlarged and the quotation from Augustin is more complete. The Nineteenth omits the passage from Hosea 13 and replaces it with one from John 8. While on May 31 the two articles "Of Faith and Good Works" and "Of Worship of Saints" yet missing they are both included in the manuscript of June 15. Although the closing sentence of the First Part is fuller it unfortunately no longer has the statement regarding the agreement of the Confession with the teachings of "the common Christian Church, yes even the Roman Church" with the same clear restrictions as on May 31. The statement "insofar they are founded in the

proven and accepted teachers" has been modified to, "as far as can be seen from the writings of the Fathers."

The Second Part is a thorough revision of the text of May 31 as may be seen from the considerably expanded form. Already in the First Article, "Of Both Forms in the Sacrament" which agrees more than the others with the previous form, aside from Cyprian and Gelasius, attention is also called to Jerome, and Cusanus is likewise mentioned. The fuller use of proofs from the Fathers and the canons of the ancient church as well as the greater exactness in stating where these proofs may be found is to be noticed in the whole Second Part. In the closing sentence of the 22nd Article, participation in the Corpus Christi procession is refused. In the completely recast 24th Article the position to those who deviate from the doctrine of the Sacrament is toned down; for while yet in May 31 it was still said at the close of the article: "Here is also rejected the unchristian doctrine, which denies that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present" now at the very beginning of the article is the statement: "At the same time instruction is offered against other false doctrines of the Sacrament." In the 28th the episcopal jurisdiction is vastly curtailed by the sentence: "but where the ordinaries fail, princes are bound, if willingly or against their will, to dispense justice to their subjects, for the maintenance of peace to avoid discord and serious unrest in the land." Since in Part II, 37-40, we present the recensions of the Confession of May 31, and June 15 side by side (as well the one of June 25 and the German form of the *Editio princeps*) all other differences can easily be ascertained by the reader himself.

So it is evident that Melanchthon did much work on the Confession in the time between May 31 and June 15. Three things may have influenced him: 1. Regard for the Emperor, whose attitude toward the Evangelicals he no longer could ignore, probably prompted him to avoid all expressions which would arouse his ire. So in the tenth article he chose a form that goes surprisingly far in meeting Rome's official terminology. So he still toned down Article 28. For the same reason there was greater care in citing proofs from the Scriptures, the Fathers and the canons. Was it not just this first week in June when Cochlaeus, Duke George's chaplain, got

in touch with Melanchthon and persuaded him to urge the Elector to abstain from eating meat on fast days and so not provoke the Romanists? (cf. C. R. II, 82.) It was at this same time that Melanchthon got in touch with Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz. Kolde has published a letter which the Ansbach theologian, John Rurer, wrote on June 4 from Augsburg to Andrew Althamer⁹⁷ in which he said: *Scripsit Philippus literas ad Archiepiscopum Moguntinum, quibus petit, quo operam det, ne res ad arma deducatur; quid is responderit aliquando cognosces, nondum Philippus responsionem sed solas suas literas nobis communicavit.*

2. The second was the presence of the Landgrave. It may have induced Melanchthon, in consideration of the Marburg Articles, to strike all attacks on the Sacramentarians unless absolutely necessary (as in Articles 10). For even now the Landgrave very much desired a confession broad enough to take in the South German cities. So the above mentioned closing sentence in the article on the Mass was discarded. Aside from the main fact, which we shall discuss later on, that no special conclusion was found necessary, this may also have been the reason why Melanchthon's conclusion, "Ungeferlicher beschluss" (proposed conclusion), again found by Willkomm (Part II, 32), proved to be unsuitable since it also contained a very sharp statement against the Sacramentarians.

3. The documents which some of the cities had brought to the Diet, the "Short Epitome of the Papal Rights" by Lazarus Spengler and especially the various "Opinions" of the ministers of Brandenburg-Ansbach were also not without influence in effecting these changes. It is to the credit of Gussmann that he threw recent light on these various documents and showed the use made of them by Melanchthon. The cities and documents in question were those of Ulm,

Heilbronn, Nuernberg, Reutlingen, (translation of the *Confessio Wirtembergica*), which will be found in Gussmann (I, 2). The Brandenburg-Ansbach "Opinions" have been published in part by Gussmann and are now more completely in the collection "Die Fraenkischen Bekenntnisse," 1930).

But did Melanchthon really have these documents at hand and were they familiar to him?⁹⁸ Hardly before the thought of a common confession arose, although he probably saw them later on. The Nuernberg opinion had been sent in as early as May 18 and had Melanchthon's express sanction. Concerning the Franconian Opinions or Confessions, however, we have no direct testimony. Still Camerarius, this intimate friend of Melanchthon, wrote in his biography of him, that in Augsburg, *complures descriptiones, quaedam etiam admodum verbosae* were at hand. Furthermore, Melanchthon, himself wrote to Cruciger in 1537, *Vidi Augustae confessiones aliquot; magna erat dissimilitudo.* Therefore, it is certain that Melanchthon had examined other confessions. Finally we have some more direct evidence. In the letter of 1537 and in the preface to his *Corpus doctrinae Misnicum* of 1560 Melanchthon is reminded of a theologian who, in an opinion on the inner divine service, had quoted the grammarian Dionysius Cato as proof of the Evangelical doctrine of justification. This quotation is found in the Culmbach "Opinion." Since it is a very singular quotation it is more than probable that Melanchthon had the Culmbach "Opinion" at hand. But if he had these he probably had others.

But did the reading of these influence Melanchthon? F. W. Schmidt is very reserved in a statement on the matter, "A touch which makes a direct Franconian influence probable is the tendency to build up the proof from Scripture and from the church fathers (Gussmann proved that nearly all of the passages which were at this time adopted from the church fathers are found in the Franconian confessions). It is also in harmony with the tendency of Nuernberg and Ansbach that the article on food was recast into a comprehensive attack on human traditions in general. Finally they are well-known Franconian principles, which since 1524 had played a far greater role in Ansbach than in Wittenberg, when the omission of the Corpus Christi procession is expressly named and the use of the German language in the churches is based on Paul. If we find ourselves here on very uncertain ground how much more when we consider the numerous cases where an extensive agreement in

material if not in words is to be noticed. Alongside a parallel with the Franconian Confession we find a parallel with Luther. If the Ansbachians took their material from Luther in 1524 then it becomes an unsolved riddle in 1530 whether Melanchthon recalled Luther's works or if the Franconian opinions at hand influenced him to insert these passages." Gussmann probably judges more correctly, at least more favorably, regarding the connection of these various opinions with the Augsburg Confession. Were these connections to be seen in the first draft of the Confession then Schmidt's statements would have more effect, but since they are met only later on, and were therefore, added as an afterthought at a time when Melanchthon had read these opinions and had found those thoughts which he adopted, the borrowing from this source becomes more likely.

In speaking of this influence on Melanchthon we do not think merely of the borrowing of sentences, thoughts, or proof-passages. Often it may have been the very ambiguity found in these documents which prompted him to make his own clearer, more precise and versatile. What an improvement it was to move the article on justification up from the fifth to the fourth place! This position at once emphasized its central importance. And if this article, in matter of contents and form, became so biblical, precise and short it may have been just the confusion found in the "Opinions" of these Brandenburg-Ansbach clergymen (he complained about this until his end) which caused him to recast his own, at first, rather uncertain draft. By considering this material, either positively or negatively, instead of ignoring it and confining himself to his own Saxon draught, the Confession became also more and more an expression of the common faith of the Lutheran Estates.

The Emperor reached Augsburg on June 15th,⁹⁹ determined that every action was to bring him a step nearer his goal. Schmauk (393) has well described the events from this viewpoint: "For the past week the Emperor's baggage trains had been making a din in the waiting city—the home of the Welsers and Fuggers, the great capitalists of Europe, and the great trading center between Italy and the Levant, and the towns of Northern Europe. At five o'clock on the morning of the 15th the Elector and the princes assembled in the

town hall. At one in the afternoon they went forth on horse-back to meet his Majesty, and stood ready for his coming at the bridge of the Lech. After some hours of waiting, clouds of dust and much noise on the other side of the bridge heralded the approach of the Emperor's soldiery. The Elector and princes were recognized by Charles with an amiable smile, and he very graciously shook hands with each. He had no sooner alighted from his horse for the greeting, than he expressed the desire to the Elector that he cause the preaching to cease. The Archbishop of Mainz delivered the address of welcome. Apart from the group, on a little elevation, sat the Roman Legate in purple, supported by two cardinals, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the Bishop of Trent. When Campegius, the Legate, saw the Emperor and the princes dismounted and greeting each other, he lifted up his hands and blessed them. They, with the Spaniards, Italians, Netherlanders and Germans in the train, fell on their knees, but the Elector John and his fellow Protestants stood bold upright and refused the papal benediction. The magnificent procession, eclipsing anything heretofore seen in the empire, now entered the city with the soldiers of the six electors in advance. After the princes and electors came John of Saxony bearing the glittering naked imperial sword before the Emperor, on whose right was Mainz and on whose left was Koeln, with King Ferdinand and the Papal legate Campegius immediately following. The procession wended its way to the Cathedral, where the Bishop of Augsburg and his white-robed clergy struck up the *Advenisti desirabilis*. The Emperor entered the Cathedral and knelt before the altar with hands extended to heaven. During the *Te ergo quaesimus* he again knelt on the bare stones, and all the assembly with him. But the Elector and the Landgrave remained standing. Campegius pronounced the benediction, and the procession re-

sumed its march to the bishop's palace, which had been prepared for the Emperor's use, and reached there after ten o'clock at night. From five o'clock in the morning until ten at night the old Elector had been kept on his feet, and now the surprise of the day was to be sprung—"the nocturns of treason were about to begin." Charles had dealt with the Protestants with great personal grace; but after waiting till evening for his appearance, they had been hurried along into the ceremonies of state under the auspices of the church. It was almost impossible to distinguish between civil and religious duty. Tomorrow the Emperor must celebrate Corpus Christi; and the procession of the holy Sacrament was even then being arranged. The Lutherans were to be given no time to think, to consult, or to appeal, but were to be involved by the swiftness of events, the exigencies of their civil positions, the personal favor and grace of the Emperor, in such a way that later on they would not consistently be able to take a stand against the church. Charles had made several attempts, at a distance, to get them to yield, now he would meet them on the spot, and try his diplomacy face to face. After the cathedral service the princes entered the palace with the Emperor. Then the Romanists were told to depart, and Charles invited the Elector, George of Brandenburg, Philip the Landgrave, the Prince of Anhalt and the Duke of Lueneburg to follow him into his private apartments. King Ferdinand followed the party as interpreter."

The Emperor now repeated his twofold demand: 1. That no Evangelical preaching be allowed; 2. That the Lutheran Princes join the Corpus Christi procession on the following day.¹⁰⁰ But as the Lutheran princes had rejected the papal blessing so they now also remained steadfast in this dangerous hour of the night. Neither the Emperor's personality nor his diplomacy could make them waver. It was here the Margrave

said in regard the first demand: "We plead with his Imperial Majesty not to remain in this demand since we preach God's pure word as did Augustin, Hilary and other teachers of the past; of this his Imperial Majesty may convince himself. We cannot live without the Word of God nor deny the gospel with a good conscience. In this the Landgrave joined with: "Imperial Majesty's conscience is not lord and master over our conscience." And again the Margrave said: "Before I let any one take from me the Word of God and ask me to deny my God I will kneel and let them strike off my head" (Corp. Ref. II 106, 114, 115). In regard to the second demand both maintained their stand. "Christ has not instituted His Sacrament for the purpose of adoration." Although the Emperor did not withdraw his command he extended the time for an answer until the following morning. The princes were to present in writing their arguments why Evangelical preaching was not to be abolished.

In the same night the Landgrave informed the representatives of Wittenberg of what had happened. The theologians met at once to formulate an opinion regarding the Corpus Christi procession. Spalatin finished it before dawn. It said: "The Sacrament was not instituted to be worshipped like the brazen serpent of the Jews. We are here to confess the truth and not to confirm abuses." On the following morning Margrave George acted as spokesman for the Lutherans. He said to the Emperor: "My ancestors and I have always supported you; but in the things of God, the commandments of God compel me to put aside the command of man. If, as we are told, death is to be the fate of those who persevere in the true doctrine, I am ready to suffer it." Offering the Emperor the opinion he said: "We will not countenance with our presence these human traditions, opposed to the Word of God; on the contrary, we declare

unitedly that we must expel them from the church, lest those in it who are still sound should be affected with the deadly poison." To this Ferdinand replied: "If the love of God will not impel you to go with the Emperor, then do so for the love of the Emperor, and as vassals and princes of the Empire, His Majesty commands you. He begs you." The princes replied: "This is an act of worship and our conscience forbids it." The Emperor had taken his last step and exhausted his last resource; and now, after all the planning from Innsbruck down, had lost the cause. Saying: "We wish to see whether you will obey his Majesty or not," Ferdinand, with the Emperor left the room, and the princes, instead of following, returned to their quarters.

The Emperor, behind the host, carried by the Archbishop of Mainz, marched alone with scarcely one hundred citizens of Augsburg following him, in the procession of Corpus Christi.¹⁰¹ So irritated was he on his return to the palace that he threatened to dismiss the Lutherans to their homes, with a safe conduct, the next day, and the Diet would uphold the Church and the empire without them. But the German princes saw that this would lead to terrible war so they supplicated his Majesty asking him to wait until his anger cooled.

On the 17th of June the Lutherans presented the document, written by Brueck, which set forth their position in the matter of preaching (Second Part, 34).

We have discussed these events in detail, probably too detailed for a critical review, because they, especially the night session of June 15, disclose the courageous stand taken by the leading laymen. They also show a very important change in the course of events. That night session was important for the Elector in two ways. Schmauk (396) rightly stresses the fact that the Emperor did not call him alone, which he might have expected from his previous position and also

because of his private negotiations. That he was called together with the other princes showed plainly that the Emperor did not expect to consider him alone nor enter separate negotiations with him. That again released the Elector from any consideration or responsibilities toward the Emperor which separate negotiations would otherwise have made necessary. The determined stand and firm testimony of both the Margrave and Landgrave in that momentous hour, when he himself was horrified and made speechless by the Emperor's demands (C. R. II, 106), must have shown him the value of confederates. It also must have shown him how wise it had been to drop his solitary stand and permit other estates to join his proposed confession.

Already on the following day the princes acted as a closed body as may be seen from the Brandenburg chancellor's opinion of the same day.¹⁰³ The Margrave was probably admitted first since the Nuernbergers received from him and the Elector the assurance on June 18th that "they were to be consulted in matters of faith" (C. R. II, 112). Then also Duke Ernest of Lueneburg, Prince Wolf of Anhalt, and the city of Reutlingen were admitted as co-confessors not *in a political federation but a confessional union*. The Landgrave, due to his connections with Zwingli and the South German cities, was still in doubt but undoubtedly now began a study of the articles of faith which were handed him,¹⁰⁴ for we know that finally he also joined the union.

But now an episode took place, which no historian as yet has been able entirely to explain and which for several days made it doubtful whether the prepared Confession would be presented at all. Shortly after the arrival of the Emperor, we find Melanchthon in negotiation with men very close to the Emperor. The Lord high-chancellor Mercurinus Gattarina, it is true, had died, but there still were the imperial

secretaries, Cornelius Schepper (Czepper) and Alfonso Valdes, who could be approached. The former, the Netherlander, seemed to be rather reserved; he anxiously wished to avoid even the least suspicion that he was friendly toward Melanchthon (Enders VIII, 2). Valdes, the Spaniard, was more approachable. To him Melanchthon could protest against the idea prevailing in Spain that the Protestants believed neither in God nor the Trinity, that they thought nothing of Christ or Mary, so that the slaughter of a Lutheran was deemed more pleasing to God than the killing of a Turk. He soon had even made it clear to him that the doctrines of the Lutherans were very much in agreement with those of the church. The points of difference were really only in the abuses which had crept into the church and of these there were again only four points: the marriage of priests, both forms in the Sacrament, the mass, and the property of the church.¹⁰⁵ On the morning of June 18 Valdes was able to report to the Emperor, and if he assured him that the Lutherans "did not believe anything contrary to the church,"¹⁰⁶ the report regarding this statement of Valdes seems to be all the more trustworthy since it is in absolute agreement with what Melanchthon had stated at the close of Part One of the Augsburg Confession in the recension of May 31 and still more strongly in the one of June 15. Thereupon the Emperor had requested that Melanchthon present to him a "short summary of their faith without any diffuseness." The Emperor furthermore requested his secretary to confer with Campegius regarding the matter. And the Legate really let himself be drawn into a discussion regarding the cup for the laity and marriage of the priests since he understood that the Protestants were willing to concede the question of purgatory. Had not the Bohemians obtained the cup and in that part of the Greek

Church, nominally united with Rome, was not the marriage of priests customary? He even reported the matter to Rome (*Roemische Quartalschrift*, 17, 401). According to the Protestant reports he refused to give up the private mass (C. R. II, 123), according to the Italian report he had only withheld his judgment in the matter^{104a}. This was extremely favorable news for Melanchthon. In his letter of this period he never tires of praising the Emperor's kindness. For a time he debated the question of setting aside the Confession already prepared in favor of this "short summary," for the representatives of Nuernberg reported on June 19 to the council: "As Philippus Melanchthon states, the matter will probably not come to any extended discussion but will be condensed and briefly formulated and treated. But what is intended, whether the Confession now being prepared is to be finished or a different presentation of our standpoint is to be made, will be reported by us" (C. R. II, 112f.).¹⁰⁷ The report that Melanchthon had already handed in his "short summary" during his negotiations with Valdes¹⁰⁸ is very open to question, for on the 21st of June he expected to begin preliminary negotiations with the Elector and Brueck (C. R. II, 123).

In judging this action of Melanchthon the historians differ widely. In his Luther biography (II, 592) 1893 Th. Kolde places the whole responsibility for this episode upon Melanchthon. Fearing the Emperor's ire and the rupture of the Church he had opened these negotiations, and secretly carried them on which delayed the completion of the Confession. Then when on the 21st of June he found it necessary to take the Elector and Brueck into his confidence they had demanded the termination of these negotiations and had taken the completion of the Confession into their own hands. A number of investigators have accepted Kolde's statement,

as v. Bezold, Kawerau, K. Mueller, Ellinger.¹⁰⁹ But in 1903 Theo. Brieger¹¹⁰ decidedly opposed this view. In its place he offered the following explanation: 1. The negotiations with the Imperial secretaries were opened by them and not by Melanchthon. 2. They were carried on by Melanchthon, not by his own authority alone, but with the consent of the Elector's counsellors; 3. Melanchthon's reply to the Nuernberg delegates, who were urging the presentation of a complete confession, must not be understood as an attempt to compromise; it merely had reference to the proposal made by Vogler, the Margrave's chancellor (who, in order to change the Emperor's intentions regarding the preaching, advised, on June 16, "to present to him as an intermediate action the *Articles of Faith*"); and that the briefest possible confession which he had in mind, was in reality this confession, composed of 19 articles and still extant in the Ansbach manuscript and other copies of the same period. So the completion of the Confession was not delayed even a day and Melanchthon is to be exonerated from every charge of indecision. But Kolde's answer in his essay "Melanchthon's Negotiations with Alph. Valdes and Lor. Campegio" of 1906¹¹¹ seemed sufficiently to refute Brieger's view.

But this summer J. v. Walter has presented new material from the Italian archives. The report of Bagaroto, ambassador of Venice, which was known from Sanuto's diary (53,326) had called the four demands which were germane to the negotiations with Valdes, the Emperor and the delegates, demands of the *princes*, but it had seldom been taken seriously. And a pertinent dispatch which Tiepolo sent to Venice on June 19 was only known from Sanuto's poor copy. But in 1928 J. v. Walter made known the dispatch in the Italian original,¹¹² while for those who do not read Italian he published a German version in the *Luther Jahrbuch* of

1930, p. 41. So we have, aside from scattered notes especially in Melanchthon's letters, the following two detailed reports of Melanchthon's negotiations.

1. *The report of the Nuernberg delegates in C. R. II, 122f*: "We are told that Alfonsus Waldensius, one of the chief secretaries of His Imperial Majesty, has called Philipp Melanchthon several times and conferred with him regarding the Lutheran situation and finally has demanded that he report to him what the Lutherans demand and what could be done in the matter. Thereupon Melanchthon . . . gave him approximately the following report. The Lutheran situation is not as detailed and difficult as it probably has been reported to his Imperial Majesty. The dissension centers primarily in these articles: of both forms in the Sacrament, of the marriage of priests and monks and of the mass, since the Lutheran cannot accept the private separate mass. If these articles could be settled he held that in all others satisfactory solution could be found. Alfonsus undertook to present this statement to his Imperial Majesty and returned it to Philippus on Saturday with the report that Imp. Maj. was glad to hear this statement which suited him well; also commanded him, Alfonso, to report on it to the papal Legate—which he had done—who also was well pleased with the report nor were the two things, of the two forms in the Sacrament and the marriage of priests and monks especially offensive, but he could not agree to abolish the private mass. Finally Alfonsus told Philippus: Imperial Majesty's desires are, that he, Philippus, is to draft briefly those articles which the Lutherans desire to be granted and deliver them to him, Alfonsus; he would deliver them to the Emperor so that they could be considered. However, his Imp. Maj. desires especially that this summary be made modestly, briefly, and not verbosely, so that his Maj. would have all the more reason to consent and come to an understanding regarding the abolishing of these errors. His Maj. also deems it more fruitful to take up the matter in privacy and quietness and not in extended public discussions and disputes, for such discussions and quarrelsome disputations only breed new quarrels and no peace. Philippus agreed to think over the matter and formulate such a summary; however he first wishes to confer with Dr. Brueck and the other learned men regarding the matter today (June 21) and after that formulate a summary of our position and submit it to the Elector and if found good it will be discussed and handed to Alfonsus."

Tiepolo's dispatch of June 19, according to Walter's resumé, p.

419: On the morning of June 18 the Emperor called a meeting of Catholic princes in which the question of suppressing Protestant preaching was to be discussed. Some radical proposals were made. Some demanded immediate action against the Protestants, others wished that they first be banned from the country, while the third proposed further discussions through friendly princes, but in case of disobedience the Protestants were to be punished. However the Emperor declared himself in favor of greater leniency. He would not hear of any threat of punishment but sent the princely mediators to the Protestant princes. They returned with good news: The *Protestant princes* declared themselves willing to submit, provided, the *four points stated by Melanchthon were granted*. Thereupon followed the agreement in the matter of preaching; the Emperor not only forbade the Protestant estates but also their opponents to permit their ministers to preach. He reserved to himself the right to allow preaching.¹¹³

[We knew that the Emperor held a meeting with the princes on June 19, the Sunday following the public announcement of the prohibition of preaching. But we did not know that in this meeting other things were discussed aside from the opening program of the diet and the ranking of the different princes (Schirrmacher, *Briefe u. Akten*, 72f.; *Roemische Quartalschrift*, 17, 397). The dispatch of Tiepolo tells more.] In this session on Sunday, June 19, the Emperor still acted as mediator, first dealing with the two parties separately, then with them together and in agreement with the Legate let the Lutherans hope that by agreeing with their requests, as far as this was in harmony with the Christian faith, peace could be again established in the Church. As a token thereof all were to attend the opening mass on June 20 and then take up the work of the diet.

So there can hardly be any doubt that the princes agreed to Melanchthon's four points and they must have been told of them on the morning of the 18th or before, certainly not first on the 21st and hardly through anyone else but Melanchthon himself. In order to understand why the princes agreed to these points, several things must be kept in mind: 1. The possibility, that the princes were willing to be satisfied with the granting of the three or four points only in order to reach an agreement in the question of preaching, must not be rejected, but that does not mean that with it the whole ques-

tion of religion was to be settled. 2. But if the latter really is the case one must keep in mind that they, like Melanchthon, were convinced that *their doctrines* were in harmony with those of the church which were valid according to the testimony of the recognized Fathers. Therefore there was no quarrel about the first part of the Confession which had been prepared but only regarding the abuses treated in its second part. Therefore a possible elimination of the first part could not, according to their judgment, be regarded as a denial. Were not the Wittenberg theologians of the opinion in March that for this very reason a presentation of their doctrine was not necessary and Melanchthon was only prompted to prepare a confession by Eck's articles? If the Emperor and the Legate did not identify themselves with Eck but were willing to remain in Church fellowship with the Evangelicals then why a presentation of their doctrine? Did not Melanchthon in his draft of May 31 and again in June 15 express this same opinion of the unity of their faith, a statement which also remained in the final draft of June 25? Did not the princes declare, in their letter of June 17, regarding the question of preaching (Part II, 34) that their ministers had preached the same pure gospel as the tried and proven men of the church had preached and expounded and that they had preached nothing else nor anything new? And had not even the Landgrave at yonder memorable first meeting with the Emperor taken the same stand?¹¹⁴ It may be considered a foolish delusion that the princes and theologians thought it possible that their doctrine, even if in harmony with the best teachers of the ancient church, still had, or could attain a place in the present Roman Church. But it must not be considered a moral defect in these men. It may have been a lack of judgment on their part, but it was not a fault of character.

Then there remains only the other consideration that with this agreement, if it really was to be decisive which is not at all certain, the second part of the Confession they had prepared would have undergone a serious curtailing. For these points, even if they really would have been conceded, while they were indeed important points of the second part, did not include all of them. This would have been—always under the supposition that the position taken by the princes was final—an unwarranted retreat. The facts are not changed even if we are reminded that there was no unity even in the Evangelical camp regarding the rejection of the episcopal jurisdiction, which after all was acknowledged in the final form of the 28th Article; and that it could be said that with the conceding of the four points principles were granted which would work out their own solution of the other questions contained in the second part of the Confession as it then stood. Moreover, we now have a better understanding of a passage in Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius of June 19 (C. R. II, 119). He writes: *Non dubitabam, quin Apologia nostra videretur futura lenior, quam mereatur improbitas adversariorum. Ego tamen complexus sum ea, quae sunt in causa praecipua. Jurisdictionem totam καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα reddo Episcopis. Hoc fortasse urit quosdam, qui aegre patiuntur sibi libertatem suam adimi. Sed utinam vel duriore conditione pacem redimere possimus.* These words were written just at the time when complying with the Emperor's request he expected to shorten the second half of the Confession to his four points, completely eliminating the 28th Article. It is true, he had written in the recension of June 15: "Our church does not ask that the bishops should restore peace and concord at the expense of their dignity and honor" and again said the same thing in the form of June 25, but at the same time he was ready to show them his willingness to grant their jurisdiction by ignoring the whole matter.

What here is said to the credit of the princes applies also to Melanchthon. Yet one thing must be charged to his account. One can not banish the thought that the first meeting with the Imperial secretaries was arranged by him. Tiepolo's dispatch does not deny it, since it was written after these negotiations were already under way. Neither does the report of the Nuernberg delegates make this impossible. Even if they claim that the request for a meeting came from Valdes they do not state what had gone before. Valdes's request was not necessarily the first step in the matter. As one received the impression from Melanchthon's letters (C. R. II, 118f.) that it was he who sought connections with Schepper, so it was probably also he who directly or indirectly got in touch with Valdes after Schepper proved inaccessible. However, it was probably not so much the ire of the Emperor which prompted him as the fear that the unity of the Church would be disrupted and they would be considered outcasts. That Melanchthon held to these three or four points of the second part is probably due to the fact that he really saw in them the *praecipua in causa*; still Walter may be right when he thinks that he was influenced in this matter by a conversation with Duke Henry of Brunswick (Enders VII, 380f.). For Henry had been reading the New Testament and had convinced himself that the articles of the two forms in the Sacrament, marriage of priests, release of monks, abolishing of the paid mass, freedom from the fasting regulations really could not be condemned and that unity could be attained in the matter. Here also the jurisdiction of bishops is missing. But a delay in the completion of the Confession was not caused by these negotiations of Melanchthon and the princes since we now know that on June 15 the Confession existed in about its final form. After all only the preface and conclusion was lacking.

From a postscript of the Nuernberg delegates (C. R. II, 124) we know that on June 21 the princes and theologians were gathered together to revise and finish the common confession. The Landgrave had meanwhile joined in the deliberations. He had received Luther's letter (Second Part, 35), and that probably helped to overcome his difficulties. How the princes and theologians, in spite of the preceding negotiations with the Emperor regarding the four points, could now go back to the previously prepared Confession and finish it for presentation, is not quite clear, especially as the princes, complying with their promise given the Emperor, all had attended the opening services on June 20. Whether in their opinion the four points were only a means to settle the matter of preaching but did not involve the whole question of religion, or whether they realized that the Legate would not let himself be bound by these points, or whether the opening services, in which the speaker Nuntius Pimpinella "with full hand dealt out blows" (to the heretics),¹¹⁵ or whether the oration with which the Emperor opened the diet in connection with the opening services, through the Palsgrave Fredrick, in which antiprotestant stings were not lacking,¹¹⁶ whether these facts singly or together, or other unknown happenings were instrumental, we do not know. We, however, can only rejoice that they did go back to the Confession which had already been prepared.

From the above it is clear that the meeting of June 21 dealt primarily with the formulation of the preface and conclusion, for Melancthon had already come to the conclusion, on June 15, that these had to be changed, as the Confession had ceased to be merely a Saxon confession. It was a different question, however, as to whether the contents, which had been fixed since June 15, was to be changed. We are fortunate in that we know the form in which the Con-

fession was read on June 25. The articles themselves show only slight changes but the preface and conclusion are entirely new.

True, it has long been contended that we do not know the form of the Confession of June 25. It has been said that we have manuscripts from the time before June 25 and printed editions from the period following this date; but since the German and Latin copies of the Confession, which were handed to the Emperor, are lost, we have no way of knowing the exact wording of these copies. This is not correct. It is to the credit of Johannes Ficker¹¹⁷ that he cleared up this error. Had his findings appeared at a different time than during the world war they would have received more attention. He proved that the so-called Mainz manuscript, once acclaimed so highly that the text of the Augsburg Confession in the Book of Concord was made from a copy of it, then denounced as worthless, is actually a carefully made copy of the German original which was read before Emperor and empire and was made at the time of the Diet in Augsburg for the archchancellery in Mainz. Only the signatures of the princes and cities are missing. Ficker has also promised a reproduction of this manuscript, but, as he wrote us in September, it will hardly appear before the end of the year since he has also promised to publish first a copy of the Latin original which has also been rediscovered by him.¹¹⁹ But we have a reproduction of the Mainz manuscript of Weber,¹²⁰ which Tschackert,¹²¹ after careful examination claims to be reliable. It will serve our purpose. For that reason we offer it in Part II, 39 and because of its importance not in modern form but with its original orthography; though some of the double consonants have been replaced by one letter.¹²²

If we compare the 28 articles of June 25 with the form of June 15

we find that there is hardly any difference in contents. Quotations from Scripture have been increased. Romans 8, and 1 John 2, have been added to Article 21; in the 28th Gal. 5, 1 is no longer quoted in part but in its entire form, and another verse has been added to the quotation from Col. 2. Sometimes a passage is more effectively introduced as in Article 4. Romans 3 and 4 is no longer quoted but it is introduced by: As St. Paul said to the Romans in chapter 3 and 4. Also more stress is laid on quotations from the Fathers when in Article 18 it is no longer said: "The words of Augustin on free will are here added," but: "These things are said by Augustine in as many words." Then the individual words are added. So the title of the 20th Article—the only article in Part I which as yet has a title—has been changed from: "Of Faith and Works" to "Of Faith and Good Works." The opening of Article 21 has been made to conform with those of other articles and has been changed from, "Of the departed saints it is taught" to "Of the worship of saints it is taught by us." The definite article is omitted or added to indicate that the matter is to be stressed or not stressed. Occasionally an "exclusive particle" is added. So in Article 21 the statement is no longer, "It sets before us a mediator and propitiation" but "it sets before us as the only mediator etc." Again at times words have been transposed to make the meaning clearer. So it is said in Article 12: "Welche die Absolution denen, so nach der Taufe gesuendigt hatten, weigerten." Then also the construction of the sentences is better. So it is no longer said in the article of Justification: "Weiter wird gelehrt, dass wir Vergebung . . . erlangen moegen . . . sondern wir bekommen but, "Weiter wird gelehrt, dass wir Vergebung . . . erlangen, sondern dass wir Vergebung bekommen." A number of changes had been made to make the reading easier and secure the right emphasis. These changes can be seen in Ficker and a comparing of the texts in Part II, 39 will show all these little changes to the careful reader. Very appropriately Ficker, in his introduction to his reproduction of the recension of June 15, quotes Melancthon's Latin Syntax (C. R. XX, 547): *In tenui, ut ait Virgilius, labor est, at tenuis non gloria nec mediocre pretium operae, posse animi sensa citra ambiguitatem efferre*, i.e., "The detailed work is tiresome but it is something great and worth all the labor to present the thoughts in their full meaning." We admire the power of concentration which, in these grave hours, could give so much time to the smallest details. The Confession gained very much by it.

While this detailed work was left to Melanchthon, the deliberations of June 21 centered on the form of the Preface and Conclusion. Chancellor Brueck wrote them in German while Jonas furnished the Latin translation. In regard the Preface (Part II, 36) this is expressly stated in a note of Jonas found on a copy of the first edition of the Augsburg Confession of 1531 in the Wittenberg Seminary: *Reddita e germanico Pontani nunc per Iustum Jonam*. The same is probably true of the Conclusion. With that Melanchthon's Preface and his tentative Conclusion (Part II, 32) were definitely cast aside and with it all particularism. With it also went the severe attacks against the Sacramentarians of which the Preface, and also the proposed Conclusion, were filled. This was a decided victory for the Landgrave. He could now much more easily unite in the Confession. With Melanchthon's Preface the statement regarding the jurisdiction of bishops also disappeared, and however much Article 28 conceded to them, it also contained the statement: "When the ordinaries are negligent in their office (which they have by human right), then the princes are in duty bound, whether willingly or unwillingly, to dispense justice to their subjects in order to prevent strife and disturbance in their lands." This again was greeted with satisfaction by the Landgrave and most of the other princes and cities. Although clothed in the juristic long-winded language of the time, the preface was a masterpiece. It removed the Confession from the realm of credulous theory to the solid ground of reality. It did not dream of Utopia but by simply appealing to the statement in the Imperial Summons established a splendid legal argument for the presentation of the Confession. The "opinions and ideas" of all had been solicited. Herewith the undersigned princes and cities presented theirs and are ready, if the other, the Catholic estates, will do the same, to discuss them in a

proper and legitimate manner. They no longer plead but demand on the legal basis of the Summons. When reading Dr. Brueck's Preface, one notes at once that a statesman is speaking, respectfully, to be sure, but with firm determination. So it was providential that finally the Confession was placed into the hands of these fearless and determined statesmen who were better versed in the ways of the world. Melancthon could not have written such a preface.

The mutual deliberations of June 21 brought another important feature into the Preface; the offer to give an account in a free and general council. In ending the Preface with this offer, no lengthy conclusion as was originally planned for the document, was necessary. This also was a victory for the Landgrave who from the beginning had always contended that no emperor nor diet could decide the matter on hand, because it was a matter of religion. It is needless to say that the free and general council, requested by the Lutherans was of an entirely different nature from the one the Emperor had in mind.¹²³ And as it was correct in principle to have religious matters decided by a free council on the basis of Holy Scripture so also it was in closer agreement with the past stand of the Lutherans as they had always demanded such a council.

In one question, however, the Landgrave did not win out, and that was fortunate. He was not able to secure any change in the article concerning the Sacrament. The definition of the Sacrament, given in the recension of June 15, was not changed nor was the rejection of the contrary doctrine: *improbant secus docentes* dropped. The result of it was, it is true, that four South German cities—Strassburg, Constanz, Lindau, Memmingen—found themselves excluded. They later presented their own confession written by Bucer (*Tetrapolitana*),¹²⁴ while Zwingli merely sent his own personal *Fidei*

*Ratio*¹²⁵ to the Emperor. But the confessional unity of the signers was maintained. Even the Landgrave did not disrupt this unity but signed the document.

Brueck's Preface and the short Epilog as the Articles themselves are worthy of the hour when the Lutherans confessed their faith before Emperor and empire. It voices, and is willing to defend, a faith which is sure of itself, because it rests upon the Word of God.

The Confession was finally completed on the 23rd of June. As early as the next day it was to be presented to the Diet although every effort had been made to obtain an extension of time to permit the preparation of a clean copy.¹²⁶ Since during the last days the interest was focused on the German copy the Latin had to be presented in Melanchthon's hand writing; there was no time left to rewrite it.¹²⁷ The document was signed by Elector John of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Brunswick-Lueneburg, Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the representatives of Nuernberg and Reutlingen, and perhaps Prince John Fredrick of Saxony and Duke Francis of Lueneburg.¹²⁸

However the Confession was not read on June 24. The Emperor, determined to prevent every public demonstration, intentionally placed a lengthy negotiation with the papal Legate and also an endless address by the representatives from Carinthia and Carniola regarding the Turkish danger on the calendar. Then due to the lateness of the hour announced that a reading of the Confession was unnecessary. But the Evangelicals, anxious to confess their faith publicly, because of the public slanders of the opposition, insisted on their previously granted privilege of reading it. The eloquence of their spokesman, Chancellor Brueck, finally won a hearing for the following day.

They again met at 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon (25) not in the town hall, where the meetings usually were held, but "in the Palatinate, in the lower large room" i.e., the small chapter room of the episcopal palace where the Emperor was lodged. This room evidently was selected (it would probably hold less than 200 people) to prevent a large gathering at the reading of the Confession. The two Saxon chancellors, Dr. Gregory Brueck with a Latin copy of the Confession, and Dr. Christian Beyer with the German, stepped to the center of the room while the Lutheran estates, who had enough courage to make a public confession, rose from their seats. Again the Lutherans were compelled to fight for their rights. The Emperor demanded—evidently to prevent the Germans present from following the reading—that the Latin copy be read. When the Elector reminded the Emperor that they were on German soil and therefore the Confession should be read in German, he agreed to their demand.

So Dr. Beyer read the Confession. This took two hours but he read so clearly and distinctly that those in the outside court followed from beginning to end. So even in this particular the Emperor's plans were frustrated. Then the two copies were presented. The fearless Brueck, in doing so, spoke these beautiful words:¹²⁹ "Most gracious Emperor, this is a confession which, with the grace and help of God, will prevail even against the gates of hell."

The details of the presentation are variously reported. Generally it is said that the Emperor accepted the Latin copy and gave the German to the Archchancellor (the Elector of Mainz) for safekeeping. But the most reliable and oldest reports¹³⁰ know nothing of this. According to them the Emperor accepted both copies and expressly objected to having them given to the Archchancellor. He wished—to follow Ficker's (*Die Originale*, 248) clever conjecture—to show that,

by power of his Imperial office, he intended to keep the decision of the religious questions in his own hands. This same motive probably prompted him, immediately after the presentation, to ask the Protestant princes that they promise not to publish the document, although this was not the only reason.

The Confession made a deep impression, even on many of the opponents. The Nuernberg representatives reported home on June 26: "His imperial Majesty was not at all ungracious in the matter. We have also heard more than one say that such articles were not to be condemned, and some electors and princes have declared them to be modest." (C. R. II, 143). Brenz, it is true, records that the Emperor slept for a half hour during the reading of the Confession (C. R. II, 245)—which, by the way, he is also supposed to have done during the reading of the *Confutatio*. But Jonas, the only Protestant theologian present, wrote to Luther: "Satis attentus erat Caesar," i.e., the Emperor was sufficiently attentive. In the same letter (C. R. II, 66) he reported that the Bishop Stadion of Augsburg said in private conversation: "Everything that was read is the truth, the pure truth and we cannot deny it." The Bishop of Salzburg is also supposed to have said that he also desired a reformation of the Mass and freedom in matter of food and other traditions, but that a single "angelus" was to bring about such a reformation was intolerable. Melanchthon wrote that the Bavarian dukes were more quiet since they had heard the Confession (C. R. II, 145). Spalatin relates that Duke William, after the reading, remarked to Eck, "I have been told very differently regarding Luther's doctrine than what I have heard from their confession. You have also consoled me with the promise that it could be refuted." To this Eck replied, "With the fathers I can refute it but not with Scrip-

ture." Thereupon the Duke turned his back on Eck and walked away. According to another report he is supposed to have said, "So I understand that the Lutherans are sitting in the Scriptures and we outside." Still these statements must be accepted with caution. Also what Spalatin, Weiss, and Osiander tell of the Emperor's father confessor's and also his preacher's reaction to the Lutheran Confession (Enders VIII, 135; C. R. II, 163). Luther, in a letter of June 21 to Justus Jonas, wrote that he did not believe one word of these Spaniards and Italians (Enders VIII, 134).

Of greater importance, however, is the fact that during the Diet still others officially joined the Confession. This was done by the free cities, Heilbronn, Kempten, Windsheim, Weissenburg (both in Franconia) and Frankfurt on the Main. Those must also not be forgotten who, during the Diet could not make up their minds but left for home so deeply impressed that they later on joined the ranks of the confessors. In any case, however, when the Lutheran estates joined in a confessional union, the *Lutheran Church* as distinguished from Roman and Reformed, was born. June 25th must always be counted its birthday.

On June 26th a copy of the Confession, with a letter from Melancthon were sent to Luther in Coburg (Enders VIII, 33). The Reformer voices the same full approval to the whole Confession as he did to the form sent him on the 15th of May: Although he would have liked many things expressed more sharply, and would have added an article on the Pope as the Antichrist, he, on the whole, was satisfied with the Confession. He thanked God that such a confession had been presented and saw in it the fulfilment of Psalm 119, 46, a word which the first Augsburg edition and then all later editions carried as a motto. Later on he even voiced his agreement so strongly that in one of his tabletalks he called

it "his" confession grouping it with the Catechism as: "Catechismus, tabulae, Confessio Augustana mea." Compare the chapter "Luther's Share in the A. C." in my forthcoming "New Studies to the A. C."

When we look back and consider the course of events from the Second Diet at Speyer to the day when the Augsburg Confession was presented, we can only thank God whose strong hand guided the whole development until the Lutheran estates were united, not in a political federation but a confessional union. And while thinking of the Confession itself, in which they joined, and remember the timidity, short-sightedness and selfishness which so often blocked the way, then we can only praise God that he overcame these hindrances. And above all do we thank Him that in the Augsburg Confession we have a testimony of divine truth, which although not free from shortcomings, is nevertheless truly biblical in its contents and remarkably clear and simple in its form.

SECOND CHAPTER

THE DEFENSE OF THE CONFESSION

The Confession of the Lutheran estates had been read and solemnly presented to the Emperor. The presentation was made with definite references to the terms of the imperial summons but at the same time they declared that they were only willing to enter a discussion if the Catholic estates would demand nothing more than an equal standing with them. Since, according to the summons "*everybody's* opinion and ideas" were to be heard so that they could be compared and eventually brought into one by the Emperor, the Catholic confession should also have been submitted. But at the very beginning of the Diet the Roman adherents had declared,¹ that they would never do this. They did not wish to appear as a separate party. They stated: "We have obeyed the Worms edict, we are in harmony with the established doctrines, so it is not necessary for us to present a confession nor enter into a discussion regarding such doctrine." What was to be done?

We again are indebted to Theodor Brieger and Johannes Ficker² that we are able to say anything certain regarding the deliberations of the Emperor and the Catholic estates after the presentation of the Lutheran Confession as well as later on regarding the Confutation and the various important changes it underwent before it was read at the Diet.

On the day following the reading of the Confession, the Catholic estates, following the imperial wish, met to confer regarding their subsequent action.³ In harmony with their previous position, that it would not be necessary for them to formulate nor present a confession, they stated that their answer could consist only in a critique of the Lutheran Confession based on the norm of the ancient and accepted

doctrine. This they presented as their opinion on the following day (June 27).⁴ In it they made a distinction between the two sections of the Confession. The Articles of Faith are to be handed by the Emperor to reliable scholars who are not malignant, who are to examine them, to stress those parts which agree with the established doctrine and condemn everything which is opposed to it. Regarding the abuses, however, to which they themselves have not been blind, the Emperor is to find means and ways to abolish them. Neither did they overlook the *gravamina* of their own clergy and laity. The Emperor is also to help regulate this matter. The papal Legate was to be consulted and his advice secured, for which purpose the Latin copy of the Confession was to be submitted to him. In closing they expressed the wish that the Lutheran estates he asked whether they expected to rest on this Confession or wished to present anything additional, so that everything could be settled at the same time.

Charles immediately notified the Legate and asked his opinion. Campegius enthusiastically complied with the imperial request. His careful answer⁵ dealt exclusively with the reply to be given to the Confession, only in opening he proposed in a few words that an effort was to be made to lead the Protestant estates back to the church. The Legate further only took up the Articles of Faith, the abuses and *gravamina*, which had been expressly noted by the estates, were only hastily mentioned in closing in a few vague proposals. All is written in the same sharp tone as his Memorandum which he had handed the Emperor in Innsbruck on May 9th and in which he had demanded that the most stringent measures be taken against the German heretics (Part II, document 23): These are nothing more than heresies, long ago condemned by the Church and cast with their followers into the fire. Any discussion of them is impossible

and it is the duty of the Catholic majority and all true Christians to tear them up by the roots. He recommends that the scholars and theologians there present are to examine the different Lutheran Articles of Faith, for which purpose they are to be distributed among them and by them are to be refuted. He offered to notify them of the task. He furthermore recommends how the work is to be done. The individual articles are to be treated separately. In the first place each article is to be examined to ascertain whether the form is suspicious and obscure in which case that which is veiled is to be made clear in all "humility, shrewdness, politeness and Christian love." Then that which the fathers have sanctioned is to be laudably acknowledged, but that which deviates from the pure religion is to be destroyed. With the latter it is important that it be shown as something that long ago was condemned as heretical. In case the Protestant princes should complain that errors were unjustly ascribed to their theologians they are to refer them to former statements of these men and show how they are contrary to the Confession. It would be most effective to contrast these heretical statements with positive and well founded ones of the Catholic Church. All of this was to be handed in German and Latin texts to the Emperor who was to discuss it with his Catholic princes and then have it read before the convened Diet. Its acknowledgment or rejection was to be decisive for the Lutheran estates. No third alternative was to be permitted. At the close the Emperor is emphatically reminded of Charlemagne's defeating and conquering of the Saxons so as to remind him of a possible use of arms against the Evangelicals (Second Part, 41).

The Emperor handed the Legate's opinion to his council and then placed their deliberations before the Catholic estates on July 5th.⁶ The imperial council, contrary to the

resolution of the Catholic estates of June 27, also considered the propositions made by the Lutheran estates regarding the equality of both parties, as well as their demand for a free council. The Emperor urged the Catholic estates to consider themselves a party, if only the opposing one. He was also willing, in opposition to the Legate, to call a free council if he was allowed the decisive voice and if the Evangelicals would submit to the Worms edict, until such a council was convened. Otherwise the opinion of the imperial council mainly follows that of the Catholic estates: The Legate was to propose a remedy for checking the abuses; the Confession was to be examined by competent men and the Evangelicals were to submit what they still wished to present. But they also met the Legate in requesting him to have the Confession examined and answered by men he thought competent and that a discussion of the Confession was under no circumstances to be allowed. They also demanded that a firm answer be given to bring back these people, yet they also stressed the necessity—far more than did the Legate—of justice and moderation so as not to make the opposition stubborn and altogether hopeless. Naturally, if they stubbornly rejected all better reasoning then only use of arms could be the final possibility.

We must note that the Emperor did honestly try to abide by the terms of his summons: to judge all demands in an impartial way; that he himself acknowledged the existence of abuses and desired their abolition. But we also note that he in no wise intended to let the final decision be taken from his hands and that he was determined to defend the doctrines of the church, if necessary, with the power of arms.

Melanchthon heard of this during a meeting with the imperial German secretary, Schepper. If on the 26th of June—the day after the presentation of the Confession,—he had

written to Luther: "Now the point is, as I believe, how to reach a decision, before our antagonists answer it, as to what we are willing to yield in the matter of two forms, of marriage, of private mass. The whole transaction will probably turn upon these points. Answer concerning this, and particularly concerning the private mass, as it probably will not be allowed to drop out of sight,"⁸ he now adjures Luther not to be silent any longer but to assist him with his advice: "I pray for the sake of the honor of the gospel that you will interest yourself in us for the sake of the common good, which, unless you sit at the helm, apparently must endure very severe storms. Christ allowed himself to be awakened in the ship which was in danger. We are verily in much greater danger, in which nothing more painful could happen against us than if you would forsake us. I dare not complain about this to Dr. Brueck so as not to make him feel worse. Up to the present matters have been in such a state that we have spent much time in weeping."⁹ In the following week Luther's mighty letters of June 27, 29 and 30 reached Melanchthon¹⁰⁻¹¹ (Second Part, 43). June 30th he wrote: "My thoughts rush and surge at your exceedingly wicked and perfectly useless cares, and I know that I am telling a story to one who is deaf. The reason for this is that the only one you have faith in is yourself . . . If we fall, Christ will fall with us and He is the great ruler of the world. And if it were possible for Him to fall, yes, I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the Emperor . . . You are killing yourself and utterly fail to see that the matter lies beyond the power of your hand and counsel, and that it will be carried on regardless of any concern which you may feel. And my prayer is that Christ may prevent it from coming into your hand or counsel, although you are too obstinate in desiring to control it."¹²

Neither was the papal Legate satisfied with the Emperor's answer to the Catholic estates of July 5th. That he himself was to undertake the abolishing of the abuses was very inconvenient and he absolutely did not care to hear of a council. He undertook to bring about a different decision, but in this he failed.¹³ He was, however, all the more willing to take charge of the answering of the Confession and at once got in touch with the Catholic theologians present in Augsburg. There were more than twenty who had come to Augsburg in the retinue of the princes or following a special imperial command; among them the most important opponents of Luther, as Cochleus, Usinger, Wimpina, Mensing, Fabri and Eck.¹⁴ These, some of the most malignant individuals who ever opposed the Reformation, now joined hands to kill the Lutheran Confession and tear up every reformatory thought by the roots. We owe our thanks to Ficker that he has given us a very detailed picture of the feverish activities of these theologians as shown—aside from Eck—especially by Cochleus, since 1528 the theological guide of the Duke George of Saxony, and Fabri the vehement father confessor of King Ferdinand. Before, during and after the Diet, even before they were asked to answer the Confession, they were active in writing document after document in their effort to discredit Luther's character and his doctrines. Some of this has been published but the larger part is still in manuscript form in the Court Library at Vienna.¹⁵ Compegius had already included in his "Memorandum" a summary of the "*Fructus Lutherani evangelii in Anabaptistis apud Germanos*" to create in the Emperor a feeling of disgust towards Lutheranism and prod him on to destroy it at any cost. In it he undertook to show the prevalence of the Anabaptists, the secrecy of their propaganda, their enmity against all government. He accused them of unchastity and even worse things; that they

denied that Mary was the Mother of God, as well as the divinity of Christ, and that they had aided the Turk in the past and now were recalling him to their land. All of this was due to Luther: "*Haec autem crudelissima instituta ac proposita perniciosissimaeque haereses tantum ex Lutheri libris ac suorum complicum ortae sunt.*" So now they could not be satisfied with a simple confutation of Lutheran doctrine. They expected to present a mass of documents which would ruthlessly open the Emperor's eyes to Luther and his activities which were not apparent from their Confession. So from the material at hand they gathered passages which were to show Luther's heresies, proving that they were merely revivals of discarded heresies, and that he continually contradicted himself. Fabri says: "One book contradicts the other, one statement, one word, yes even one letter the other, in a word, Luther has become a mad irrational being." They endeavored to paint the prevailing conditions in the darkest colors as due to the Lutheran innovations.

But the time was at hand to draw up the answer to the Confession. Although it was to be their opinion addressed to the Emperor, it was to be written in such a way that it could be read at the Diet as his own answer to the Confession. At first, to save time, the separate articles, or groups of articles, had been given for refutation to the various theologians. The answers to the first four articles are still in existence. The one on the first three articles was written by Cochleus. It was so spiteful that even the more sensible of the Catholics rejected it. Then they changed their whole plan of procedure and placed the whole matter in the hands of one man, Eck.

For him that was a great satisfaction. Since he was not permitted to defend his 404 Articles in open discussion before the Emperor and empire he was now offered something

far greater: The official refutation and final rout of the Lutheran doctrines! With enthusiasm he took up the task. His *Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutheranos* of 1525, his 404 Articles and the *Monstra sectarum ex Luthero et Lutheranis enata* furnished him the necessary material in which he simply had to add references from some of the Evangelical books which he had not considered in his other works. But there was also much new work to be done. He was to answer one specific document, the Confession of the Lutherans. And furthermore this was to be done according to a stated program formulated by the papal Legate in harmony with his previous recommendations and now again fixed for Eck's task. This was later on added to the document as a preface.¹⁶ With every article of the Lutheran Confession this was to be the procedure: 1. What it contained that was correct was to be acknowledged, however, it was to be stressed that they had not come to this conclusion by themselves but owed it to the orthodox church; 2. It was to be shown how the Lutheran Confession was in disagreement with so much of what their own preachers had said so that the whole Confession was to be condemned as nothing else but a systematic concealment of their actual doctrine; 3. All of the points in the Confession which have already been condemned by the church should be pointed out; 4. All the many other condemned heresies are to be called to attention, which although not contained in the Confession itself, however, have been held far and wide by these people and can finally be traced back to Luther; and 5. It was to make clear that, aside from the Reformation, Luther is especially to be blamed for the eminently dangerous heresies of the Anabaptists and the Capernaïtes who reject the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Eck again worked rapidly. On the 8th of July the work

was not only finished but had already been discussed with the other Catholic theologians; in some places it had been made harsher and was furnished with an especially strong conclusion. Fabri was primarily responsible for these changes and the conclusion. His are the biting words of scorn against the Lutheran pastors who do not bring any sacrifices of the mass, who celebrate no mass for the dead, who do not observe the canonical hours and yet, at the expense of the poor, fatten on the church. He is also responsible for calling attention to Luther's words regarding the relics of St. James in Compostella and Tolosa in Spain (which was undoubtedly intended to arouse the Spanish nationalism of the Emperor against Luther) as' also for connecting the danger of the Turk with Luther's utterances.¹⁷

The conclusion adjures the Emperor not to listen to the demand for a Christian council since it would only lead to new quarrels and dissensions and make an annoying exposure of German Christianity to the eyes of the rest of the world. The renegades, on the other hand, are to be compelled to present a new, all-inclusive confession which will force them to an unequivocal return to the mother church. If this is without effect than the Edict of Worms is to be enforced with all the imperial severity.

The title of this document is: *Catholica et quasi extemporalis responsio super nonnullis articulis Catholice Cesaree Maiestati Hispanice proximis diebus in dieta imperiali Augustensi per illustrissimos electorem Saxonie ac alios quosdam principes et duas civitates oblatis MDXXX*. Together with the above mentioned supplement, meant for the Emperor, it filled 351 pages.¹⁸ John Ficker published the text for the first time. In his edition the Responsio takes up 151 pages. We offer a section of it in Part II as Document 45. On the 12th the clean copy was finished and translated into German.

The papal Legate, as far as his gout permitted, read and approved it. On the same day he sent it through his brother to the Emperor with the fervent plea that he would remain so firm that the Reformation be brought to naught and everything be returned to its former condition.

What impression did the document make on the Emperor? He immediately realized its utter uselessness and was disgusted with it since it neither followed his instructions nor met with his expectations.^{19a} If he ordered it to be read publicly he would only call forth bitterness, opposition and even bitter scorn. If he accepted the conclusion he would face an immediate war. And at this time he could not afford a war. He was not sufficiently protected; against France only partly and against the Turk not at all. No dependence could be placed upon the Pope and the jealous and timid Catholic estates were not willing to make any sacrifices worth while.²⁰ King Ferdinand was weighed down with other cares, Charles' own financial and military affairs were in no way equal to the task suggested by the *Catholica Responsio*; and his wish, to crown Ferdinand Roman king would never come true if he definitely broke with the Evangelical estates. Moreover, opposition on the Protestant side was growing. The letter of the Lutheran estates of July 10th, in which they informed him that they had no further matter to present, although written respectfully, in no way betrayed a retreat from the presented Confession (Part II, Document 46). Zwingli had his challenging *Ratio fidei* presented on July 8th, which was followed on the 11th by the individual confession of the cities Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau.²¹ This all suggested to the Emperor the use of decided moderation rather than force. The question was at the time actually debated at the imperial court if it were not possible, by making far reaching concessions, to keep at least the Lutheran

estates—if not the Upper Germans and Swiss—in line.²² Furthermore, to lead everything back in the old ways and give up the thought of a council, as Campegius had advised, was directly contrary to the Emperor's own information regarding the abuses which cried loudly for redress. It is refreshing to hear that in direct opposition to Campegius he wrote a letter in these days (July 14) to the Pope in which he demanded a free, Christian general council.²³

On July 15th he laid the *Responsio Catholica* before the Catholic estates since already on the 13th, in answer to his letter of the 10th, they had advised him not to let the answer to the Lutheran Confession be made “in the name of the Catholic scholars” but in the name of “his Imperial Majesty.”²⁴ The whole document was read in the sessions of the Catholic estates which took from nine to ten hours.²⁵ But again it met the approval of only the few who were determined to use harsh measures. The majority rejected it as unsuitable because of its length and malicious tone. Preface and conclusion were discarded entirely and other purely objective matter proposed to take their place in which it is stated—in harmony with the request of July 13th—that the Emperor is making this answer to the Lutherans. The document itself was to be thoroughly revised. That which “is in harmony with the gospel and Holy Scriptures” is to remain; that which is “malicious, sullen and unnecessary” is to be removed and the whole is to be recast in a proper form.²⁶

In view of this position taken by the Emperor, as well as the majority of the Catholic estates, nothing remained for the papal Legate and his scholars—Eck still maintained his leadership—than to completely recast the whole *Responsio Catholica*. That was a tedious task of renunciation, since they were asked to strike just those passages which they had written in gleeful detail. And many other revisions were neces-

sary before the final form was reached. John Ficker's report, based on the documents, is very detailed.²⁷ If the birth of the Lutheran Confession was not easy this was all the more true of the Catholic answer. On August 3, it finally could be read in German to all the estates of the empire by the imperial secretary Alexander Schweiss. This was done in the same room where the Confession of the Lutherans had been read.²⁸ In history it is known, to distinguish it from the *Responsio Catholica*, as the *Responsio Pontificia* or probably oftener as *Confutatio Pontificia*. The Latin text was first printed in 1573 while the German was not printed until 1808.²⁹ in the *Confutatio Pontificia* the *Responsio Catholica* has lost about a third of its former size and would have lost more if the many Scripture passages had not been included. Articles IV, VI, XVIII, XX and XXI are nearly altogether made up of such passages so that the extensive use of Scripture as attempted proof of the Catholic doctrine makes up one of the differences between the *Confutatio* and the *Responsio*. They had learned something from the Evangelicals! However the main difference is that the *Confutatio* is not a theological opinion for the Emperor as the *Responsio* was, and intended to be, but an independent imperial decision which gives a direct answer to the Lutherans. It was not easy for Charles to accept this change as demanded by the Catholic estates, for with it he gave up the position of mediator between the two parties, a position he wished so much to retain. And he only did this after all of his attempts, to make the Lutheran estates retreat from the Confession they had presented, had failed. But since the Confutation was an imperial decision it must be in formal sequence and dignified objectivity. In matter of contents, however, according to the demands of the Catholic estates, it was to be a continuous refutation of the Lutheran articles by Scriptures and the old, orthodox

fathers. This time we must give Eck and his co-workers—Granvella, Valdes, and also the imperial chancellors, who had helped—credit that they were able to write so objectively and moderately. Of the former many personal slanders and the verbose jeremiads about the terrible conditions brought about by the Reformation, very little remained. The conclusion especially is pervaded by the spirit of moderation and brings vividly to mind the fundamental difference between the *Responsio* and the *Confutatio*. Nothing more is said of the edict of Worms and its enforcement. It is true that the closing sentence of the *Confutatio* is a reminder of the fact that Charles as Roman Christian Emperor and highest magistrate and defender of the holy Christian church, due to his office will know how to conduct himself if the Lutherans refuse to listen to reason, but this point is not stressed. The Emperor is far more happy that the Lutheran Confession agrees in so many points with the Catholic Church and that the Lutherans reject so many abuses which are now to be found in Germany. This leads the Emperor to hope that the Lutheran estates will come to agreement with the old church in the other disputed points. Of course a greater part of this friendly advance was again lost when the Emperor let Campegius persuade him to have the Confutation (which originally was to have been presented to the Lutheran estates) only read to them but not presented. The Legate called attention to the fact that such a presentation would only call up new disputes about the same matter which would be unworthy of both the Emperor and the Pope. At the same time he plainly betrayed that, due to the hasty writing of the Confutation, he feared the Protestant criticism. But since it certainly would have been an injustice to utterly refuse to submit it, on advice of the Catholic estates, it was decided to make the delivery subject to conditions which

they knew would not be accepted. So on August 5th the Emperor notified the Lutherans that the Confutation would be delivered to them only if they would not present an answer, would obey its dictates and would neither let it leave their hands nor publish it.³²

What was the position of the Lutherans during the month of July and now that they were confronted by these stringent demands?

Their situation was a very difficult one. During this whole time the Emperor was solely guided by the advice given by Garcia in his letter of July 18.²² There were, indeed, hours of weakness. Melanchthon believed a rumor that the papal Legate was willing to return to communion in both forms and the marriage of priests. He at once sought to get in touch with him, so on the 6th of July he wrote an unfortunate letter in which he said: "We have no dogma which is diverse from that of the Roman Church; we have also rebuked many who dared to spread dangerous dogmas for which public testimony is available. We are ready to obey the Roman Church if they, with the same charitableness which they have **always** shown to all people, either ignore or drop certain few things which we, even if we would, could not change . . . We venerate the authority of the Roman Pope and the whole church government, if only the Roman Pontifex does not cast us aside. But if harmony is so easily reestablished if your clemency yield in a few things and we obey in good faith then why should it be necessary to reject those who plead or to persecute them with fire and sword? For no other reason do we endure so much hatred in Germany than that we defend the dogmas of the Roman Church with so much firmness. We shall in future, until our end, also remain true to Christ and the Roman Church even if you should refuse to mercifully receive us."³² Then on the 7th

of July he again wrote to the Legate and stated the "few things" which would restore harmony, namely the communion in both forms and the marriage of priests.³³ On the 8th Melancthon actually had a meeting with Campegius. He, however, declared that it would be impossible for him to make the desired concessions without the German princes.³⁴

Fortunately the Lutheran estates were more firm than the author of their Confession. Their answer of July 10th, to the inquiry whether they expected to present other articles, betrays a determination to stand by the Confession they had presented, a continued readiness to defend their faith, as also the courage to demand speedy action from the Emperor.³⁵ The letter is so clear and manly that we present it in Part II as document 46. Then the Emperor undertook to persuade the Elector John and the Margrave George separately to forsake the Confession. There were many things in which they needed the Emperor's good will. This was now brought forth. They now remembered that the Elector had not yet received an answer to his request which in the spring he had made of the Emperor through the Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr (page 78). So on the 16th the Emperor sent the Palsgrave Fredrick, the Count of Nassau and others to him with the information that his requests could not be granted, especially his enfeoffment, unless he returned to the mother church.³⁶ The Elector answered on July 21st. His letter was divided into three sections.³⁷ In the first he demonstrated his rights to the Electorate; in the third he denied that he had ever sought connections with the Sacramentarians or Swiss, while in the middle section he bravely gave an account of his faith. He stressed the fact that in matter of the Confession he had not merely repeated what his theologians had told him but he, himself, had come to the conclusion that Rome's doctrines are not based on the Word of God. Here

and now he once more confessed all the articles of the Confession, and entreated the Emperor to permit him and his own to be accountable to God alone in matters pertaining to the salvation of their souls. "Since we maintain that this (the Confession's) doctrine and order is God's Word and Command, even our enemies must admit and confess that it would not be possible for me and my (religious) associates to deviate from it in good conscience; and before God and all people it is our duty, as we also were pledged to accept God's Word, Doctrine, Command and Order, to accept and permit it in our land and realm unobstructed by what has been introduced by human rules or ancient deplorable customs." This brave answer, which again and again refers to the imperial summons as its legal foundation and the Word of God as its eternal basis, probably came from the pen of Chancellor Brueck. The rumor was already current that the Electorate would go to the Catholic Duke George of Saxony. On the 28th many princes were invested with their dignities, but the Elector was excluded. Everything to wear down the Elector!—The Margrave George was beset by his relatives, especially the Elector Joachim, to persuade him to return. This was done several times (July 19 and 20), each time it was called to his mind that otherwise the Emperor would take his position and drive him from the land.³⁸ But the Margrave also remained firm.

But what of the Lutheran estates? They thought little of the Confutation. Melancthon, in his letter to Luther of Aug. 6th, called it "childish and silly"³⁹ claiming that its insignificance had made the Evangelical estates glad. But in the same letter he especially refers to the imperial declaration, in which the Confutation ended⁴⁰ and the conditions under which alone it would be given to them. These conditions were energetically rejected by the Lutheran estates while

the Elector and the Landgrave took the opportunity to again voice their determination to continue in the Confession. The Landgrave's words are reported by the Frankfurter representatives: "I will and expect to continue in the opinion which we have presented unless convinced differently than has been done up to the present time, even if it costs my body and life."⁵⁰ The Lutherans also announced an answer to the Confutation "or at least as much as they remembered of it" and in advance asked pardon "if they (since they must depend upon the memory and a few notes) were not able to do this word for word." And since they could not think of yielding in their doctrine, they remembered only the last sentence of the Confutation. The Landgrave gave the bravest answer: On the evening of the 6th he left the Diet. It was not fear that prompted him to do this but indignation. Luther understood him rightly when he said upon hearing the news: "Such delay and indignity are enough to tire more than one Landgrave."^{50a} In the meeting of the Roman and Lutheran Commissioners on the following day Elector Joachim went so far as to threaten the Elector John that unless he gave up Luther's doctrine, the Emperor would use force, subjugate him, depose him from his position, despoil his possessions, lay waste his country, take his life, and force his subjects back to the old faith. The Elector John was so indignant that he could not answer. But on the next day he was the first to sign the courageous answer of the Lutheran estates to the Catholic commissioners and so also the Emperor.⁵¹ Again written by Brueck, on the one hand, it again and again, called attention to their legal rights as based on the imperial summons and, on the other hand, on the promised and demanded free council. "It is impossible for us to retract with a good conscience and the peace of our hearts the Confession we have presented unless we receive a refutation which is so

well founded in God's Word and the truth that we can quiet our consciences and find peace for our hearts." "We hope that his Imperial Majesty, a just Emperor and our Gracious Lord, will not take this amiss or that we will incur his displeasure if we, for valid reasons cannot, give in and . . . that we use permissable legal methods which in any other simple secular matters are not denied, for Imp. Majesty . . . can well understand that these present matters are of far greater importance and that we cannot retract without seriously endangering our salvation and conscience."

In the course of events it came to pass that, following a proposal of the Lutheran estates of the 13th of August,⁵² the debated points, especially those of the second part of the Confession, were discussed in meetings of a small Catholic-Lutheran commission. It at first was made up of twice seven and then after the 24th of August, of twice three members. This was a decided victory for the Lutherans since they had obtained what from the very beginning they had demanded, and what, according to the imperial summons, they had a right to demand. But the Emperor and not the Evangelicals appointed the Lutheran commissioners and he had his reasons for appointing Melanchthon. The endless sessions, which now began, were to wear down him and the others so that they would finally agree in all the vital points; the rest could be left for the proposed council to settle. Luther knew why he had written as early as the 15th of July: "*Sequentur minae et jactantiae usque in coelum et infernum*" and why in the same letter he continually asked their return from Augsburg.^{52a} We cannot follow these long deliberations.⁵³ They present an extremely sad picture. The commissioners came to agreement on a number of articles of the Augsburg Confession as 1. 3. 7(?). 9-11. 13, and 16-19. The Catholics allowed the communion cup for the laity in Prot-

estant domains—subject to the papal sanction—until the time of the council and with the stipulation that the Protestants would also teach the *communio sub una*. The mass was changed by the Catholic commissioners to a “sacrifice of remembrance in memory of the death of Christ” (*Sacrificium repraesentativum*). They would tolerate the married priests of the Evangelicals “for the sake of the misled women” but new marriages were not to be allowed; the confiscated convent properties were to be returned at once to the jurisdiction of the church.

The Evangelicals, of course, did not accept these suicidal propositions but their counter propositions also made far reaching concessions and not only in matters of the second part of the Confession.^{53a} While the discussions were going on Luther’s opinion was secured. His answer of August 26⁵⁴ (Second Part, 49) released them from a sinister ban and for a moment brought the Lutheran Commissioners, and other shaky ones, to their senses. Luther’s main sentences read: “We will suffer everything and yield where it is in our power to do so. But what is not in our power we ask that it be not required of us. And what is God’s Word is not in our power.” This rule he applied to the Catholic propositions. Due to it the Lutherans rejected the propositions and Elector John asked for a leave of absence. This, of course, was not granted and the imperial court renewed peace negotiations in which the rejected statements of agreement again made their appearance and Melancthon unfortunately again showed his former willingness to yield, perhaps to an even greater degree. We get the best possible insight into this willingness, which did not even leave the doctrine of justification intact, but also into the growing dissatisfaction of the laity who loved the gospel, through the confidential letter of Hieronymus Baumgaertner to the city clerk Spengler in Nuernberg (Sept. 13).⁵⁵ It shows a complete understanding of all the facts, a

remarkable knowledge of human nature and a heart which loved the gospel (Second Part, 50).

It is well that we are not compelled to stop here, for the way of yielding by the leading theologians would finally, as Baumgaertner feared, have led to surrender of the Confession. This time it again was an attack of the opposition which roused the Lutherans. The Emperor decided, since the deliberations were dragging aimlessly along, to end the matter by a recess. On the 22nd of September the recess was read (Second Part, 51).⁵⁶ It declared the Augsburg Confession "for good reasons answered and rejected by the Holy Gospel and other writings," but gave the Lutheran estates until the 15th of April to accept the articles not yet settled;⁵⁷ by that time he also would decide what is necessary to be done. Until then all innovations are to be prohibited. Finally, they are to unite with the Emperor and the Catholic estates to make common cause against the Anabaptists and against those who do not keep the most sacred Sacrament." The courts, however, are to punish any violation of this recess. As soon as the recess had been read the Lutheran estates withdrew for a conference. They returned to the assembly and protested against the statement that their Confession had been "satisfactorily answered and rejected by the Holy Gospel and the Word," in the Confutation. "On the other hand this party undoubtedly believes and holds that its Confession is so Christian and well founded in the Holy Word of God that it cannot and dare not be judged and rejected as unchristian."⁵⁸ At the same time Brueck offered an answer to the Confutation and an Apology of the Confession written by Melanchthon.

Regarding the latter the matter is as follows: As stated above, the Lutheran estates had announced (Aug. 6) an answer to the Confutation as far as they were able to do so since they had heard it only once and a copy of the document had not been submitted

to them.⁵⁹ Due to the peace negotiations, then undertaken, this thought was crowded into the background. Only the Nuernberg city council requested—as Kolde has shown—his theologians and lawyers to prepare a statement. This was to be done according to the notes made by Joachim Camerarius who had been present at the reading of the Confutation. On the 18th of August the theologians' opinion—that of the lawyers was not ready—was handed to Melanchthon.⁶⁰ The city council of Nuernberg believed that Melanchthon had been requested to prepare an answer to the Confutation, but was told by his representative that this was an error.⁶¹ Then when the conferences to establish concord proved to be more and more a failure the Lutheran estates again took up the thought of answering the Confutation. The Nuernberg representatives reminded them of their own statements—that of the jurists had probably also been completed. "Chancellor Brueck and other Saxons" were on August 29th commissioned to undertake the preparation of the answer.⁶² They still were dependent upon the notes made by Camerarius. The work was placed in Melanchthon's hands, although, according to his own statements, others, we know not who, had a part in it.⁶³ The peace negotiations, which were renewed in the first weeks of September probably prevented him from taking up the work. Only after the Elector had resolutely urged their departure and an unfavorable recess was threatening, probably about the 20th, do we find Melanchthon at work on the document. He finished it quickly although it was not yet certain that it would be presented.⁶⁴ They probably expected to let conditions decide that. Under what conditions they agreed on Melanchthon's document, or if any meetings were held for this purpose, is unfortunately nowhere recorded.⁶⁵ But when the imperial recess declared that the Augsburg Confession had been refuted the time had arrived for Brueck, after a short consultation with the Lutheran estates, to present Melanchthon's Apology. He did it not without excusing the incomplete form of the document since the author had been compelled to work from notes on the Confutation. The Emperor was about to receive it, through the Palsgrave Fredrick, when the Archduke Ferdinand whispered something whereupon the Emperor refused the document.⁶⁶

This was the so-called *Prima Delineatio Apologiae* (Second Part, 52), which is not to be confused with the Apology found in the Symbolical Books. It has come down to us in both the Latin and German; the former in two different editions, the Helmstaedt (so-called because

it was formerly kept in Helmstaedt) and the other edition, for the first time published by Chytraeus in his *Historia Augustanae Confessionis* of 1578, under the title, "Prima Delineatio Apologiae." The German manuscript is in the state archives at Cassel, contains 47 folio pages and bears the title: "*Apologia adversus Confutationem Papistarum.*" In 1577 George Coelestin printed it for the first time in the first edition of his German Augsburg Confession but then it was practically forgotten for nearly two centuries. The Latin as well as the German text are made accessible in an accurate form by Foerstemann and also in the *Corpus Reformatorum* XXVII.⁶⁷

It is a joy to see that Melanchthon has again found himself. From the very first sentence, "Imperial Majesty will see in the very introduction how unwisely and unfriendly those acted who have written the Confutation and refutation of our Confession" nowhere in the whole document do we find a timid retreat, but a brave confessing of the truth, a fearless exposing of the mistakes of the opposition, a successful stand against their scholastic craftiness, a fearless holding up to public view the often obscure doctrines of the opposition, an emphatic, often satiric, rejection of their ignorance and the injustice of measuring the church fathers with a different rule than the one used for Luther and his friends. Melanchthon takes up Articles 2, 4-6, 7, 10-15 and 21 of the Augsburg Confession and successfully rejects all attacks of the Confutation against them. He also goes into detail in speaking of Articles 4, 6, 12 and 13. It is refreshing to note his reflections at the beginning of the Second Part in regard to the first half of the Confession. He states: "It cannot be denied that before this time the whole church has been weighted down because by the doctrine of works the honor and glory of the merits of Christ and justification by faith were completely obliterated and unknown. In their sermons some taught nothing but various queer human ordinances, some fast days, some festivals, ceremonies, indulgences, several new orders, praying to new saints, rosaries, brotherhoods and the like,

while the best of them taught nothing but secular discipline. But what one is to believe in Christ, what is justification by faith and how it is obtained, of this they were as dumb as sticks, although this doctrine, how one becomes godly and is justified by faith, is and must remain the chief doctrine of the whole Christian church. The doctrine of repentance must also be counted among the chief articles of Christian faith. But it was so corrupted, not alone by those who sold indulgence, as merchants sell their wares, but also by other hypocrites and sanctimonious persons who, in derision of the faith and the death of Christ, taught the people that their sins are forgiven through their own merits and who by demanding enumeration of sins and blasphemous satisfactions drove the oppressed consciences to despair. Since this necessary portion of Christian doctrine, of repentance and faith, has been renewed by us, and the glory and merits of Christ have again been brought to light, we must confess without boasting, that God has given us many great gifts. We find continued help and consolation for the conscience. We now know the true and right faith. We understand which works God has commanded and which not. We know which estates please God and which do not. Recognizing these things has more than anything else prompted us to accept these doctrines which are taught by us. The opponents, themselves, accept many of these customs and doctrines although they illy thank those from whom they have received them."

The introduction to the Second Part is also just as sound and reliable. Especially noteworthy are the words regarding the relation of the one part to the other. Here the Second Part is valued in a way Melanchthon did not always do in the preceding peace negotiations. We read: "This was followed by changes in several external church customs. Since these changes are the necessary consequences of the preced-

ing articles we were not able to withstand the Word of God. But we have been moderate in making such changes since we have retained the greater part of the common Christian usages. Here at the Diet we have also, for the sake of peace and love, offered to retain such other common usages as far as we could and dared to do without sin. But this moderation and offer, which we hope, is pleasing and acceptable to God, helped us little with our enemies who, contrary to all fairness, have demanded that we, against our conscience, accept and retain all the former abuses. But since we could not agree to this we wish, in a few words, to answer the things which—as far as we can remember them—have been read to us in the Confutation of our Confession. Now we most humbly pray his Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Emperor and Lord, not to have any ungracious doubts but to listen to the reasons which prompt us to regard this Confession as true, for we have at all times been obedient and are yet willing to live in humble submission to his Imperial Majesty in all things that are compatible with God and our conscience. But now we cannot, if we are not to deny Christ, go back to the old abuses. And if here something is said that is harsh or severe it has no reference to nor is meant for his Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, for his Majesty's virtues and inherent grace are well known throughout the world; these remarks, however, are meant for those and are about those who have falsely accused us before his Imperial Majesty of acting contrary to the teachings of Christ." Melancthon then did write many a sharp word, when he took up the two forms in the Sacrament, marriage of priests, the mass, vows and the church government, and successfully defended the Confession against the Confutation; at times even using the weapon of sarcasm and scorn in refuting the proofs which had been presented for the Catholic usages. The whole closed

with these statements: "This is approximately our answer on these points which we remember, and we are willing to give further account of our Confession to anyone who demands it and if the Confutation . . . had been submitted to us we probably would have been able to give a better answer on this and other points."

So the Confession had been maintained through great temptations and manfully defended in spite of many weaknesses. The great part that Luther played in this defense will be shown in my forthcoming "New Studies on the A. C."; in a measure it can be seen from the documents in Part II, 43, 44, 47 and 49.

On the following day (Sept. 23) the Lutherans demanded a copy of the recess and time until April 15th of the following year to consider it.⁶⁸ The Elector John left the Diet on the same day, without being invested with the Electorship but with a clear conscience. When Luther heard it he thanked God "that our dear prince is now for once free from hell" (Erlangen Ed. 54, 194). Still the Diet dragged along for another month. The poor Margrave George was again cornered; true, on the 13th of October the Emperor proclaimed a recess completely dominated by medievalism;⁶⁹ true, a gruff reply to their *Tetrapolitana* was read to the four cities by Faber, Eck and Cochleus on the 25th, but all of this did not change the fact that the Confession, rejected by Emperor and empire, had been successfully maintained.

There remains only, for the sake of completeness, to show how the *Prima Delineatio Apologiae* grew into the Apology, found in our present Symbolical Books. Kolde⁷⁰ says very nicely: "From the very beginning Melancthon must have had an expansion and correction in mind. For, as Matthesius reported, he was at work on it on the return to Wittenberg—he left there September '23—while resting with Luther at Spalatin's home in Altenburg. Shortly after that he also saw the first copy of the Confutation. He probably received it from Nuernberg whose representatives in Augsburg was finally

able to send a copy home on the 28th of August.⁷² The reading of the whole document only increased his impression that it was "*adeo insidiose et calumniose scriptum, ut fallere etiam cautos in certis locis posset*"—as he later wrote in the Preface—and strengthened his intention to rewrite his whole Apology and publish it together with the Augsburg Confession. He must have thought that the task could be quickly accomplished for on the 12th of November he promised Osiander in Nuernberg a letter as soon as he had finished the Apology. Yet on January first, as he then wrote, he was still deep in the article on justification. This was due to the fact that he recalled, as unsatisfactory, the 5½ printed sheets which dealt with this subject. At first he had treated Articles 4-6 but later on included Article 20 and so found it necessary to rewrite the whole subject of justification and the relation of faith to good works.⁷³ Sickness and other duties, such as the debate with Bucer regarding the Sacrament, also delayed him. Furthermore he, at this time, thought it wise to write more in detail. So the task was not completed until the end of April or the beginning of May. It was published together with the Augsburg Confession and the first known copies, contrary to their title, contain only the Latin text.⁷⁴

The Apology was primarily to disprove the statement of the writers of the Confutation that the Augsburg Confession had been refuted. For this reason the main sequence of the article in both, the *Confessio* and *Confutatio* are retained but otherwise related matters are treated as a whole. The points conceded by the opposition are touched on only lightly but the articles that had been attached are thoroughly discussed. Then also other articles, which seemingly had been slighted in the Confession—as the worship of saints and the one on the sacraments where one could miss a rejection of the number seven—are given more space. So the answer to the Confutation had grown into a theological discussion of the Augsburg Confession. This, after all, is the Apology's greatest value. It is this—even if among other things the apostrophes to the Emperor remind us of the first draft—because Melancthon, in closest possible harmony with the established terminology,⁷⁵ from the principal thought of the gospel—law and gospel, sin and justification—sheds light upon the opposing views and traces them back to their origin. The whole is a companion to the *Loci Communes*. In tone it is, as Melancthon advised his friends in advance, much sharper than the Augsburg Confession. That is especially seen in his endeavor to

expose the unreasonable and unscriptural later scholasticism and in his proof of the authenticity and purity of the Evangelical doctrine by stressing its conformity with the conceptions of the ancient church, especially the Greek. This leads Melanchthon, as proof for the correctness and antiquity of the Evangelical doctrine of the Sacrament, not only to appeal to the *canon missae* of the Greek church but also to quote the Bulgarian Theophylact who speaks of a "mutare panem." This quotation, by the way, was dropped from the second edition.⁷⁶

The German translation, which was more of a devotional recast of the Latin, was prepared by Justus Jonas. Although probably engaged in the task while the Latin edition was on the press, the completion of the work was naturally not possible until the Latin was finished. It was delayed, however, until the fall of 1531, for on Sept. 26 Melanchthon was still busily engaged in making corrections in his text.⁷⁷ So where peculiarities and differences from the Latin text are to be found they probably are due to Melanchthon and not Jonas.⁷⁸

The long expected work was enthusiastically greeted by the Evangelicals. Lazarus Spengler of Nuernberg, who probably received one of the first copies, wrote to Veit Dietrich on May 17: "We have received the Apology with greatest joy and with the hope that it will accomplish much good and profit even among our children," and John Brenz of Swabian Halle, designated it as worthy of having a place in the canon.⁷⁹ Among the enemies there was great consternation. Albrecht of Mainz sent a copy to the Emperor on November 19 to show him how the Christian religion is being ruined and how necessary it is to publish the Confutation. The writers of the Confutation saw themselves defeated without a weapon available for their defense as long as their own work was not printed and circulated. Cochleus seemed to know that the Apology found favor in Rome and bitterly bewailed the fact that, what he and others had written against it, did not find a publisher.⁸⁰

What Melanchthon published under the title *Apologia Confessionis* was, in distinction to what was to have been presented in Augsburg on September 22, merely a private matter and was specifically so designated by him. For he wrote in the preface: "*Quamquam autem initio apologiam instituimus communicato cum aliis consilio, tamen ega inter*

excudendum quaedam adieci. Quare meum nomen profiteor, ne quis queri possit sine certo auctore librum editum esse."

And so the first edition of the Apology bears his name while the Augsburg Confession, as an official document, was issued without the author's name. But although an official resolution was never passed in this matter it very soon was adopted by the Evangelicals as a public confession of their faith to be placed at the side of the Augsburg Confession. This happened for the first time in the spring of 1532 at the meeting at Schweinfurt which preceded the peace of Nuernberg, Spalatin reported that the enemies had used these words our 'confession' and 'assertion' and for a long time did not want to stand for the word 'Apology'; but the Evangelicals demanded the naming of the Apology as "a defense and explanation of the Confession," as Chancellor Brueck had called it. Then at the day of Schmalkalden, 1537, when, on demand of the Evangelical estates, it was officially signed with the Augsburg Confession by the theologians present, it was formally placed at the side of this Confession as a confessional document.⁸²

THIRD CHAPTER

THE HISTORY OF THE CONFESSION

a) In Germany

The Lutheran princes and estates had hardly made their confession in Augsburg, in spite of the attempts of the Emperor to dissuade them, before it was adopted by others as their confession and doctrinal basis.¹ In the very same year (1530) Duke Albrecht of Prussia issued a decree to the effect "that if anyone shall teach anything contrary to the Augsburg Confession, he shall be excommunicated, and if he does not recant, he shall be cast out from the Church absolutely."² When the Evangelical princes and estates met at Schmalkalden between December 22 and 30, even Strassburg accepted the Augsburg Confession.³ Then on the 27th of February, 1531, the Smalcald League was formed while its organization was perfected at Schweinfurt in April, 1532. And the confession of the League was the Augsburg Confession and its Apology. With that the Augsburg Confession became authoritative (1532) in Saxony, Hesse, Braunschweig-Lueneburg, Braunschweig-Grubenhagen, Anhalt-Koethen (Prince Wolfgang), Mansfeld and in the cities of Strassburg, Ulm, Konstanz, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Luebeck, Magdeburg, Bremen. This was also true of certain territories, which, although they were not members of the League, adopted the Confession, such as the Mark Brandenburg, the city of Nuernberg, etc. The South German cities were allowed to retain, aside from the Augsburg Confession and Apology, their separate confession (Tetrapolitana) which made an especial rejection of the Zwinglians unnecessary.⁴ In 1534 Anhalt-Dessau also joined the federation and with it

accepted the Augsburg Confession. From the day of Schmalkalden, 1535 all members, who subsequently joined, were pledged, "to have the Word of God and the pure doctrine of our Confession . . . uniformly taught and preached."⁵ In the book of church discipline, which Bugenhagen wrote for Pomerania in 1535, the ministers were pledged "to teach of faith, works and the sacraments according to the Confession and Apology presented to the Emperor at Augsburg by the Evangelical Princes."⁶ In 1536 the Duchy of Wuerttemberg in the south, Hannover and Hamburg in the north joined the Smalcald League and with that accepted the Confession. In the same year those who were active in writing the Wittenberg Concord acknowledged the Augsburg Confession and Apology (C. R. III, 76). The Day of Schmalkalden of 1537 produced some specially noteworthy results. There, in anticipation of the Council, the theologians were requested to again review the Augsburg Confession and Apology and to strengthen it with new arguments from Scripture and the Fathers. However, no changes were to be made which were contrary to its own contents or that of the Wittenberg Concord; only the nature of the papacy was to be defined more clearly.⁷ Due to the lack of books nothing more was done, aside from adopting Melancthon's *Tractatus de potestate papae*, than with their signature to pledge themselves anew to the Augsburg Confession and its Apology. By this action the Confession again was confirmed as the foundation of the Smalcald League and, as it were, the symbol of all the participating churches. In the following years the Augsburg Confession was received in all those states which were opened to the Reformation through the influence of Wittenberg. So 1539 in the Duchy of Saxony and Palatinate-Zweibruecken;⁸ 1540 in Mark Brandenburg (in Brandenburg-Kuestrin already in 1537) and in Mecklen-

burg; 1541 in Halle, 1542 in Schleswig-Holstein,⁹ Kalenberg and Goettingen and the Duchy of Braunschweig in the north; in the south in Palatinate-Neuburg and Regensburg; the Duchy of Liegnitz in the east and soon thereafter in Hildesheim; 1544 in the Earldom Henneberg and in Merseburg. Hardly 15 years had passed since the presentation of the Confession, and yet it had been adopted by nearly all of Evangelical Germany! Even along the lower Rhein and in East Friesland, where as yet no clear position had been established, many had adopted the Confession.

How greatly they valued the Confession in many places may be seen, aside from what has been said of Pomerania, Prussia and Liegnitz,¹⁰ from the following: When the Saxon Articles of Visitation of 1533 direct that in every parish the Augsburg Confession and Apology must be at hand in both the Latin and German version this surely was ordered so that the ministers would study them and preach in accordance with their teachings. In the Statutes of the Wittenberg Theological Faculty, written by Melanchthon in 1533, the first article reads: "As in the churches of our dominion and in the juvenile schools, so in the University, in which there ought always to be clear supervision and oversight in doctrine, we will that the pure doctrine of the Gospel be piously and faithfully set forth, preserved and promulgated in harmony with the Confession we delivered to the Emperor Charles at Augsburg in the year 1530, which doctrine we firmly believe to be the pure and uninterrupted consensus of the Catholic Church of God."¹¹ From the same year on all those who took theological degrees, were pledged, under oath, to the Augsburg Confession.¹² Likewise after 1535 no one was admitted to the ministry in Wittenberg who was not in agreement with the doctrines of the Confession. Even if the ordination formula did not expressly state this, the or-

dination was preceded by an examination which ended with a pledge to teach and preach in harmony with the Lutheran doctrines expressed in the examination. This was then attested in the ordination certificate. It is true that the Augsburg Confession was not as a rule named in these ordination papers, but when Wittenberg spoke of the "*doctrina incorrupta, quam ecclesia nostra profitetur*" it certainly had the Augsburg Confession in mind.¹³ In the German "Ordinanden Examen" of 1552 (C. R. XXIII, p. XXXVIII^f.), however, the Augsburg Confession is expressly named.¹⁴ No less than 1700 pastors were ordained in Wittenberg in the years 1537-1555 who found charges in the various parts of Germany.¹⁵ It is also of record that the Augsburg Confession was used in the upper classes of the grammar schools and that an edition was published for this purpose.¹⁶ In passing it may be of interest to note that it was also published in verse.¹⁷

The Augsburg Confession was likewise made the indispensable basis for every religious colloquy. So in the deliberations with the envoy of the King of England 1535-1536 (cf. part g of this chapter); in the colloquy with the Catholics in Hagenau and Worms in 1540 and again in Regensburg 1541. When in Hagenau the Lutherans were asked to present, in short form, the points in question, they answered: The Confession of our faith and Apology was presented at Augsburg ten years ago; to this we still adhere, being ready to satisfy any that find fault with it. So it was decided to take up the articles of the Augsburg Confession at the continuation of the colloquy at Worms. In Regensburg the Lutherans declared again and again that they would remain true to the Augsburg Confession: "This entire kind of doctrine, which is set forth in our churches, and which exists in our Confession and Apology, is the doctrine which is handed down in the Gospel and in the consensus of the Catholic Church

of Christ:”¹⁸ When the Lutherans in 1551 found it necessary to prepare for the Council of Trent they requested Melanchthon, in the north, and Brenz, in the south, to work out confessions which were to be supplementary to the Augsburg Confession. So the *Confessio Saxonica* and the *Confessio Wuerttembergica* (Part II, 54. 55) came into being of which the first went under the name *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanae*.¹⁹ In the first paragraph of the preface to the *Confessio Saxonica* it is declared: “We mean simply and faithfully to reiterate the sum of the doctrine which is preached in all the churches that embrace the Confession of the Reverend Dr. Luther, and we repeat the doctrine of the Confession which was presented to the Emperor Charles at the Diet of Augsburg in the year 1530, although some things are here more fully recited.” This Repetition was endorsed and approved by synods, universities, superintendents, and theologians from Prussia to Strassburg and was incorporated in several *Corpora Doctrinae* (C. R. XXVIII, 327ff.; 457-468). On the other hand the *Confessio Wuerttembergica* was not only acknowledged by the Wuerttembergers and Strassburgers but also by the Electorate of Saxony. At the Naumburg Convention in May 1554, the question of presenting articles of faith at the coming diet was discussed. It was agreed to hold to the Augsburg Confession and either present it or the *Confessio Wuerttembergica* or *Confessio Saxonica* to the Emperor. In the first paragraph of the declaration, written by Melanchthon and adopted by all, it was stated: “We appeal to the published and well-known Confession which was delivered to his Imperial Majesty at Augsburg in the year 1530, and by which our churches through the grace of God still stand, because they know that this is the sole, eternal consensus of the Holy Scriptures and the true Catholic Church of Christ” (C. R. VIII, 284). During March 1555 sixteen Lutheran

princes again assembled at Naumburg and resolved: "That, as to religion, they would not exceed the terms and limits of the Augsburg Confession," and they insisted on the execution of the Articles in the Passau Treaty (1552), which provided "that those of the Augsburg Confession shall also be admitted into the Imperial Council."¹⁹ Then on the 25th of September 1555 religious peace was established in Augsburg which assured all adherents of the Augsburg Confession complete religious freedom in the German Empire. Here the Protestant Princes "wrung from the Catholics the Decree of absolute religious independence in the sense and to the extent that neither the Emperor, nor the King of the Romans, nor any Prince or Estate of the Empire, for any cause or pretext whatever, shall attack or injure the adherents of the Augsburg Confession on account of their religious faith; nor shall they by command, nor in any other way, force any adherent of the Augsburg Confession to forsake his religion, or to abandon the ceremonies already instituted or hereafter to be instituted; and the Emperor and the King and the Estates shall suffer them without hindrance to profess the religion of the Augsburg Confession, and peacefully to enjoy their goods, possessions, rents and rights."²⁰

But which form of the Augsburg Confession was it which was so widely circulated and was now recognized at the Diet of Augsburg as the basis of the Evangelical Church of Germany? The story of the various editions of the Confession and the disputes arising from them make this question necessary.

At first the Confession was circulated only in manuscript form. This is true for the time before the Diet, 1530, and probably immediately thereafter. The Lutheran Princes and representatives of cities present in Augsburg certainly desired a copy of what they were to confess, or had confessed. Up to 1901 we knew of 25 such manuscripts. Then P. Tschackert discovered 11 more which he described

in 1901, with the other 25, in his critical book on the texts of the Augsburg Confession.²¹ Of these 36 copies 24 were of the German, 10 of the Latin Confession, one a German translation of the Latin and another a French translation of the Latin. Aside from the Latin *Codex Wimariensis* of 1561 they are all of the year 1530. Some of these are incomplete while the others have the complete text. In 1901 the following German texts were among the first class named: Ansbach 1, Weimar 1, Muenchen. Dresden 1, Hannover, Palatinate-Neuburg 1, Mainz, Wuerzburg, Augsburg, Noerdlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Weimar 2, Dresden 2, Palatinate-Neuburg 2, Constanz, Strassburg. Among the second class are: Zerbst, Reutlingen, Nuernberg, Marburg, Ansbach 2, Ansbach 3, Koenigsberg. Of the Latin manuscripts the following have incomplete texts: *The Codex Marburgensis I*, *Wirceburgensis*, *Ratisbonensis*, *Onoldensis*, *Wimariensis*, *Hannoveranus*, *Norimbergensis*, *Marburgensis II*. Among these must also be counted the German and French translations of the Latin text.

But since 1901 the picture has been completely changed. In 1904 Tschackert found three new manuscripts of 1530. In 1906 Kolde published Baumgaertner's German translation of the Latin text of May 31. In 1930 Ficker published the German form of June 15 and furnished proof that the Mainz manuscript, mentioned above, is an exact reproduction of the lost German edition of June 25. He also found two absolutely reliable copies of the Latin form of June 25. We have shown in Chapter I. the vast importance of these manuscripts found in 1906 and 1930. In this year Bornkamm discovered still more so that today we know of 50 manuscripts of 1530 containing the Confession. Compare the forthcoming Article of Bornkamm in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*.

The two original manuscripts containing the Latin and the German text and handed to the Emperor on June 25, so far could not be recovered. They probably are lost. The Latin manuscript in Melancthon's own handwriting was preserved for several decades at the Imperial archive at Brussels and by the order of Philip of Spain was sent to Spain. Here it probably was burned up that it could bring no further harm. Compare Kolde, *Neue Augustana-studien*, 1906. Of the whereabouts of the German original history does not give us even a hint, since we know that it was not the original but a copy of the German original that came to Mainz.

Although the Emperor forbade the printing of the Confession

even during the Diet, a considerable number of editions were printed by unauthorized printers. Of these six German and one Latin editions are known. They are all carefully described by Bindseil in *Corpus Reformatorum XXVI*. Since these editions were all incorrect and could cause evil consequences Melanchthon, in spite of the Emperor's ban, immediately upon his return from Augsburg began to prepare the official edition of the Confession. We here follow Kolde who has given the question much attention in his "Neue Augustanastudien" of 1906 and has given a splendid resumé of his investigations in his "Historische Einleitung" of 1907. Melanchthon began his task at once after his return.²² But since he intended to include an Apology, which he was continually rewriting, the date of publication was delayed. It went to press in the fall of 1530 but was not completed.²³ This official edition, with the Apology, finally appeared at the end of April or May 1531 at George Rhau's in Wittenberg. Since the German edition of the Apology, made by Justus Jonas, was not finished, only the Latin text was first published; the German text followed, probably in the fall of 1531, and was then very likely sold together with the Latin. The title read *CONFESSIO FIDEI || exhibita inuictiss. Imp. Carolo V. || Caesari Aug. in Comicijs || Anno || M.D.XXX || Addita est Apologia Confessionis. || Beidr Deudsch || Vnd Latinisch. || Psalm 119. || Et loquebar de testimonijs tuis in con- || spectu Regum et non confundebat. ||* At the end of the Apology we read: *Impressum per Georgium Rhau. M.D.XXXI.* The title of the German edition is: *Confessio odder Be || kantnus des Glau- || bens etlicher Fuersten || vnd Stede: Vber- || antwort Keiserlicher || Maiestat: || zu Augspurg. || Anno M.D.XXX. || Apologia der Confessio. ||* At the end of the Apology we find: "Printed at Wittemberg by George Rhau. Anno M.D.XXXI." This bilingual edition of the Confession and Apology is in quarto form. Of this *Editio princeps*, however, there are at least two different versions or kinds to be distinguished. They probably were caused by small differences which crept in during the printing of the various folios, or that the differences appeared as a result of certain corrections that had been made. The printer, however, as was often done in those days, sold the uncorrected as well as the corrected copies.

How does the *Editio princeps* compare with the text which was presented on June 25? We know that the Latin copy, which was handed to the Emperor, was Melanchthon's own handwriting since no time was available to prepare a clean copy. Therefore, at least

for the Latin text, he had no available copy at hand for his *Editio princeps*. He was compelled to fall back on former copies of the Latin text and probably some notes he had regarding the changes he had made in the presented copy. Now he himself emphasizes that he had taken his text *ex exemplari bonae fidei*. And the fact that he regarded the Augsburg Confession as an official document is shown by the fact that, unlike the Apology, he does not name himself as the author. But under such conditions he was not able to deliver a text which was correct, word for word. Only when Ficker publishes his certified copy of the Latin text presented to the Emperor will we be able to say anything definite regarding the relation of his Latin text to the one of June 25. Now we only have his statement: "Both copies confirm the value of the copies made in Augsburg in 1530 (especially the Wuerzburg and Regensburg manuscripts) as well as the printed text of Fabricius in his *Harmonia confessionum*."²⁵ This much, however, will probably be established: the Latin text of the *Editio princeps* varies from the text of the copy that was actually presented in many points, Kolde was right when he said, in reference to the 13th and the 18th Article: That the "*damnationes*" found here, were not in the presented copy is plainly seen from the fact that the *Confutatio Pontificia* does not consider them.²⁶

We are more certain regarding the differences between the German text of the *Editio princeps* and the one presented to the Emperor, since we know that the Mainz manuscript is a true copy of the lost German original. There the vast differences in Articles 4, 5, 13 and especially in 20, 27 and 28 are surprising. They have, in part, become entirely new articles as may be seen by comparing the German form of the *Editio princeps* in Part II, 40. This is all the more surprising since Melanchthon here had reliable material at hand. Did he not have the recension of June 15 which differed only in preface and conclusion from the presented copy? It may be true what Kolde said, that the changes in the *Editio princeps* were made in interest of clearness; that they are valuable as authentic explanations of Melanchthon's; that nowhere they can be taken as changes in doctrine; that the Evangelical estates and theologians, who could have noticed these changes since many of them had copies of their own, never objected, but for decades accepted it as the authorized edition,—yet all of this does not change the fact that Melanchthon made some very extensive, unauthorized changes

in an official document. He here entered on that course which found its final result in the Variata of 1540.

The second Latin edition, this time in Octavo, was issued in 1531. It, and those following, are described by Bindseil in *Corpus Reformatorum* and need not be considered here. Of note, however, is the German Octavo edition of 1533 with appended Apology and dated M.D.XXXIII. We again note considerable changes in Articles 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, and especially in 20 where, for the sake of clearness, Melanchthon added thoughts from the Apology. It is another step toward the Variata of 1540.

Elector John Fredrick probably became aware of these changes for on May 5, 1537 he wrote (C. R. III, 336): "So M. Philipp has also presumed to change the Confession of his Electoral Grace and the other princes and estates, which was made before his Imp. Majesty in Augsburg, by modifying it and having it printed elsewhere."²⁷ But Melanchthon's changes reach their climax in his Latin Quarto edition of 1540. Due to its many changes this edition received the name Variata.²⁸ Kolde has the complete Latin text in his *Augsburgische Konfession*. H. E. Jacobs has the English text in his Book of Concord which again is based on the *Harmony of Confessions* of 1586. Due to lack of space we can only give a few articles in Part II, 53. Kolde's description of the changes is reliable: "Some of them are purely formal as when he rearranges the articles of the second part more logically. Others consist of extensive amplifications due to a desire for greater clearness. By bringing in passages from the Apology he has developed a greater keenness in combating the Roman opponent. He also included a more extensive proof from Scripture. Then there are, however, real changes or modifications which are of a dogmatic nature. Such are the enlarging of Articles 6 and 20, with their stressing the necessity of repentance and good works. Then those in Article 18 which could be construed as synergistic.³⁰ This is not due so much to its wording as it could be misunderstood when taken in connection with Melanchthon's changed convictions voiced in later editions (after 1535) of his *Loci Communes*.³⁰ The new form of Article 10 though not immediately regarded as objectionable, became a serious stumbling block later on. What the article states regarding the Sacrament is true and in itself could pass as a statement of Lutheran faith. *De coena domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi, rescentibus in coena domini*. It becomes suspicious

and a stumbling block when we keep in mind that it omitted the *vere et substantialiter adesse* and the *improbatio* of the form of 1530. How tenaciously they had held to this *improbatio* at Agusburg, even at the danger of losing the Landgrave's consent! And now it had been discarded! What prompted Melanchthon to do this? It is hardly correct to say that he had undergone a change of faith in the doctrine of the Supper and was seeking a phrase to express it—if thereby is meant that Melanchthon doubted the real presence of the Body and Blood in the Sacrament. It is a different matter, however, if one wishes to say thereby that he doubted the excluding power of such conviction. That probably is true. He personally still believed in the actual presence but no longer believed that on account of this conviction he ought to exclude from church fellowship those who believed differently. He may have thought of the fact that the Strassburgers had not been asked to condemn the Zwinglians and that the Wittenberg Concord lay between 1530 and 1540. He probably believed that his form of Article 10 was absolutely in harmony with the common basis expressed there. And that he permitted himself to undertake such extensive changes he also could justify with the reminder that at the day of Schmalkalden in 1537 the theologians (however not an individual!) had been asked to again review the Confession and Apology, and to prove it with new arguments from Scripture and the Fathers. At that time the Wittenberg Concord had been expressly mentioned.³¹

Luther hardly objected to the fact that Melanchthon made changes. He, himself, had made changes in the manuscript of the Articles of Schmalkalden while preparing them for the printer when he thought—although wrongly—that they had been adopted by the estates. The conception of the inviolability of a public document was not clearly defined in those days. He probably was sorry that Melanchthon made the changes just in Article 10, but he let it pass. Neither do we hear that he challenged Melanchthon's doubtful statements in his *Loci* of 1535 and 1543. He also let the articles of 1536 with the English (cf. Section g) pass as sufficient.³² Neither do we hear that there was any other objection to the Variata. "They used the new edition freely as one prefers a new edition to an older one" (Kolde). An objection, however, was made, not by the Lutherans, but by Eck and Cochleus. When, at the time of the Colloquy of Worms, the Variata was used they noticed the difference and sent for the copy ("The Original") at Mainz so as to establish the

changes.³³ To be sure, Melanchthon declared that there were no changes in the "matter, substance and meaning." Still so little did he expect objections from his own camp that in the edition of 1542 he even made other changes. Without question no difference was made in the following years between the *Editio princeps* and the *Variata*, both were accepted as designations for the same thing.

In the negotiations regarding the peace in Augsburg the Catholics again raised the question of these differences and they were used, especially by the representative of Treves, in an effort to exclude those who were Calvinistically inclined, and as to recognize only the confessors of the Augsburg Confession of 1530. But this was frustrated by the Protestants. The Zwinglians, Anabaptists etc. were excluded from the peace but not the Calvinistic domains, since they approved of the *Variata*. Even the Electorate of Saxony defended it.

And yet a difference in the valuation of the *Variata* arose about this time. Three things caused this: The doctrinal quarrels which began in connection with the Interim, in which the later so-called Gnesiolutherans rightly attacked so many of the positions maintained by Melanchthon and his pupils; the fact that the "Melanchthonians" and South Germans made the edition of 1540 their party symbol; the events at the Colloquy at Worms (1557) where the Protestants sought to exclude each other and were compelled to let the Jesuit Canisius differentiate between a pure and impure Augsburg Confession. The Day of the princes in Naumburg, who had met to formulate matters for the next Council of Trent, was also to bring about a stand regarding the editions of the Augsburg Confession. They acknowledged the German text of the *Editio princeps* and the Latin Octavo edition of 1531,³⁴ yet, at the same time expressed as their opinion, that in accepting the edition of 1531 they also acknowledged those of 1540 and 1542 as "the ones which at the present time are, for the greater part, used in our churches and schools" and

“which are formulated a little more in detail so that the divine truth be brought to light and faith and dependency upon the satisfaction and merits of Jesus Christ, above all human tradition and ordinances, be delivered pure and undefiled to our children.” Which is to say, they expected to remain in the confession of 1530 and accepted it in the acknowledged form of 1531 and while praising the *Variata*, yet gave the edition of 1530 (printed 1531) a peculiar standing.³⁵ This then brought about a change. Duke John Fredrick of Saxony deeply felt this peculiar rating and unreservedly acknowledged the Confession of 1530 (1531) as also the Articles of Schmalkalden. Aside from the Elector of the Palatinate, who leaned toward Calvinism, all of the princes gradually joined the Duke of Saxony. It is true that the *Variata*, by being included in the *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum*,³⁶ which was widely circulated and in 1566 was expressly acknowledged in the Electorate of Saxony, enjoyed for a time considerable prominence. But soon the *Corpus Philippicum* was opposed by other *corpora doctrinae* which did not contain the *Confessio Variata* but the *Confessio Invariata* and other writings, mostly of Luther. The Confession of Reuss-Schoeneburg especially treated the *Variata* severely. It said, the *Variata* is only being used “by the Adiaphorists, Sacramentarians, Antinomians, teachers of a new work righteousness and the like, so that under the true Augsburg Confession they may find shelter for their errors and forgeries . . . and to give the appearance of also being confessors of the Augsburg Confession so that under its protection against the hail and rain, they may enjoy the religious peace and so sell, further and spread their errors, under the aspect of friendship, all the more unmolested and freely.”³⁷ As harsh as this may sound time proved it to be entirely correct. Under the banner of the Augsburg Confession of 1540 Calvin gained consider-

able ground in Germany and took much Lutheran territory. Under the same banner the Philippists undertook to take even Saxony from the Lutherans and open it to Calvinistic theology. It is also not accidental that just the leaders of the Philippists, after the fall of Cryptocalvinism in Saxony, went over to the Reformed Church. It is little surprising, therefore, that the Augsburg Confession of 1530 (1531) again was highly appreciated and that the authors of the Book of Concord were from the beginning certain that it must be acknowledged as the uncorrupted form and that only the text of 1530 or as nearby that text as could be ascertained, was to be included in their book. When some writers indulge in sneering at the term "Unaltered Confession of Augsburg" which came now more and more in use, they overlook the fact that this term is to be understood historically. Although it is true that the *Editio princeps* itself contained a number of considerable changes from the text presented to the Diet, in comparison with the edition of 1540 it was rightly called the "*Invariata*" or Unaltered Confession.

In regard the finding of the German text of June 25 preliminary work had already been done by the Elector Joachim II. He had sent his Chaplain Coelestin and Andreas Zoch, the chancellor of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, to Mainz in 1566 where the original, which had been read on June 25, was supposed to be kept. They were to get a reliable copy of the same or make one themselves. They brought a copy home which the Elector Joachim published in 1572 in his *Corpus Doctrinae Brandenburgicum*. It was again published by Chytraeus in 1576 and also by Coelestin in 1576 and again in 1597. In the *Corpus Brandenburgicum* this form was expressly designated as: "From the true original, which was presented to Emperor Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530."⁸⁸

Electoral August of Saxony went back to this edition but, probably since the form in the *Corpus Brandenburgicum* differed so widely from the *Editio princeps* and since Coelestin had been proven, as unreliable, he had a new copy made in Mainz in 1576. This was the foundation of the one reproduced in the Book of Concord. We can see in it nothing but a merciful guidance of God. Even if it was an error to accept the Mainz copy as the original, it still was an absolutely reliable copy of the same. The German text of the Book of Concord has been done bitter injustice when it was so contemptuously treated as Kolde still does (*Hist. Einleitung*, XXXI). To be sure, it added the names of the subscribers which are missing in the manuscript at Mainz, and a few errors have crept in; but in so far as it reproduces the Mainz copy it is the Confession which was read in Augsburg on June 25.

The situation is different, however, in matter of the Latin text of the Book of Concord. Here they also honestly tried to give the original text of 1530 but were on the wrong track. Although it could have been known from Lindanus³⁹ book of 1568 that the Latin Original was in Brussels, they also sought it in Mainz. But when they received no satisfactory answer from there they ceased their search and Selnecker, in haste and without authority,⁴⁰ used the text of the Octavo edition of 1531 for the first edition of the Book of Concord. And that simply because the Quarto edition was not at hand. Only in the second edition of the Latin Book of Concord he followed the *Editio princeps*, i. e. the Quarto edition of the spring 1531. That is also to be regretted on account of the changes which Melancthon had already made in the text—which have been described above. All the more, since we now know that a Latin text existed at the time which came far nearer the one presented to the Emperor than the *Editio princeps*.

It was included in the book published in 1573 by the Catholic Andrew Fabricius, *Harmonia Confessionis Augustanae, doctrinae evangelicae consensum declarans*,⁴¹ and again was published by Coelestin in 1577 in his *Historia Comitiorum ano 1530 Augustae celebratorum, etc.*⁴² Fabricius expressly states: *Confessionem ipsam, non mutilatam, non arrosam, non interpolatam, sed integram, sed de verbo ad verbum ex prototypo, quod Carolo Quinto Caesari fuit oblatum, descriptam collocamus.*⁴³ It is easily understood that this edition was eyed with misgiving since the text offered by Fabricius differed strongly from the *Editio princeps*. But the edition was trustworthy as Ficker⁴⁴ has now shown by comparing it with newly discovered copies of the lost original. Fabricius evidently used one of the copies of the Latin original, which had been prepared in Augsburg for the Catholic theologians who were at work on the Confutation, or probably for one of the Catholic dignitaries. Therefore the German text of the Book of Concord has more documentary value than the Latin and it would be ill advised to use only the Latin text in the preparation of an English translation. As soon as Ficker publishes the text of the original Latin, according to the two copies found by him, we will be once more on solid ground.

When the Confession was included in the *Corpora Doctrinae* and the Book of Concord it became a "symbolum" of the Lutheran Church and among all the symbols of this particular church the chief and fundamental. It has maintained this position through centuries. Space does not permit us to give a detailed account of all the extensive and fruitful research work done in Germany in connection with the history of the Augsburg Confession. Our bibliography in the Lutheran World Almanac (1930, p. 108ff.) of course is not complete, nor was it intended to be, but it will give an idea of the extent of the literature available. We also call attention to

A. Galley's book, *Die Jahrhundertjahrfeiern der Augsburgischen Konfession, Leipzig, 1930*. The extensive literature of this year has been gratefully used by us and credited in the proper place. Compare also the author's *Neue Studien zur Augustana*, which will contain the chapters which could not be included in this book due to lack of space. There also will be found a list of other literature which has been used. Plitt is still a reliable guide to a historical understanding of the Augsburg Confession: G. Plitt, *Einleitung in die Augustana, 2. Haelfte: Entstehungsgeschichte des evangelischen Lehrbegriffs bis zum Augsburger Bekenntnis, Erlangen 1868*.⁴⁵ For a number of valuable points see K. Thieme's book: *Die Augsburger Konfession und Luther's Katechismen auf theologische Gegenwartswerte untersucht* (Giessen, 1930). For as critical as this theologian is towards the contents of the Confession so intensive are his historical investigations regarding what the Confession actually wished to say. Leonard Fendt on the other hand, in his book, *Der Wille der Reformation im Augsburger Bekenntnis* (Leipzig 1930) has tried to show the abiding value of the Augsburg Confession in an impressive way, and of still greater value are Laurer's study in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Doerne's articles in the *Allgemeine ev.-luth. Kirchenzeitung*, and Hermann's *Zur theologischen Wuerdigung der Augustana* in the *Luther Jahrbuch* of 1930.

b. In Austria

It is well known that the Reformation found an early entrance into Austria and that soon after 1530 many pastors accepted the Augsburg Confession. In 1558-1560 Lutheranism dominated most of the courts of the nobility as well as their cities and towns. To prove this is not our present aim.⁴⁶ We here are only interested in the question as to when religious freedom, based on the Augsburg Confession, was sanctioned—or at least tolerated—by the government.⁴⁷ The

answer takes us back to the peace of Augsburg of 1555. Not that this diet brought religious freedom to the Evangelicals in Austria. Its provisions were meant only for the estates of the empire. On the contrary it placed Ferdinand I in a position, following the rule *cuius regio, eius religio*, to demand of his lords and knights—not to mention the citizens and peasants—that they remain in the ancient religion. Those who refused were to be treated according to the terms of the *beneficium emigrandi*, i. e., the confessors of the Augsburg Confession were permitted “to emigrate, with wife and children to some other country and sell their property after making just payment for release from their vassalage and other taxes.” But for political and economic reasons, and in view of the Turkish danger and lack of funds, Ferdinand could not risk forcing a large portion of his subjects to emigrate. Although the Austrian nobility urged him to grant them the same privileges which the religious peace granted others, Ferdinand, holding to the provisions of Augsburg, rejected their plea, but was forced by circumstances to tolerate the Evangelicals and even permit them to conduct their Evangelical church services. With Maximilian II (1564-1573) the three estates, the lords, knights, and cities of Lower Austria again took up the matter. As early as July 10, 1564 the two upper estates presented a request to the Emperor in which, without referring to the religious peace of 1555, they asked “with humble and cordial supplication and pleas” to be permitted to remain peacefully and securely in the Christian religion, which they held according to the Augsburg Confession which had been delivered to the Emperor Charles V. and, in all points and articles, to live in all godliness and security according to this Confession and especially that they be permitted to enjoy the Evangelical preachers and servants of the church, who preach the Word of God purely and without

corruption according to the Augsburg Confession and administer the sacred Sacraments in accordance with it." It is to be noted that they appealed, not to the *Variata*, but to the *Invariata*. The Emperor, by his religious concession of August 18, 1568, actually permitted the lords and knights private services according to the Augsburg Confession.⁴⁸ In this connection it was expressly stated that this concession was made only to those who held to the *Invariata*. The Emperor reserved the right to regulate the ecclesiastical affairs in the cities and villages. The *Christliche Kirchenagende* of 1571, which was drawn up in accordance with these concessions, refers in the preface expressly to the *Invariata* and names it, aside from the Word of God, as the basis of all preaching.⁴⁹ Then, on February 4, 1572, the Lower Austrian Evangelical lords and knights pledged themselves "not to introduce nor tolerate any other doctrine, services nor ceremonies in their churches than those permitted in the before mentioned Augsburg Confession and Agenda (ritual)."

The course of events in *Upper Austria* was the same. In his resolution of December 7, 1568 Maximilian II assured his subjects that "he expected to proceed in this land in the same way as he will arrange with the two estates in the Archduchy below the Enns." To this he added that it was his expectation: "That two faithful estates would be satisfied with this statement . . . and especially carefully avoid all sects contrary to the Augsburg Confession (1530)."⁵⁰ So also the principal of the Latin school of Linz was requested to "set a good example, in the fear of the Lord and all other honorable and good arts, virtues and Christian discipline, according to the instructions of the Augsburg Confession (1530)."⁵¹ In the "New Instruction" of 1576 it is said that the rector in all ecclesiastical matters, is to be guided solely by the Augsburg Confession and is to avoid all sects. In the church disci-

pline of 1578 the preachers are admonished: "not to act contrary to the Augsburg Confession (1530), the Apology and the Smalkaldian Articles nor to introduce errors into the pulpits whereby the church as well as its members is troubled and confused."

In *Inner Austria* the negotiations between the provinces and Archduke Charles II also turned on the recognition of the Augsburg Confession. The lords and knights, at various times, stated that they "freely and voluntarily confess the Christian Confession which had been presented to Charles V at Augsburg in 1530 with a conscience which, unmolested and untroubled, belongs to God and no other potentate. Also that the Christian preachers of the land, who hold to this Confession, may remain unmolested and unpersecuted and the churches and schools be unmolested and remain free."⁵² Charles then promised, on the 9th of February in Bruck, "he would honestly live according to this "Pacification" with all who hold to the Augsburg Confession."⁵³ In the church order, which came into being on February 21, 1578, the Evangelicals of Inner Austria pledged themselves, without reservation, to the Augsburg Confession "a symbol and confession against which not even the gates of hell could prevail and the like of which has not been since the time of the Apostles." This statement was then also strengthened by naming and refuting "errors which the devil has raised against the pure Augsburg Confession."⁵⁴

While the editions of the Confession, printed in Germany, were in use in Lower and Upper Austria and in those sections of Inner Austria which used the German language, we also find the Confession circulated in Inner Austria in the native tongues of Carniola and Croatia. And this a decade before the Augsburg Confession had been officially recognized by the "Pacification" of Bruck! The Carniola reformer,

Primus Truber, had written a confession in the language of Carniola (also known as the Wendic), which contained the Augsburg Confession with extensions from the *Confessio Wuerttembergica* and the *Confessio Saxonica* (see p. 000). This confession was then translated by Antonius of Dalmatia and Stephanus of Istria into the Croatian language and was published in two editions. One was printed with Cyrillic, the other with Glagolian type. Two years later (1564) even the Apology was published in the Croatian language. And then to bring the Gospel to the Italian speaking people of Dalmatia, Istria and that section of Carniola which borders on Venice, both documents were translated into Italian.⁵⁵

How the Counter Reformation, which in Austria became a battle for the legality of the Augsburg Confession, finally routed the Confession, as well as the Gospel, cannot be related here.⁵⁶ New Evangelical life could only flourish again after Joseph the Second's charter of tolerance of October 13, 1781. It opened with the words: "Being convinced, on the one hand, of the danger of all constraint of conscience, and, on the other hand, of the great benefit to religion and the state made possible by a truly Christian tolerance, we have felt ourselves impelled to allow everywhere to those who follow the Augsburg and Swiss Confessions as well as to the united Greeks and right to observe privately their religious exercises."⁵⁷ Today there are 248,000 souls united in the Ev. Church of the Augsburg Confession in Austria. No valuable literature, aside from the article by Voelker has been published in this year of jubilee in Austria. The literature of Germany satisfies its needs, yet this people is probably more familiar with the Confession than the homeland of the Reformation. Its whole history was a struggle for the Confession.

c. In Czecho-Slovakia

In Bohemia and Moravia the development was parallel with that of the Archduchy Austria.⁵⁸ Here also at first only individuals held to the Augsburg Confession. Those who labored among the *Germans* nearly all confessed the Augsburg Confession. Among them were Mathesius, from 1532 Rector of the grammar school and then from 1542 pastor of Joachimsthal; Thilesius and Hegius in Eger (since 1564); Joh. Habermann in Falkenau (since 1564); Gryphius at castle Skal near Turnau (1583) etc.; Tribauer and Heidenreich (1575-1586) in Iglau; Hauser in Nusla, etc. Then individual congregations pledged themselves, in their constitutions, to this Confession. So it was said in the order for Joachimsthal of 1551: Preaching and teaching shall be in accord with what "has been formulated in the Augsburg Confession,"⁵⁹ in the order for Iglau of 1569: "We are satisfied with the Augsburg Confession which Imperial Majesty . . . grants us,"⁶⁰ in Sternberg: "According to the sole norm and guide of the holy divine Scriptures . . . and the unaltered Augsburg Confession."⁶¹

The *Bohemian* Protestants (Utraquists) had also gone over into the camp of the Lutherans and pledged themselves to the Augsburg Confession. We still have a Bohemian translation of the Confession, published in 1576, (*Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna, Sign. 78 M 131).⁶² They constituted the majority in Bohemia; only one-sixth of the population remaining Catholic. In 1571 they demanded of Maximilian II that the Augsburg Confession be officially given free to them. This was refused. Then they asked, during the diet of 1574, for permission to establish religious regulations for themselves. In the negotiations regarding this matter which took place with the sanction of Maximilian II Hassenstein von Lobkowitz proposed that all the Bohemian Protestants ac-

cept the Augsburg Confession. This, however, was not accepted; they preferred to formulate their own confession. They held that the Bohemians ought to be able to give an independent testimony of their faith and hoped in this way to persuade the, equally strong, faction of "the Brethren" (*Unitas Fratrum*) to join them in a common confession.^{62a} These had long before made their own confessions⁶³ and although they had often maintained the harmony of their confession with the one of Augsburg, they nevertheless were reluctant to surrender them. Finally the "Brethren" were won over to co-operate in formulating a confession which, in many places, shows that the Augsburg Confession was the basis.⁶⁴

They named the new confession (Part II, 56), "Bohemian Confession, or the confession of the holy Christian faith of all three estates of the Kingdom of Bohemia who in true faith receive the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under both forms." Even if the title would lead to the supposition that this is only the confession of the Utraquists who had become Lutheran—the two main authors in fact were the Utraquistian theologians Dr. Paul Pressius and Magister Krispinus—yet the preface states that the Brethren were also in agreement with all its chief parts. In fact they did identify themselves with this confession at the diets of 1603 and 1608 and again in the preface of the Bohemian edition of the same year. So the Augsburg Confession gained recognition among the *Unitas Fratrum* by way of the "Bohemian Confession." The "Bohemian Confession" was presented, in a Bohemian copy, to Maximilian II, on May 18, 1575. On August 25 he gave a verbal assurance that both the Utraquists and the Brethren would be permitted to live unmolested and teach in accordance with it.⁶⁵ But since this was only an oral assurance, which Maximilian, as soon as he

had left Bohemia, interpreted in his own way, it secured no legal basis. This they only gained when Rudolf II, in his charter of July 9, 1609, gave the Utraquists and Brethren the legal assurance that they would be permitted to teach and live in accordance with this confession. This was then also recorded in the official records, where the Bohemian Confession is also called the "Augsburg Confession." When a decade later the Counter-Reformation began in this land its people were only one-tenth Catholic.

In *Silesia*, which in the 16th century was under Bohemian jurisdiction, the Augsburg Confession was introduced in many localities very early. Breslau, where the Reformation was established as early as 1523, adhered to the Augsburg Confession although no special enactment to this effect can be shown.⁶⁶ In Brieg, where as early as 1523 the Duke decided for the Gospel, it is expressly named in the regulations of 1542 as the basis of all their ecclesiastical affairs.⁶⁷ In Jaegerndorf and Leobschuetz, which belonged to Brandenburg-Ansbach, Margrave George, who at Augsburg had taken such a decided stand for the Confession, saw to it that only such preachers were permitted to officiate who were true to the Confession. He also introduced the Nuernberg church order there in 1533. In the principality of Troppau the two estates in 1584 enacted a church order which stated that all teaching and preaching of the Word of God was to be in accordance with the Augsburg Confession.⁶⁸ In the principality of Teschen, to which until 1563, Bielitz, Freistadt and Freideck belonged also, the Reformation had been established in 1545 and their church order of 1584⁶⁹ admonishes teachers, and other school officials, to adhere to the Augsburg Confession. Bielitz especially became a refuge for the Lutheranism of the country not only for the German but also for the Czecho-Slovakian. Did not George Tranovsky, the Czecho-

Slovakian Luther, labor there as he formerly did in Teschen! In 1609 all of these Silesian domains obtained official recognition of the Augsburg Confession by the Charter of Rudolf II of August 20: "We permit that the princes and estates and each and every inhabitant of the whole land of Silesia . . . which hold to the Augsburg Confession and confess the same, practice and live their religion according to the before mentioned Confession, free and unmolested in all places."⁷⁰ It was also easier to save Lutheranism from the Counter-Reformation in Upper and Lower Silesia. While the Treaty of Westphalia, due to the one-sided interpretation of Ferdinand III, led to the destruction of the Lutheran Church in Austria, it especially considered the adherents of the Augsburg Confession in Silesia and did not forbid them the free practice of their religion.⁷¹ But new life did not return until the Swedish King, Charles XII, in the convention of Alt-Ranstadt of August 11, 1707, compelled the enforcement of the provisions made for Silesia in the Treaty of Westphalia.⁷² In Bohemia and Moravia the Edict of Tolerance of 1781 first brought a permanent change.

Within the present Czecho-Slovakia, which extends far into former Hungary, there are three church bodies which stand on the basis of the Augsburg Confession: 1. The German Ev. Luth. Church in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (123,104 members); 2. The Seniorat of the Evangelical Congregation of the A. C. in East Silesia (48,000 souls, the principal language used is Polish); 3. The Evang. Church of the A. C. in Slovakia (400,000 souls).

A quite extensive literature on the Augsburg Confession is available in the Czecho-Slovakian language. The oldest translation is of the year 1576. It bore the title: "Konfessi augspurska, nakladem urozene pani Aleny Berkove Mezericske z Lomnice, v Holomouci 1576."⁷³ The translation ar-

ranged by the notable poet Juraj Tranovsky in 1620 was of lasting influence: "Konfessi Augspurska, z pravych original-nich exemplaru do reci ceske verne a uprimne prelozena. Vytistena v Holomouci u Kristofa Kutce. Leta 1620."⁷⁴ It went through 21 editions. The editions of Bedrich Baltik (Budapest 1879, 1893, 1910) and of Jan Leska (1898) are the ones mostly used today. The Jubilee gave us a new explanation of the articles, with a historical introduction, by Jan Drobny and a book of more historical character, by Jan Durovic (1530-1930 *Die erneuerte Kirche*). Both are before the author at the present writing.

*d. In Hungary, Jugoslavia and Transylvania*⁷⁵

When the Lutheran princes and cities presented their Confession in 1530 at Augsburg, *Hungary* already had its Evangelical martyrs. During the years following, Ferdinand I of Habsburg (1526-1564) and Zapolya of Transylvania (1526-1540) were, for political reasons, obliged to tolerate Lutheranism, and the Turks were not concerned about the religious persuasions of their subjects. The nobility favored the Reformation.⁷⁶ This is also true of the cities and towns of the Zips region and Upper Hungary. Here it was especially the Latin school, which Leonhard Stoeckel had reorganized at Bartfeld in 1539, that became the center of Evangelical life.⁷⁷ While Dewai, after his return from Switzerland, turned to Calvinism and established it in Miskolc and especially in Debreczin, Zips and the hilltowns held to the Augsburg Confession. So the representatives of the Upper Hungarian five free cities, Eperies, Bartfeld, Klein-Zeben, Kaschau and Leutschau, voted at a meeting at Eperies in 1546 that the instruction in churches and schools was to be in harmony with the Augsburg Confession. The year before 29 pastors at Erdoed had pledged themselves to this Confession.⁷⁸ The Hungarian diet of 1548 adopted a stringent law

against the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians.⁷⁹ The King furthermore ordered a royal commission to tour the country and enforce this decree. So the five cities named above, fearing that the commission would confuse them with the Sacramentarians, asked Leonhard Stoeckel to prepare a confession of their faith which became known to history as the *Confessio Pentapolitana* (Part II, 57). It is a free, at times shortened, at times extended, reproduction of the first part of the Augsburg Confession. Of the second part only the principle thoughts of the articles on the marriage of priests and of monastic vows have been utilized in the short article *De Matrimonio*. Also a few thoughts of the article on the mass have been used in the article *De Coena Domini*. The using of only the first part of the Augsburg Confession as well as the detailed articles on Baptism and the Lord's Supper must be viewed in the light of the times. They did not wish to antagonize Rome but only to separate themselves from the Sacramentarians. The absence of all anti-theses is striking but is explained—aside from Stoeckel's Melanchthonian tendencies—by the fact that their confession was not to be used against Rome and then they also dropped those against the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians. Otherwise it can be said that the *Confessio Pentapolitana* in no material sense differs from the Augsburg Confession. That absolution is called a *sacrament* hardly goes beyond the Augsburg Confession, which of course without saying it, by placing the thirteenth article not after the tenth but after the twelfth, betrays that this thought is not foreign to it. A digression is more probable in the article *De Fide*, for the sentence, that the Holy Spirit is active *in auditoribus non repugnantibus, sed obtemperantibus ministerio*, must very likely be attributed to a Melanchthonian synergism. At any rate it must not be forgotten that the *Confessio Pentapolitana*, which later on was

adopted by other cities, as Kesmark, in no wise wished to replace the Augsburg Confession. The Augsburg Confession was to be the basis of all work within the churches while the *Confessio Pentapolitana* was to express, to the outside, the confessional basis of the Evangelical congregations. This goal was reached, for the confession was favorably received by the royal commission to whom it was presented by Pastor Michael Radaschin of Bartfeld in 1549. In 1558 King Ferdinand declared his satisfaction with it; in 1560 the Archbishop of Erlau, Anton Verancsics, and the Primate of Gran, Nikolaus Olah, took cognizance of it and in 1573 the former, who in the meantime had become a primate, acknowledged it again. Then in 1613 it was published by Johann Fischer of Kaschau in Latin, German and Hungarian, and again in 1634 (D. Schultz, Kaschau). In 1930 Dr. V. Bruckner published it in Latin and German in his *Gedenkbuch* which, due to his kindness, is now before me.

Later on the *Confessio Pentapolitana* became the basis of the *Confessio Heptapolitana* and also the *Confessio Scepusiana*. The gospel had found a solid footing in the seven Lower Hungarian hill towns, Kremnitz, Schemnitz, Neusohl, Libethen, Pukkanz, Diln and Koenigsberg, where schools and churches had been established without Ferdinand being able to prevent it. But the Hungarian Primate Nikolaus Olah, this stubborn enemy of all Evangelicals, undertook, after August 1557, to suppress their congregations in these cities. He asked the pastors to sign a very Catholic confession of faith. They refused and declared that although they intended to remain in the Augsburg Confession it did not mean that they were less loyal to the Emperor than before. One of them, the brave and able Pastor Ulrich Cubicularius of Schemnitz, even wrote a detailed defense of their confessional principle. This resulted in numerous summons but

neither the representatives of the cities nor their ministers obeyed them. An appeal to Ferdinand proved useless. He declared that the Augsburg Confession had been released only for Germany and not for Hungary and of the Evangelical pastors of the seven cities he declared that "they were no more priests than his dog and were less able to administer the Sacrament than it." The Primate threatened them with the law of 1548 (mentioned above) and to ban them from the land in 20 days as Anabaptists and Sacramentarians. King Ferdinand supported this with a decree which actually ordered their expulsion. The hill people wished to show that they were not heretics but followers of the true Roman Church whose doctrine they accepted in a purified form in the Augsburg Confession. So the pastors, at a meeting in Schemnitz on December 6, 1559, formulated a confession which they based on the *Confessio Pentapolitana*. It is known to history as the *Confessio Heptapolitana*. It also has 20 articles, is richer in Scripture proof and goes farther to meet Rome without, however, sacrificing any important Evangelical doctrine. It served its purpose, for later on (1569, 1577, 1580) it was approved by the King, and the Primate and was accepted by the nobility and the clergy of Lipto county. In 1578 it was published at Neusohl in I. Burius' collection, *Micae historiae evangelicorum in Hungaria*. Dr. V. Bruckner in 1930 published the Latin text in his *Gedenkbuch*. We print several passages of it in Part II, 57 to enable the reader to make a comparison with the *Confessio Pentapolitana*.

The 24 cities in the Zips also embraced the Gospel and ordered their church affairs according to Evangelical principles and in harmony with the Augsburg Confession although many differences were to be found in local matters. The new Prior of Zips, Gregor Bornemisza, Bishop of Grosswardein, sought to unify the church affairs of Zips. So the

Senior of the clergy, Lorenz Serpilius, called a meeting of all congregations for December 14, 1568. The assembly instructed the assistant to the Senior, Wallentin Megander of Neudorf, and Pastor Cyriak Obsopaeus of Kirchdrauf to formulate a confession of faith. They went back to the *Pentapolitana* and *Heptapolitana* and in close harmony with them wrote a confession for the 24 Zips cities which has been named *Confessio Scepusiana* by its latest editor, Dr. V. Bruckner. In 1573 it was approved by the Primate J. Verancsics. We also include several articles of this confession in Part II, 57 for comparison. The peculiarities of these three Hungarian variants of the Augsburg Confession is found in the fact that all three go farther in meeting the Roman Church than the Augsburg Confession itself. Thereby the Evangelical congregations of Hungary obtained religious freedom without actually separating from the Roman Catholic Church.

But the followers of the Augsburg Confession in Hungary were not confined to the territories mentioned above. The entire north and northwest of Hungary became Lutheran and in Sopron (= Oedenburg) the church of the Augsburg Confession had won a strong center south of the Danube. At the close of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century the Lutheran churches in the district of Pressburg numbered 68, in Neutra 75, in Trentschin 58, Arwa 15, Thurots 19, in Barsch 42, Lipto 24, Honter 52, Neograd 48, Zips 85.⁷⁹ That they were sincere in their devotion to the Augsburg Confession may be seen from the fact that when the upper Trentschin district regulated its church affairs February 12, 1600, they provided that all pastors were to commit the Confession to memory.⁸⁰

The 17th century brought a decided reaction. It is true, peace had been established, by hard and bloody battles,

in the Vienna Peace of 1606, the first law under King Matthias 1608, in the Peace of Nicolsburg of 1621, the Vienna Peace of 1623 and finally the Peace of Linz of 1645. But only on paper! In reality they were being worn down until the Counter-Reformation under Leopold I (1655-1705) reached its climax and ended in the banishment of the Lutheran pastors to the galleys and the bloody actions of Caraffa in Eperjes.⁸¹ The 20 articles of 1848 first took the ruling character from the Roman Catholic Church and gave equality to all the recognized churches of Hungary. Through the world war a greater part of the Lutheran Church went to Czechoslovakia; still the part remaining in Hungary numbers 293 pastors and 492,000 souls. Its pastors today are still pledged to the Augsburg Confession, and even to the whole book of Concord.

It is doubtful whether the Augsburg Confession was translated into Hungarian in the 16th century. Since all of the pastors mastered the Latin as well as the German language they probably thought it unnecessary. Then at the beginning of the 17th century Bishop Nikolaus Goencz de Palhaza made a translation—the manuscript of which is still in the archives of the Sopron church. It was to be published in 1615 but for unknown reasons this was not done. The first printed translation was made by a Reformed pastor, Johannes Samarjai, Superintendent of Samarja, in 1628 published at Papa his *Magyar Harmonia* in which he placed the Augsburg Confession side by side with the Helvetian Confession (recognized in the Reformed church of Hungary) to show their relationship. This translation agrees neither with the *Invariata* nor with the *Variata*. The *Invariata* was published in 1633 translated—from a Leipzig edition of 1606—by Stefan Letenyei, Senior of Csepreg. He also omitted the second half as the above mentioned separate confessions all practically

ignored this part of the Augsburg Confession. The first complete translation appeared in 1692: *Confessio Augustana Ungarisch*. The press and translator are unknown; although it is claimed that the translation was made by Blasius Loevei, Pastor of Nagygyoer. It is a faithful reproduction of the original. George Bárány de Szenicze issued it in a revised edition in 1740 (in Sopron?). The translation of Samuel Agonás, Pastor at Rozsnóbánya, published 1838 in Kassa, is more clumsy in style but has notes and a historical introduction. The translations mostly used at present are those of Johann Paulik (1896, 1900, 1930) which has an extensive introduction, and the one by Alexander Bereczki (1902, 1915) which is included in the *Christliche Religions- und Sittenlehre* for the use of school children. This Jubilee year has brought forth the monumental *Gedenkbuch anlaesslich der 400-jaehrigen Jahreswende der Confessio Augustana*, issued by the faculty of the Evang. University in Miskolc in Hungarian and German, and of which the Hungarian church may well be proud. Then the Luther Society has published the third edition of Paulik's translation; also a new translation with introduction and appreciation by Dr. K. Proehle, University professor in Sopron. The church historian, Alex. Payr of Sopron, published: *Das Augsburgische Glaubensbekenntnis in der ung. ev. Kirche* (Oesveny; in *Der Pfad*); Eugen Kiss, *Die Augsburgische Konfession und das neue Testament* (Oesveny 1930); Eugen Solyom, *Die ungarischen Uebersetzungen d. A. K.*; Dr. Bela Kapi, *Die Bedeutung der Augsburgischen Konfession* (Protestans Szemle, 1930). The College of Bishops and the pastors society issued circular letters to stimulate a fruitful celebration of the Jubilee. Baron Dr. Albert Radvanszky, Inspector General of the Hungarian Church of the Augsburg Confession—to whose kindness I owe the above list of Hungarian editions of the Confession—informs me

that an illustrated popular book on the story of the Diet at Augsburg and the Augsburg Confession has been planned for this year. It undoubtedly was published for, as hard as the lot of the Hungarian Lutheran Church has become since the world war, they have not lost their courage.

In *Jugoslavia* the two Lutheran groups, with a combined membership of 175,000 souls, adhere to the Augsburg Confession. Both groups, the one made up of German Wends and Hungarians, and the other, to which the Slovaks belong, obligate their pastors to subscribe the Augsburg Confession. They use the editions of their respective mother-country. The Episcopal office of Zagreb (Agram) informed me that nothing of import regarding the Augsburg Confession has been published there this year.

There were three distinct groups in *Transylvania* at the time of the Reformation: 1. The Hungarian nobility; 2. The Seklers in the east who were of Magyarian descent; 3. The German Saxons. Among the latter the Reformation first took root. Their principal cities were Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, Mediasch and Bistritz. The reformer at Kronstadt was Johannes Honter. In 1542 he wrote and printed on his own press his excellent *Formula reformationis Coronensis ac Barcensis totius provinciae*, which was based on the Saxon Church Order of 1539 and those of Wittenberg and Nuernberg. The other cities followed Kronstadt's example and after Honter had revised his Formula it was published in 1547 as *Reformatio ecclesiarum Saxonicarum in Transilvania*, or the church regulations of all Germans in Transylvania. That marked the Transylvanian reformation as being in conformity with Luther.

The Hungarians in Transylvania accepted the Gospel and at first were Lutheran but after 1557 Calvinism and Unitarianism began to exert a powerful influence upon Lower

Hungary and Transylvania. In 1564 the Reformed Church received equal rights and privileges with the Lutherans, and in 1571 the same concession was made to the Unitarians. The only result was that those who wished to remain Lutheran—most of them were Saxons—bound themselves closer together and fearlessly pledged themselves to the Augsburg Confession. As early as 1554 the Chapter of Bistritz had, in opposition to the Catholic bishop, whose aim it was to lead all congregations back to the Roman Church, appealed to the Augsburg Confession as the basis of their church affairs.⁸³ Then, when Calvinism and Unitarianism threatened to flood the whole country, even the Catholic Prince Stefan Bathory urged the Saxons to officially pledge themselves to the Augsburg Confession. They were to serve as a bulwark against worse things. So the Confession was read, discussed and the first half approved in 1571 at the Synod of Mediasch. In May 1572 they pledged themselves to it by oath.⁸⁴ On the 22nd of June the newly elected Evangelical bishop, M. Lukas Ungleich, presented the previously planned compilation of the Augsburg Confession, the *Formula p̄ii consensus inter pastores ecclesiarum Saxonicarum*, which was adopted by the synod. We print it in Part II, 58, following Teutsch's *Urkundenbuch*, but omit the lengthy preface and a number of the more practical articles. This was not intended to abolish or replace the Augsburg Confession. The Evangelical Church of Transylvania, even today, although under Roumanian government, still holds to the Augsburg Confession. Nothing of importance has been published there in this year of Jubilee.

e. Poland and the Baltic Provinces

Since the "Union of Lublin" of 1569, Poland and Lithuania were united so that the Kingdom of Poland extended from Krakau and Lemberg to Riga and Dorpat, and from Danzig and Posen down to Kudac and Poltava, and north-

west to Smolensk and almost to the head of the Volga River. We thus primarily consider Little Poland, Greater Poland and the Baltic Provinces.

Little Poland, with Krakau as its center, was dominated from 1530-55 by Wittenberg. The Evangelical pastors of Little Poland held their first synod in 1550. After the Diet of Petrikau in 1552 the Evangelical congregations multiplied rapidly. At the Diet of Petrikau in 1555 religious freedom was proclaimed. The following years brought such a rapid development of the Reformation in Little Poland and Lithuania that the Evangelical congregations could be divided into 14 large districts. Of these eight belonged to Little Poland (Krakau, Sendomir, Zator and Oswiecim, Lublin and Chehn, Red Russia and Podolia, Belz, Wolhynia, Kiew) and six to Lithuania (Wilna, Nowogrodeck, beyond Wilna, Podlachia, Samogitia, White Russia). Up to the Diet of Petrikau of 1555 they endeavored to base their church affairs on the Augsburg Confession, although they understood it more and more in the light of Bucer and the later Melanchthon and at the first synod in Pinczow (1550), influenced by Francesco Stancaro, had adopted the "Cologne Reformation" which was written by Bucer, Hedio, and Melanchthon. After 1555, when the proposed National council made it seem advisable to have foreign theologians and debaters at hand, they turned to Switzerland, since the nearby Lutheran Prussia was deeply involved in the Osianderian quarrels. The Synod of Pinczow (Sept. 1555) called Lismanino, the one at Secymin (Jan. 1556) and again at Pinczow (April 1556) called Laski and Calvin. Even Prince Nikolaus Radziwill of Brest, who had done so much to spread the writings of Luther and Brenz went over to the camp of the Swiss. Up to 1555 Little Poland probably was satisfied with the Latin editions of the Augsburg Confession which they obtained from Wittenberg. Melanch-

thon personally through Laski presented King Sigismund August with a copy.⁸⁷

Conditions were different in *Greater Poland* which maintained close relations with the Lutheran Duke Albrecht of Prussia. Here Posen became the center and base of the Reformation, and here they were and remained Lutheran. Still a Polish translation of the Augsburg Confession did not leave the press until 1561 and then not in Greater Poland but in Koenigsberg. It has been maintained that the "Christian Confession of Faith" (*Wyznanie wiary Chrescyanskiei*, printed 1544 by Weinreich in Koenigsberg; a copy is still in the library at Danzig) by Sekluzyan, who had fled from Posen, was a translation of the Augsburg Confession, but this is an error as shown by Wotschke, 94. But Duke Albrecht of Prussia, who did much for his non-German subjects and endeavored to further Lutheranism⁸⁸ in all Poland with the Polish books published in Koenigsberg, had a translation made and printed in Koenigsberg. It left the Daubmann Press on March 25, 1561, under the title: *Confessio Augustana To iest Wyznanie Wiary niektorych Xiazat y Miast Niemiekich, Podane Cesarzowi Carolusowi V. na Seymie Augsburskiem, Roku M.D.XXX. Ktemu przidana iest Apologia teyze Conessij. Przełożona y Drukowana nakładem J. M. Xiazecia Pruskiego, &c. ku pożytku Kosciolow J. X. M. Polskich. M.D.LXI.*⁸⁹ Johann Radomski, Pastor in Neidenburg, was the translator. He used the German edition of 1531 but not only translated rather freely but made many additions, so that Articles 12, 15 and 20 are rather paraphrases, than translation. It was, without doubt, this translation which the Posen physician Kaspar Lindener had in mind when, in a letter under the date of Aug. 20, 1561 to Paul Eber, he expresses his joy that the Confession was now available in Polish but also complains regarding the translator's meager

knowledge of the Polish language.⁹⁰ The translation which Martin Florus Quiatkowski of Roszicze published in the same year⁹¹ was even more harshly criticised. He also had translated very loosely, had made many additions and gave Article 10 according to the Variata. The Rector and Senate of the Koenigsberg University, who were the official censors, inhibited the publication, but Quiatkowski found ways and means to complete it in Leipzig.

These were the two editions used in Greater Poland. The first Lutheran synod met in Gostyn in 1565 and expressly pledged itself to the Augsburg Confession.⁹² It is true, in 1570 they affiliated with the Sendomir Union⁹³ but in their own circles they continued to adhere to the Augsburg Confession. The same Lutheran superintendent, who represented the Lutherans of Greater Poland at Sendomir, Erasmus Glitzner, gave his church a new and better Polish translation of the Augsburg Confession. It left the press of Jacob Rhode in Danzig in 1594. It followed, for the first time, the Latin *Editio princeps* and that without any additions. The City Library of Danzig has a copy (Sign. N1 78). The same translation was also published the same year by Osterberger in Koenigsberg. Copies are in Danzig (N1 82 No. 2) and in the *Landesbibliothek* in Dresden.

But when this edition of the Augsburg Confession appeared, the Counter Reformation was already under way. Sigmund II had ascended the throne in 1587 and during his long reign (1587-1632) did everything possible to suppress the Evangelicals. Conditions were no better under his successors. After 1663 no new churches were permitted to be built, and from 1668 on, all who went over to Protestantism were compelled to leave the land; under August II the Saxon (!) (1697-1733) all church services were forbidden. The whole persecution reached its climax in 1724 by the

frightful massacre at Thorn. Only after the division of Poland in 1772, among Russia, Austria, and Prussia, were the Protestants and with them the Lutherans, able to regulate, in a measure, their own church affairs. Still during all this stormy period new editions of the Augsburg Confession were published, naturally often printed in foreign lands. Among these editions are: 1635 the translation of Caspar Dirig, following the German text of the Book of Concord, in Thorn (*Landesbibliothek in Dresden*); 1675 the translation with historical introduction by Joh. Herbinus, formerly Saxon pastor in Wilna, at Manklap in Danzig. This edition was reprinted in Leipzig and Brieg in 1730. In the same year Joh. Mouna published a translation in Danzig.

Today, mostly due to immigration, the Lutheran Church in Poland, whose pastors are pledged to the Augsburg Confession, numbers about 500,000, in Silesia (again taken from Austria) 35,000; in Galicia 37,000 souls to which must be added 4,000 souls in Posen and Pomerellen, who have been taken from the Lutheran Free Church of Prussia, by the peace treaties. Approximately 400,000 souls of the former Prussian province adhere to the confessions of the Union Church of Prussia.

Among the new editions of the Augsburg Confession we note the one by Otto (1852), another by Schoeneich (1912 and 1930) and a German one of 1886. The German text is also included in the hymnal used in the Consistory of Warsaw.

In the present *Lithuania* only 2.5 per cent of the total population are adherents of the Augsburg Confession. They are divided into a German, a Lithuanian and a Lettish synod, of which the first two are found along the Memel River and on the East Prussia border, the third on the border of Latvia. The German and Lettish congregations use the editions of their mother-land. In spite of all my efforts I have not been

able to ascertain whether the Confession was ever translated into the Lithuanian language. However Luther's Catechism was translated into that language at the time of the Reformation.

*In Courland*⁹⁴ they have held to the Augsburg Confession since the Reformation. The southwestern part, with the city of Libau, was a pawn in the hands of Albrecht of Prussia and his successors from 1560 to 1609. This assured the authority of the Augsburg Confession. The remainder of Courland was ruled by Duke Gotthard Kettler, the last master of the German Order of Livonia. He regulated church and school by the Church Order of 1570. This demanded of the pastors that they teach in harmony with the Augsburg Confession, a regulation which was renewed in 1582.⁹⁵ In *Livonia* and *Esthonia* the leaders, as early as the diet of Reval 1524, decided for the Reformation. Under Wilhelm, the brother of Albrecht of Prussia, and under the influence of Riga, where Knopken and Briesmann labored, the decision was reached to follow Luther and Wittenberg. This assured the use of the Augsburg Confession for the following decades. Today we know that Luther's Catechism was printed in the language of the Esths as early as 1534. And that the pastors for Livonia up to 1552 were ordained in Wittenberg and then in Rostock (Sehling V, 10) indicates the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession. Esthonia after 1561 belonged to Sweden but seems to have used the Courland Order of 1570 (Sehling 36) which contains the pledge to the Augsburg Confession. For the time of the Swedish occupation (1561-1721), at least after 1593, the recognition of the Augsburg Confession is certain, and also for the following Russian period (1721-1917). Several editions of the Confession go back to this Russian period. So in the Jubilee year 1830 the theological faculty of the University of Dorpat, under the leader-

ship of Prof. Dr. Sartorius, issued an edition in four languages: "The Augsburg Confession (Confessio Augustana) German, Latin, Esthonian and Lettish, issued in honor of the 300 Jubilee by the theological faculty of the Imperial University at Dorpat" (Dorpat, Schuenemann, 1830). A copy is found in the City Library at Koenigsberg (Sign. Ca. 301 4°). According to our information this was the first time that the Confession was published in either Lettish or Esthonian. In the preceding centuries the pastors used the Latin, German, or Swedish editions; the Confession does not seem to have reached the common people. And, of course, this Quarto edition of 1830 did not reach them either. But conditions changed when soon thereafter the Russian Orthodox Church endeavored to win the Esths over to her faith. Then in 1845 a pamphlet edition of the Augsburg Confession was issued in Esthonian under the title: "Hold fast to what thou hast." Later on, in 1893, a Lettish edition followed. This edition is still in use although, as we have been informed by Bishop Dr. Irbe of Riga, a new edition has been prepared for the Jubilee which was to leave the press this fall. In 1891 the Lettish Synod also published a new Esthonian edition. And this year the faithful Pastor Poeld interested himself in the people by distributing many copies of a cheap edition in Esthonian. Before me I have a copy: *Augsburgi usutunnistus, esitatud Rooma keisrile Karl V 25 junnil 1530. Toelge saksa ja ladina keelest. Tallinnas 1530.* The Missionary Society under the leadership of Poeld also arranged many Jubilee celebrations and through a leaflet (*Augsburgi Usutunnistuse juubel, 1530-1930*) sought to again make known the great days of Augsburg.⁹⁶ In Latvia, where the population is 57 per cent Lutheran (of the 295 congregations 246 are Lettish, 47 German and 2 Esthonian), and also in Esthonia, where even 78 per cent of the people are nominally Lutheran

(97 per cent use the Esthonian language while 2 per cent speak German), all pastors are today pledged to the Augsburg Confession.

Whatever literature, on the Augsburg Confession is to be found in *Russia*, found its way there through the Baltic Provinces. The Seminary in Leningrad endeavors to bring its students to an understanding of the Confession.

f. *Scandinavia.*

Christian III (1536-1559) introduced the Reformation in *Denmark*⁹⁷ in 1536. The Reichstag of Copenhagen, Oct. 15-20, abolished Catholicism and introduced Lutheranism as the sole state religion. Bugenhagen was called to organize the new church (1537-1539). The *Kirchenordinantie* of 1537, a work of Bugenhagen and Hans Tausen, was adopted at the Reichstag of Odense in 1539. According to it "God's pure word, consisting of law and gospel, was to be the rule of doctrine and life." Neither the *Confessio Hafnica*, that is the 43 Copenhagen Articles presented by Hans Tausen in the name of 21 pastors to the Reichstag in July 1530,⁹⁸ nor the Augsburg Confession was mentioned in the *Kirchenordinantie* although it was entirely in harmony with the latter which had already been translated into Danish in 1533. In the Royal Library in Copenhagen is found: *Then christelige Troes oc laerdoms bekiendelsse, som bleff indförd fore Hoybornste Stoermectig Keyser Karl: V: i Augsborg M.D.XXX Vdsatt til Otthenss wed Jorgen Jenssen aff Wiborg: Alle Dantske til een wnderwiiselig paamindelsse Som mod samme woffweruindelig laerdom ere forforde Och til hennes medholderers aldtiid rede vndschyldning. Kioben haffn Anno 1533.* The author is the same Joergen Jenssen Sadolin who in 1532 translated Luther's Catechism into Danish.⁹⁹ He was pastor in Odense and later on was its first Evangelical bishop, remaining there until 1559. He seems to have followed the

Editio princeps in his translation. By a decree of Fredrick II in 1574 the Augsburg Confession was made the foundation for all Danish churches (the Word of God, the Ecumenical Symbols, the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism). That up to then, and even during the next decades following 1574 no new editions of the Confession were published is not surprising since all the pastors were familiar with Latin and most of them with the German so that the editions in these languages supplied their needs. The next known edition is dated 1618. It also was printed in Copenhagen. It was translated by Pastor Oluff Jacobsoen of Hioerlunde and, since it has an introduction by Bishop Resenius, it may be considered the official edition of the Danish Church. It also contains a translation of the Apology. The *Editio princeps*, in probably the German as well as Latin texts, was followed. In 1870 N. B. Kousgaard again published an edition of this translation. Rasmus Nielsen Kruse prepared a new translation which was published in Copenhagen in 1688 and 1702. But he ignored the Preface and the second half of the Confession, probably because his translation was intended for the laity; Joh. G. Sigwart included it in his *Spoersmaal oc gensvar over dem christelige Laerdoms Hevet puncter*, for the same reason. The edition which the press of the Mission Society published in 1718 also contained only 21 articles. In 1730 Laszoen Tycho published a new transcription in his history of the Confession offered for the Jubilee year. To make it more popular a new edition in very simple language was published in 1777 which was included in many Danish hymnals. For the jubilee in 1830, which was extensively celebrated in Denmark, J. C. Lindberg published the *Libri ecclesiae Danicae symbolici* in Latin and Danish. In 1851 H. N. Claussen published an important work which has not lost its value to this day: "*Den Augsburske Confession, oversat*

og belyst ved historisk-dogmatisk udvikling." Since 1900 the edition of A. Joergensen is extensively used: *Den danske Folkekirkes Bekendelsesskrifter, oversatte med Anmaerkninger*. Officially the Danish Church still holds to the writings which in 1574 they made their doctrinal basis. This year of Jubilee has produced a number of articles and smaller writings but nothing of importance.

In Norway the course of events was similar to that of Denmark for it was part of the same empire with the same language. It did not receive its own church regulations until 1814. Today the recognized confessional writings are the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechism. The "Congregational Faculty" in Oslo, which was organized 1908 in opposition to the liberal theological faculty of the State University is pledged to these Confessions and is training by far the greater part of Norway's youth in their spirit. After several different editions of the Symbolical Books had been published subsequent to 1827, C. P. Caspari and Gisle Johnson in 1872 published an edition which was much used in later years: *Den norsk-lutherske Kirkes Bekjendelsesskrifter i norsk Oversattelse*. It was again issued in 1876, the third edition left the press in 1884, the fourth edition in 1908. But even before this (Christiania 1866) Caspari and Johnson had prepared an edition of all the books contained in the Book of Concord which is considered the standard edition: *Konkordiebogen eller den evangelisk-lutherske Kirkes Bekjendelsesskrifter*; it appeared in a new edition in 1882. Chr. Bang published a model edition of the Scandinavian symbolical Books in the original languages: *Den norske Kirkes symbolske Boger i Grundtexterne*. These will all be surpassed by the edition which is to be published this year, as a jubilee offering by Sigurd Normann, Chairman of the Luther Society: *Den norske Kirkes bekjendelsesskrifter, paa norsk, tysk og latin*,¹⁰⁰

Since the 14th century *Iceland* was connected with Denmark and Norway. Here the Reformation was introduced from Denmark in 1540-1551 and after 1574 the Augsburg Confession became the confessional basis. In agreement with this is the claim that at this time Bishop Gudbrandr Thorlaksson of Holar translated the Augsburg Confession into the Icelandic language. We also know that he translated many other writings of the German Reformers into the language of his people. G. G. Weber, II, 231 mentions an edition of 1742. Another appeared in 1861 in Reykjavik: *Augsborgar-jatning hin ounbreutta*.¹⁰¹

Those who are familiar with the church history of *Sweden* in the 16th century¹⁰² are not surprised that the Augsburg Confession was not generally recognized until the end of the century. For even though the Reformation came to Sweden very early, it was compelled—after a beginning of peaceful development—to undergo grave struggles of various sorts before it was able to gain a secure foothold. That was actually not accomplished until the Council of Upsala in 1593. Here the Church Order of 1571 was confirmed and the pure Word of God, the three symbols of the Ancient Church, and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession were declared to be the foundation of the Swedish Church.¹⁰³ The first Swedish translation is of the year 1581 and was made by Peter Johannis Gothus, at the request of Princess Elisabeth. Copies of this edition are found in Upsala and Lund (we received no answer from Stockholm): *Confessio Augustana, Eller Tronnes Bekennelse som Churfoersten aff Sachsen, sampt medh någre andre Tyske Foerster och Staeder, oeffuerantwardade Keyseren om Carolo V. vthi then Rikesdag som stood i Augsburg, Anno Christi 1530. Affsat på Swenska aff Petro Johannis Gotho. Anno M.D.LXXXI*. According to the imprint at the end of the book it was published in Rostock, where

at the time many Swedish books were printed. The translation is dedicated to Princess Elisabeth and is dated February 3, 1581. From this is seen that it is the first translation of the Augsburg Confession and that the author had used as his text the one which was based on the original in Mainz. Gothus may have become acquainted with the text which Chytraeus of Rostock had included in his history of the Augsburg Confession; or he may have meant the text of the German Book of Concord. This translation was again reprinted in 1634 by Ignatius Meurer in Stockholm. Between the two we find the first official edition (an independent translation) which was brought out in connection with the above mentioned Council of Upsala. In Upsala, Lund, Stockholm, Copenagen and Stuttgart copies are treasured of: *CONFESSIO FIDEI. Thet aer Then Christeliga Troos Bekaennelse, hwilka Gudz Foersambling vthi Sweriges Rijke almaenneliga trodt och bekaendt hafwer, ifrå thet Euangelij sanning, vthi Konung GVSTAFS, hoeghlofligh ihughkommelse, Regements tijdh, vthur thet Påweska moerkret igenom Gudz nådh, åter kom i liwset igen...* (the complete title would fill a whole page.. Tryckt i Stockholm, aff Andrea Gutterwitz. Anno Christi M.D.XCIII. This translation has gone through a number of editions under the direction of G. Billing and G. Cederschöld (1887, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1905, 1910). Since 1593 and particularly after 1634 a good many editions of the Augsburg Confession have been published. G. Weber II, 236ff mentions thirteen up to 1730 and then probably has not counted them all. The Stockholm edition of 1663 has the printed notation that, aside from the Augsburg Confession, the Catechism of Luther, the Apology, the Smalkald Articles, the Large Catechism and the Formula of Concord are to be numbered as the doctrinal basis. This was the result of the battle orthodoxy waged against syncretism and other

tendencies. Of greater importance, however, is the fact that after 1665 the Confession was often included in the *Manuale, eller Hand Book bestående of 50 Sma boecker utur Biblen*, which was intended for the laity. The Augsburg Confession is today still the confession of the Swedish Church. Aside from the previously mentioned editions of Billing and Ceder-schiold the following of the last decade deserve mention: The edition of the Confessional Books of the Lutheran Church (*Concordia Pia*) with introduction and notes by Gottfrid Billing (Lund 1895) and the work of Oskar Bensow: *Augsburgska Bekännelsen öfversatt från konkordiebokens latinska text* (Stockholm, 1906). Of Jubilee offerings Bishop Dr. Rohde mentions in a letter to me: *Augsburgska bekännelsen: Övers. och historisk inledning av Sigfrid von Engeström* (Stockholm, 1930), and Lars Wollmer, *Augsburgska bekännelsen och den nutida svenska kyrkan. Till fyrahunderårs jubileet* (Lund, 1930).

*Finland*¹⁰⁴ was a part of Sweden from the 14th century on and therefore had the same confessional basis. When the Finnish translation of the Augsburg Confession came into existence is unknown to me. The oldest edition known to me is the one of 1651. It was printed by Heinrich Keiserilda in Stockholm and has a preface by Jacob Pauli Raumann. A copy is to be found in the University Library at Upsala and in Helsingfors. There is also an edition of 1693 with a title which would fill a page. It was edited by Henricus Florinus and printed in Abö by J. Winter (copy at Helsingfors). In 1651 a Finnish-Swedish edition was published in Stockholm which Weber describes II, 289. According to the information which Bishop Dr. Kaila of Viborg very kindly supplied us a Finnish-German edition is being used at present which was edited in 1907 by the Luther Society; since 1919 the Apology is also available in a Latin-Finnish edition.

g. England

In 1534 the Church of England broke away from Rome and declared its independence.¹⁰⁵ Even if this was done in comparative harmony they differed very considerably in their religious positions. The one faction, headed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, asked for little beyond this freedom from Rome. They were of "the old learning" and held to the doctrines and customs in use before the break with Rome. The other faction, led by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, endeavored to bring about a real Reformation of the church in doctrine and customs. Aside from these there were also Anabaptistic and other tendencies which attacked the basic doctrines of the church. Out of this welter of contentions came the Articles of 1536: *Articles to establishe christen quietness and unitie among us, and to avoyde contentious opinions*. There were ten articles: 1. The principal articles concerning our faith; 2. The Sacrament of Baptism; 3. The Sacrament of Penance; 4. The Sacrament of the Altar; 5. Justification. These are followed by "Articles concerning the laudable ceremonies used in the Church": 6. Of images; 7. Of honoring of Saints; 8. Of praying to Saints; 9. Of rites and ceremonies; 10. Of purgatory. They were compiled with the co-operation of the King and represent an unfortunate attempt to gloss over the differences. They could not satisfy either the old nor the new faction. Yet they must be named here for they show relationship with the Augsburg Confession and the, so called, Wittenberg Articles of 1536.

It must be remembered that at this time there were already two English translations of the Augsburg Confession in existence, the one in manuscript and the other in printed form. That an English translation was even made at the Diet of Augsburg has been variously asserted—however by rather late witnesses.¹⁰⁷ Up to now no trace of this manuscript has

been found. Of much greater importance is the translation which left the press in 1536. A copy of this edition is to be found in the British Museum, the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin and in the library of the Seminary at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia. It bore the long title: *The confessyon of th faythe of the Gar-maynes exhibited to the mooste victorious Emperour Charles the V. in the Councell or assemble holden at Augusta the yere of our Lorde, 1530. To whiche is added the Apologie of Melancthon who defendeth with reasons invincible the afore-sayde confessyon translated by Rycharde Taverner at the commandement of Lorde Thomas Cromwell, Lorde Prevy seale and chefe Secretarie to the kinges grace. Psalm 119. And I spake of thy testimonies in the presence of kynges and I was not confounded.* At the end is the imprint: *Imprynted at London in Fletestrete by me Robert Redman, dwellynge at the sygne of the George nexte to Saynt Dunstones Church. Cum privilegio Regali.* Since this edition was brought about by none less than Thomas Cromwell, the Lord Privy Seal, Viceregent to the King's Highness, Secretary of State and Minister of Spiritual Affairs, and was printed with royal permission it may be considered an official edition of the Kingdom. Then also the translator, in his dedication, expressly stated that the book was not for one small group but had been made for all the people so that they may "greedly devour" it. It furthermore was fortunate that Richard Taverner made the translation. His scholarship and skill in translating is recognized and has established a lasting memorial for him in his work on the Bible in 1539. When in the 19th century America set out to produce a translation of the Augsburg Confession they went back to Taverner as the best foundation.¹⁰⁸ His source was the second (Octavo) Latin edition of 1531. As this edition of Taverner's was at hand, when the 10 Articles were written, it is not at once clear in how far the

authors followed it and in how far they followed the Wittenberg Articles of 1536, which were based on the Augsburg Confession.

The facts regarding these Articles are the following: King Henry VIII since 1531 was in touch with the Protestants of Germany. He primarily sought a favorable decision of the German theologians in his matrimonial affairs. He also negotiated the possibility of his joining in a federation which the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse and some other princes had formed with the Dukes of Bavaria and also the King of France to emphasize their objection to the election of Ferdinand I. Gradually, through these negotiations, the thought of joining the Smalcald Federation arose. Henry probably never considered the matter seriously, but he did play with the idea for at times the political situation made such a federation seem advisable. He must have known that, in view of his whole position, he could not be admitted to the federation without accepting the Augsburg Confession in some form and he could hardly have been ready to do that. In the winter of 1535-36 negotiations with this end in view were under way. In the fall of 1535 an important English delegation appeared in Germany. They were Edward Fox, the Bishop of Herford, Dr. Hethe and later on that zealous mediator between England and Wittenberg, Richard Barnes. They were instructed to take up the doctrinal matters since Henry was anxious that the Protestants, if the demanded council really was held, would act as a compact unit. He also knew that in this case his own interests would fare better. In case the Protestants desired the King to join the Smalcald Federation, and demand that he accept the Augsburg Confession, the delegates were to request additional information regarding the articles of federation. They were also to insist that the negotiations would only be brought to a satisfactory conclusion after a Protestant delegation had come to England and there had conferred with the English theologians regarding the doctrinal questions. The King's delegation arrived in November and got in touch with the Elector of Saxony after which they accompanied him to Schmalcalden where they presented their affairs to the assembled statesmen. The Schmalcaldians expressed their satisfaction with the King's efforts to reach an understanding in doctrinal matters and were willing to enter into further negotiations. These deliberations seem to have brought forth the letter of Dec. 25 to Henry. It was signed by the delegates and the two leaders of the Schmalcald Federation. In it they requested the King to advance the gospel and true faith in Eng-

land, according to the Augsburg Confession and Apology, "*nisi fortasse quaedam interim ex iis consensu ex verbo Dei merito corrigenda aut mutanda videbantur*" (C. R. II, 1036). These doctrines they were willing to mutually defend at the council. The delegation were to remain for a while in Germany so as to make any changes in the Confession if necessary, while on the other hand the Schmalkaldians were willing to send a delegation to England to bring the negotiations to a satisfactory completion. At the same time they suggested that the King join their federation. The English delegates arrived at Wittenberg on January first and remained until the end of April. The main colloquies were held in February and March. Up to March 20 all the articles had been discussed excepting the four: marriage of priests, communion in both forms, the papal mass, and monastic vows. They finally also agreed in these points. Of course, the acceptance of these articles, as well as any others, was only tentative; the final decision rested with the King. From the German side the discussions were led by Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas and Cruziger. The formulating of their discussion in 16 articles, which all were based on the Augsburg Confession, was probably done by Melancthon. This manuscript had long been given up as lost—Seckendorf¹⁰⁹ had saved only a short section of it—when G. Mentz found and published it, 1905, in both the Latin and German originals. However the Latin manuscript was either never completed or, at any rate, has come down to us in an incomplete form. The conclusion of Art. 8 and all of 9-11 and 15 are missing. We include the Latin text in Part II, 59 and supply the missing sections in an English translation from the German text. Lack of space prevents us from giving the last four articles: 13. *De utraque specie*; 14. *De conjugio sacerdotum*. 15. *De votis monasticis*. 16. *Of the saints*. Aside from the last one they show little connection with the Augsburg Confession. When Luther forwarded these articles to the Elector, on March 28, he stated that "such articles are well in harmony with our doctrines."¹¹⁰ To be sure, it was the extreme limit to which the Wittenberger could go in meeting the English.¹¹¹ This constitutes the permanent value of these articles. They show what concessions the combined Wittenberg theologians were willing to make to win a country like England. Although no concessions are made in basic matters of faith, those in matter of form and in questions of the significance of good works, monasteries etc. are surprisingly great.

It has already been stated that the "Ten Articles" were directly

influenced by the Augsburg Confession or by this *Repetitio Augustanae* or by both. But if they had not otherwise influenced England no abiding value would have resulted since the Ten Articles were replaced in the following year by the "Bishops Book," and in 1539 they were completely abrogated by the "bloody statute" of the Six Articles. But the 16 Wittenberg Articles of 1536, to a great extent, were absorbed by the 13 Articles and again through this channel many of their statements found their way into the 42 Articles of Edward VI and through them again into the 39 Articles of Queen Elizabeth which today are still theoretically valid.

In 1538 the political situation again became such that Henry VIII thought an alliance with the German princes of the Augsburg Confession advisable. When in the spring of that year they met in Brunswick, he sent a confidential messenger with various questions which were to prepare the way. He assured them of his determination "to abolish the impious ceremonies of the bishop of Rome." As the Germans still persisted in their demand, that all who entered the Smalkald Federation, should acknowledge their Confession, he begged them to carry out their former promise and send a legation, including at least one theologian—if possible Melanchthon—to confer upon the disputed points with some of the English theologians. So the princes decided to send Francis Burckhardt, Vice chancellor to the Elector of Saxony; George von Boyneburg, a nobleman of Hesse and a doctor of law, and Fredric Myconius, Superintendent of Gotha. To them was given a copy of the 16 Articles to which they had agreed in the spring of 1536. When the Lutheran delegates arrived at London, the King nominated a committee, consisting of three bishops—Cranmer was one of them—and four doctors to represent the Church of England. This committee worked during the whole summer. Finally thirteen or rather sixteen articles (*14. de libero arbitrio; 15. de veneratione sanctorum; 16. de imaginibus*) were presented to the King as the result

of their deliberations, even though the Germans did not agree with all of them. The English members of the committee would not take up the abuses (prohibition of both kinds in the Lord's Supper, the private propitiatory masses and the absolute injunction of clerical celibacy), so the German returned without coming to any definite conclusion. This is not surprising for the party clinging to the old order gained the upper hand at court and were able to accomplish their purpose with the "Six Articles" in 1539¹¹² and bring all Evangelical movements to a standstill until after Henry's death.

The Articles of 1538 had completely vanished until Jenkyns again found thirteen of them which he published¹¹³ in 1833 (Part II, 60). A comparison with the 42 Articles, which were issued at the time of Edward VI¹¹⁴ and again revised into the famous 39 Articles¹¹⁵ under Queen Elizabeth, will show that in writing them not only the Augsburg Confession but also the 13 Articles of 1538, which again go back to the Wittenberg Articles of 1536, were used. For the 42 and later the 39 Articles contain, aside from sentences from the Augsburg Confession, such which are not found in the Confession but only in the 13 Articles of 1538.

So the deliberations with the Germans were not fruitless for the Church of England to this day confesses statements which were formulated in those meetings.

The Augsburg Confession was later on republished at various times. A new translation by Robert Syngylton¹¹⁶ was printed in 1549. In 1586 and again in 1643 Traverner's translation was included in the *Harmony of Confessions*; however it also contained a translation of the Variata.¹¹⁷ Parts of it were published in *Acta Fratrum in Anglia* in 1749; in 1842 Rev. W. H. Teale published a translation;¹¹⁹ again it was included in the new edition of the *Harmony of Confessions* of 1586¹²⁰ which Rev. Peter Hall edited in 1844. But, aside

from its use in the 42 and 39 Articles, the Augsburg Confession has had no influence on the confessional growth of England. The German Lutheran congregations, however, existing in London in the 17th and 18th century and some of them in the 19th century and at present subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, compare my *New Studies in the A. C.*

h. Netherlands.

The Augsburg Confession made an early appearance in the Dutch ¹²¹ language even if its first publication, 1543 and 1558, was not in the Netherlands but in the neighboring Wesel on Lower Rhine.¹²² A decided Lutheran movement existed in the Netherlands so early as 1518 but it grew stronger in the years 1530-1550. To care for the foreign merchants the Lutherans were permitted in 1550 to conduct private services in Antwerp. It seems that Franciscus Alardus was their first pastor who, however, was expelled by the government in 1557. Then the "Miracle year" 1566 brought religious freedom to the Lutherans and Reformed. At once the congregation, which had grown strong in spite of the ban on their services and the persecution, recalled Alardus and made Joh. Ligarius and four other pastors his assistants. This helps us to understand why a new Dutch edition of the Augsburg Confession appeared in 1566. Lindanus writes in the previously mentioned book: *Confessio Augustana et Apologia Belgice cum confessione Antwerpiensis ecclesiae, anno 1566 edita in octavo*. His information probably is again correct although we have not been able to find this edition.¹²³ At Eastertime 1567 the Lutherans of Antwerp held their last public services. On the 10th of April the pastors were again compelled to leave the city. Thousands of the congregation's members, who desired Lutheran services, were compelled to do the same. One group went to Frankfurt a. M. In the same year they published the Augsburg Confession and Apology in

Dutch. A copy is found in Stuttgart and another in Marburg: *Confessie oft bekentenisse des Geloofs van sommige Vorsten ende Steden der Keyserlycker Mayesteyt (op den Rycx dach tot Ausborch) ouergegeuen. Anno M.D.XXX. Apologie van de selfste Confessie. Nu wederomme van nieuws opt alder neerstichst ende getrouwelycst vuyt den oudsten Hochduytschen Exemplaer (Anno M.D.XXXI te Wittemberg geprindt). In onse Nederlandtsche tale ouergesedt. Geprindt 1567.* It is a volume of 864 pages, octavo. The last page has the imprint, *Geprindt te Franckforth aende Mayn*.¹²⁴ The title takes into consideration the previous editions but, in stressing the fact that it is a correct translation of the *Editio princeps*, it intimates that the former ones may possibly have been translations of some form of the Variata.

On April 22nd 1578 the ban on public services was lifted in Amsterdam. Among others the Lutherans called Cassiodor de Reina, who at Frankfurt a. M. had become acquainted with the Lutheran fugitives from Antwerp. Soon a flourishing congregation "of the Augsburg Confession"—as they always designated themselves—with seven pastors was organized. Five preached in Dutch and two in French. They used the former editions of the Confession. At this time a French translation of Chytraeus' "History of the Augsburg Confession" appeared in Antwerp with the title: *Historie de la Confession d'Auxpourg recueillie par le D. David Chytrens, et nouvellement mise en Francois par Luc de Cop, en Antvers 1582.* It had the Augsburg Confession on pages 72-106, translated from the Latin *Editio princeps*. The whole work evidently was printed for the French section of the Antwerp Lutheran congregation.

But in 1585 the Duke of Parma took Antwerp after a long siege, and again the Evangelicals had the choice of leaving the city or becoming Catholic. Many fled to Frank-

furt and there organized the "Dutch Congregation of the Augsburg Confession" under the leadership of Cassiodor de Reina. Still more of them went to Amsterdam, Middleburg, Haarlem, Rotterdam, and Gouda. Soon Amsterdam became and remained the center of Dutch Lutheranism. Here the next editions of the Confession were published, for in the Church Order of 1597 it was stipulated: "The pastors of this congregation shall regulate and determine all their teaching and preaching by the rule of the divine Word, the biblical, prophetic and apostolical writings, and according to our Symbolical Books, to wit the unaltered Augsburg Confession... the Apology of the same, the Smalkald Articles, and Formula of Concord, together with both Catechisms of Luther, and shall not teach or preach anything contrary to the same, be it privately or publicly, nor shall they introduce or use new phrases which are at variance with the same, or contradict them."¹²⁵ The following revised editions (1614, 1644, 1682 etc.) did not change this paragraph, and today the Lutheran congregation at Amsterdam is still pledged to the Augsburg Confession. In 1618 a new edition of the Augsburg Confession was published, this time following the text of the Book of Concord; and then again in 1649 and 1650. Later on we find the Confession included in the hymnals, so 1671 (copy in University library Breslau (Sign. Bibl. IV oct. 126) and again in 1693 and 1778. Also in "School en Huysboek" of 1712, also as a part of the Dutch edition of the Book of Concord (1715, Rotterdam, Arnold Willis).

Today there are about 85,000 Lutherans in Holland, of which 40,000 live at Amsterdam. They are, however, divided into two church bodies, "The Evangelical Lutheran Communion" and the "Restored Ev.-Luth. Communion"; only the latter recognizes the Augsburg Confession. The pastor, upon entering office, declares that he believes whole-heartedly the

Word of God in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and that he is in accord with the fundamental principle of the Lutheran Church, as expressed in her Symbolical Books, that is, "the justification of the sinner through grace by faith in the redemption that is in Christ"—a rather loose statement. Which edition of the Confession is used today I am not able to say, since my inquiry remained unanswered. An impressive Jubilee celebration was held in Amsterdam this year at which the Queen was represented. Perhaps it helped to awaken and strengthen the Lutheran consciousness.

In Belgium the German congregation of the Augsburg Confession, which before the war existed in Antwerp, is again slowly coming to life.

i. France

At the time of the Diet in Augsburg two French translations of the Augsburg Confession were made. The manuscript of the one is still in existence (reprinted by Foerstemann I, 355-368) while the other, up to now, has not been located. Neither one was printed at the time and never had any importance for France.¹²⁶ The latter must also be said of the following French translations. The first one was printed in 1561, for in Berlin (Sign. Df 1562) is found: *Confession de Foy, présentée par les Princes, Electeurs, Seigneurs et Communautés des Eglises Reformées d'Allemagne à l'Empereur Charles cinquiesme, en l'assemblée des Etats d'Allemagne, tenue à la journee d'Augsbourg, recueillie par Philippe Melanchthon et depuis mise en Francois par S. E. 1561.* A 1566 reprint of this translation is in Copenhagen. Since the place of publication is not given and since I do not yet know whether these editions have a preface, or some other mark which will help to identify the translator S. E., I am still in the dark and am unable to say what religious situation pro-

duced them. The title plainly points to a place outside of Germany—probably to Montbéliard France. It was—from 1397—1793—a part of Wuerttemberg from whence the Reformation had been introduced in the 16. Century and from whence Frankfurt a. M. obtained a Lutheran pastor for her French congregation of refugees. Since in later years even the *Formula of Concord* was translated for this church into French, there is no doubt that it had also its own French translation of the Augsburg Confession. Still the Netherlands may also be taken into consideration, for secret Lutherans of French tongue were found there. The edition of 1566 would fit this situation better than the one of 1561.¹²⁷ The next translation is of the year 1582 and appeared in Antwerp as a part of the French edition of Chytraeus' "History of the Augsburg Confession." When the French translation of the *Harmonia Confessionum* by Goulart (Geneva 1581), published in the interest of unionistic tendencies, was circulated in 1601 it also contained the Augsburg Confession,¹²⁸ still it is not certain that this translation was printed. In 1585 French Lutherans of Antwerp fled to Frankfurt a. M. and organized the French congregation of the Augsburg Confession. They also used a French edition of the Confession. As a French edition of Luther's Catechism was published there in 1594 for the benefit of this congregation,¹²⁹ so possibly the Augsburg Confession was also published for them in the 16th Century. At any rate a copy is found in the City Library of Hamburg, *sine loco et anno*, which has been identified by the librarian as belonging to the end of the 16th Century. The title is: *LA CONFESSION D'AVGSSBOVRG Presentee autrefois a l' EMPEREVR CHARLES QVINT. l' An MDXXX. par les Princes & les Estats protestants. Nouuellement traduite de l' Allemand & du Latin en Francois*, 109 pages in Duodecimo. It is a translation of the Invariata. We

would not be surprised if it were found to be a separate print of the one in Luc le Cop's French edition of the History of the Augsburg Confession by Chytraeus. This edition was reprinted several times. In Wolfenbuettel (Sign. Theol. 1787) there is also a copy, *sine loco et anno*, which has been placed in the year 1680. In 1679 and 1685 it appeared as a part of the "Home and Churchbook"¹²⁹ of the Frankfurt congregation and probably was reprinted at different times. Then two other editions are found in the *Landesbibliothek* of Dresden, also *sine loco et anno*, which contain Jean Delichamps' translation. I have not been able as yet to investigate their historical connections. Finally a German-French edition was published at Dresden in 1717.

In the present France the Augsburg Confession is used in Alsace where the German editions are current. After the war of 1870-71, when the Lutheran Church of France proper was compelled to reorganize, Charles Pfender gave them a new modern translation: *La Confession d'Augsbourg, traduction revue d'après le texte le plus autorisé precede d'une introduction*. Paris, Schultz 1872.¹³⁰ After the world war E. Roehrich again gave the Lutheran Church a new translation which he followed in 1928 with a translation of the Apology. Before me is: *La Confession de foy de l'Eglise evangelique lutherienne (Confession d'Augsbourg). Traduction nouvelle par E. Roehrich, 1924; and Apologie de la Confession d'Augsbourg de Philippe Melancthon. Les Articles de Smalcalde. Traduits et annotés par Edouard Roehrich, Paris 1928.*

k. In Other European Countries

In the chapter on England we quoted Coelestin's *Historia comitiorum* (II, 190) to the effect that Emperor Charles instructed his two secretaries, Valdes and Schweiss, to translate the Augsburg Confession into Spanish, and that the Portuguese ambassador also had it translated into his language.

Whether this information is correct or not we leave undecided. Spalatin's Annals (p. 140) only mention a French and Italian translation. If Coelestin is correct—and that is very probable—they were at best only translations which never were printed and so had little influence in Spain or Portugal. The same is true of the Spanish translation made by the Spaniard Anton of Sandoval, who in Copenhagen had embraced Lutheranism, about the middle of the 17th century, which he sent to the Spanish king. Of greater importance is some information which I received from Spain. Mr. Th. Lindenmaier of Madrid wrote me on Sept. 23 that the Augsburg Confession is available in Spanish in a printed edition. It is an edition prepared to bring the Spanish people to an understanding of the gospel.¹³²

That both, the Emperor as well as Campegius, wished to have an Italian translation made at the time of the Augsburg Diet is proven. Spalatin states in his Annals¹³³ that the Emperor had instructed his secretary Schweiss to do this while Campegius had one made for the Pope, whose knowledge of the Latin was very faulty. Both translations undoubtedly were made but, after all, were only intended for private use. The Italian translation of 1562, which we mentioned in connection with Austria, while intended only for the country along the Adriatic, may also have found its way across the border into Italy. At any rate it made no lasting impression.

The Augsburg Confession reached Constantinople and Greece in a Greek translation made by Paul Dolscius of Plauen in Saxony.¹³⁴ Camerarius and Joh. Lonicer are reported to have made previous translations but neither seems to have reached the press. So Paul Dolscius undertook the work and in May 1559 published at Oporinus in Basle: *Ἐξομολόγησις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, τουτέστι διδαχῆς χριστιανικῆς,*

προσενεχθεῖσα Καρόλῳ τῷ τῶν ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἀνικητοτάτῳ, ἐν τῇ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ παρωνύμῳ τῆς Γερμανίας πόλει, ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς χριστογονίας α φ λ, μεταφραθεῖσα ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Δολσκίου πλαέως. *Confessio fidei exhibitia invictiss. Imperatori Carolo V Caesari Aug. in Comitibus Augustae, anno M.D.XXX: Graece reddita a Paulo Dolscio Plauensi. Basileae, per Johannem Oporinum.* The preface is dated: *E Salinis ad ripam Salae, Idibus Martij Anno saluiferi partus M.D.LVIII.* The publishers imprint reads: *Basileae, ex officina Johannis Oporini, Anno Salutis humanae M.D.LIX. Mense Maio.* Aside from the Latin *Epistola dedicatoria* the entire book is in Greek. Copies are to be found in Leipzig (University Library), in Koenigsberg (City and Uni. Library), Tuebingen (Sign.: Gc 174 8°) and in Vienna (77 Aa 211). This work was again reprinted in 1587 at Wittenberg. Of this edition copies are found in Dresden, Wien, and Breslau (Univ. Library). In 1588 Philipp Gallus included this Greek translation in his edition which contained four languages,¹³⁵ German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. The same was done by Christian Reineccius in his edition of three languages.¹³⁶ It can be understood that a time, which translated Luther's Catechism for their schools into Greek and Hebrew,¹³⁷ would also do the same with the Augsburg Confession. We call attention to Dolscius' translation because Melanchthon in 1559 sent a copy of it to the Greek Patriarch Joasaph of Constantinople,¹³⁸ and because the Theological Faculty of Tuebingen in 1574 presented a copy of it to the Patriarch Jeremias¹³⁹ through Stephan Gerlach, who accompanied the Imperial ambassador, David Ungnad, to Constantinople as his chaplain. Through this same Ungnad it reached the hands of Prince Michael Cantacuzenus who had it translated in the language used by his people along the Black Sea.¹⁴⁰ It also came into possession of Prince Zwarckware Atabac of Georgia who had it translated into the Iberian and

Georgian languages.¹⁴¹ And finally, we mention that in 1732 Callenberg issued the Augsburg Confession in Yiddish as an aid to the Jewish missions.¹⁴²

1. In America

In America the Augsburg Confession is in use from Greenland and Alaska in the far north to Argentina in the extreme south. It was printed in Godthaab, Greenland in 1861 under the title: *Naggartut navsurutait, ugperissatik nalunaeamikik ukiok*. The Lutheran missionaries in Alaska are all pledged to the Augsburg Confession. The three large Lutheran bodies which are represented in Canada (United Lutheran Church, Synod of Missouri, and the American Lutheran Conference) all recognize this Confession, also the Finnish and Icelandic congregations not connected with one of these larger bodies.

The pastors who came to the United States in the 17th Century, no matter whether they came from Holland, Sweden or Germany, and whether they were pietists or orthodox, were all pledged to the Augsburg Confession and taught in accordance with it. They also saw to it that the candidates, which they ordained, were pledged to this Confession. The first constitutions of those congregations, which were patterns for many of the later ones, contained a paragraph which acknowledged the Confession. Although the constitutions of the first synods, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the Ministerium of New York, did not expressly name this Confession they nevertheless did not admit candidates to ordination who were not confessors of the Augsburg Confession. To be sure, in the last decades of the 18th and the first of the 19th Centuries, this pledging to the Confession became more and more an empty form as may be seen from the editions of the Augsburg Confession of this period. The influence of Halle, which from pietism had gone over to rationalism, as

well as the rationalism in the American reformed churches had brought about, if not complete rationalism itself, at least a decided undermining of the confessional consciousness. The organizing of the General Synod in 1820 was the church's salvation. True, it also, differing from the Tennessee Synod, did not mention the Augsburg Confession in its constitution but its young leader, S. S. Schmucker, at least held to the fundamental doctrines of Scripture and toiled for an Evangelical Christianity based on the revealed Word. Then in 1829 the General Synod adopted a constitution for the district synods which contained the statement that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught on a substantially correct form in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession. This also was inspired by Schmucker whose dogmatic instructions at the theological Seminary at Gettysburg were based on the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession. But just the phrase "substantially correct" later on became the bone of contention. For after 1845 a new movement was becoming strong which, due to internal development, the new confessional trend in Germany and also the testimonies of the newly organized Missouri Synod's *Lutherner* and *Lehre und Wehre*, demanded an unconditional adherence to the Augsburg Confession, and if possible, to all of the Symbolical Books. In opposition to this S. S. Schmucker in 1855 published his unfortunate Definite Platform which defended an American Lutheranism and sought recognition for his revised edition of the Augsburg Confession (American Recension of the A. C. Part II, 61). Although he was not successful the strife engendered ended in the organizing of a new seminary at Philadelphia (1864) which was to hold unreservedly and unchangeably to all of the confessional books of the Lutheran Church. It also led to many synods leaving the General Synod and organizing the General Council

in 1867 which pledged all of its members to the whole Book of Concord of 1580. The General Council has done very much, especially in the east, to ground the Lutheran church in a sound understanding of the confessions of the fathers.

Dr. Krauth's English edition of the Augsburg Confession (1868), which goes back to the text found in the Harmony of Confessions of 1586, which, on its part, is again an only little altered translation of Taverner's of 1536; his *The Conservative Reformation* of 1872, in which he also gives a detailed explanation of some of the articles; Dr. Jacobs' *Book of Concord* with its valuable introduction and many documents relating to the Augsburg Confession (1883); Dr. Schmauk's *Conservative Principle and the Confession of the Lutheran Church* (1911) with its translation of Kolde's investigations regarding the Augsburg Confession, are all works for which the Lutheran Church owes their authors a lasting debt of gratitude.

But the General Synod was not lacking in men under whose leadership the confessional element in their midst again became strong. Changes were made (Hagerstown 1895, Des Moines 1901, Atchison 1913) which brought them very close to the General Council and its nearly related sister the United Synod of the South. This movement towards a more strict confessional standpoint on the part of the General Synod ended 1917 in a merger of these three bodies which, as the United Lutheran Church in America held their first convention in 1918 at New York. They adopted this Doctrinal Basis: "3. The U. L. C. in America receives and holds the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the faith and doctrine of the Ev. Luth. Church, founded upon the Word of God; and acknowledges all churches that sincerely hold and faithfully confess the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession to be en-

titled to the name of Evangelical Lutheran. 4. The U. L. C. in America recognizes the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Large and Small Catechisms of Luther and the Formula of Concord, as in harmony of one and the same pure Scriptural faith."

At present the U. L. C. A. has 1,520,000 baptized members, extends over all the states of the Union and Canada, is engaged in mission work in Central and South America and occupies large fields in Africa, India, China, and Japan. In this Jubilee year Dr. Neve has published: *Story and Significance of the Augsburg Confession*.

The western synods, which were organized to care for the increasing number of immigrants in that territory are grouped in two large bodies: a) The Synodical Conference, which is primarily the large Missouri Synod, the Wisconsin Synod and the smaller Slovak and Norwegian Synods. b) The American Lutheran Conference which, since this fall, is made up of the former Buffalo, Iowa and Ohio Synods, the Swedish Augustana Synod, The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, The (Norwegian) Lutheran Free Church, and the United Danish Church. Both groups have from the very beginning been pledged either to the Augsburg Confession or to all of the Symbolical Books. The long controversies in their midst had to do with the right understanding of the principles laid down in these confessions and with the question as to whether or not all doctrinal development had ceased with the Confessions of 1580.

In their Book of Concord in three languages (Latin, German, and English), edited by Dau and Bente 1921, the Synodical Conference, particularly the Missouri Synod, has given the church a great work of lasting value while Th. Graebner has written a popular *Story of the Augsburg Confession* for its Jubilee celebration.

Both groups extend over the whole United States and Canada while the Missouri Synod has independent districts in Brazil, Argentina, and sister synods in Europe and Australia. She also maintains missions for the Indians and Negroes as well as others in China and India. The Synodical Conference comprises 1,351,000 baptized members in the United States.

The American Lutheran Conference is engaged in Negro and foreign mission work in Alaska, Africa, India, China, Japan and Australia. Her membership in the United States is 1,384,000 baptized souls.

Dr. Bergendoff published this year *The Making and Meaning of the Augsburg Confession*. Other valuable articles appeared in the Lutheran World Almanac of 1930 under the auspices of the U. L. C. A. and the Synods now federated in the National Lutheran Council; also series in their various church papers. Each of these groups also arranged mass meetings and other services to awaken their people to a new consciousness of the Confession which they have printed in their hymnals in the German, English, Swedish, Norwegian or Danish languages. As faulty as the knowledge of the Augsburg Confession is in the American-Lutheran churches their members are still probably better acquainted with it than the common people in the European churches.

It may be added that a joint committee of the General Council, General Synod, United Synod of the South and Joint Synod of Ohio prepared a new translation of the Augsburg Confession which was to be the Common Standard. It is to be regretted that it is not based on the Mainz manuscript in place of the Latin *Editio princeps*. Dr. H. E. Jacobs included this new translation in his People's Edition of the Book of Concord (Philadelphia 1911).

My Luther's Small Catechism, 1930, page 319, offers the necessary information regarding the *Central American* con-

gregations who hold to the Augsburg Confession. There also, pages 320-324, will be found information relative to those of *South America*. Here we shall restrict ourselves to the three larger bodies: The Brazil (50 pastors and 169 preaching stations) and the Argentina (18 pastors and 80 preaching stations) Districts of the Missouri Synod; and the Ev. Luth. Synod of Santa Catharina, Parana, and other States (32,000 souls) which is connected with the *Gotteskasten* in Germany. All three are not only unreservedly pledged to the Augsburg Confession but also pledge their people to it.

In Brazil the Confession has not yet been translated for the young folks who use the Portuguese language, only parts of it are available in manuscript form. Pastor H. M. Gehrt has prepared a Spanish translation of the Augsburg Confession for the work in Argentina which is to be published next year.

m. In Other Parts of the World

In *Africa* the Augsburg Confession is found in the German Federation of Churches of South and West Africa. This federation was organized in 1926. It embraces the following six groups: 1. The Ev. Luth. Synod of South Africa under the leadership of Pastor S. W. Wagner of Capetown. It includes all the congregations in the Province of the Cape of Good Hope and the Orange Free States and has 10,000 members. 2. The Ev. Luth. Synod of South Africa in Natal and Transvaal which is connected with Hermannsburg and has 2,900 members in 17 congregations. 3. The four congregations in Natal which are affiliated with the Berlin Mission. 4. The congregation in Pretoria; 5. The congregation in Johannesburg; 6. The 19 German Ev. congregations of the former German Southwest Africa of which the District of Windhoek alone numbers about 2,300 souls. Nearly all of these

adhere to the Augsburg Confession as do the few congregations which are connected with the Free Church of Hannover.

Then the large mission territory of South Africa must be considered. Director of Missions Dr. Knak of Berlin reports regarding this: "The Augsburg Confession is taught in our seminary for native teachers and pastors at Botschabelo in Transvaal, also at our theological seminary at Emmaus in Natal and in the United Teachers Seminary of the Norwegian, Swedish, and the Berlin Mission at Umpumulo in Natal. This is also true of the theological seminary of these three Missions in Oscarsberg in Natal. The Confession is discussed in the course in church history as well as in dogmatics." Reports of other missions, especially those of Hermannsburg and the Norwegians, complete the picture. Dr. Astrup, Superintendent of the Norwegian Mission in Untunjambili in Natal, wrote: "The Augustana was translated into the Zulu language by Rev. J. Reibeling of the Hermannsburg Mission about 30 years ago—Rev. Wichert of Hermannsburg writes 40 years—and has been utilized by that mission in educating its teachers, evangelists and pastors. The Schreuder Mission has also used this translation which though defective has been in constant use in our institutions and I have been especially interested in giving our evangelists and pastors a good grounding in this most important of our Lutheran Confessions. Our Co-operative Lutheran Missions (Berlin, Swedish, Norwegian and American [Schreuder-Mission]) have for years been working on a translation of the whole *Concordia* into the Zulu language. I do not think it will be long before it is completed. It has been a huge undertaking." Whether the Finnish Mission translated the A. C. into the language of the Ovambo, I could not ascertain.

Basle uses the A. C. in its missions on the Gold Coast in West Africa and has translated it into Twi—the prin-

cial language of the Gold Coast. In East Africa the missionaries of Bethel have translated the Confession into Schambala, which is used in the Usambara district, into Luhaya, which is used on the west shore of the Victoria-Nyansa; and into Suahili, which is spoken along the coast. Since Suahili is becoming the language of all East Africa, and far into the interior, this last translation is of vast importance. I am sorry to say that I received no information from the Leipzig missionaries in East Africa. But since they use the Confession in their work in India with good results it would be surprising if they did not also use it in East Africa. Here Suahili, but also the language of the Kimoschi and the Masai, is used.

In Northeast Africa the Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen has been working since 1866 in the northern and southern border provinces of Abyssinia, Eritrea, among the wild Galla and also in Somaliland. But although they have translated Luther's Catechism in not less than six of the dialects they have not translated the Augsburg Confession. However, the office at Stockholm has informed me that the contents of the Confession is thoroughly discussed with the native helpers. In Somaliland the Suahili translation can be used.—On the island of Madagascar the principal work is done by three branches of the Norwegian Mission. The A. C. is one of the regular subjects taught at the Union Theological Seminary of the three Norwegian Missions which cover the southern half of the island. It is translated into the Malagasy language and for sale by the Book Concern at Tananarive. At each Reformation Festival celebrated at every station, the Augsburg Confession plays an important part.

Asia. India, China, and Japan are to be considered. In India the Basle, Hermannsburg (now Ohio), Leipzig, Breklum, Gossner Missions use the various Swedish and

American editions of the Augsburg Confession while the Santal Mission (Norwegian) in the instruction of the native teachers and pastors sometimes uses the American and at other times the native translation. In the territory of the Leipzig Mission, with whom the Swedes have long been associated—the field extends from Madras in the north to Madura in the south—Senior Cordes translated the Confession into the language of the Tamil as early as 1853-54. This translation following a resolution of conference, is explained to the people at evening services to counteract any Reformed influence. In the “theological class” at the seminary the Confession, together with others, is read and explained according to Jacobs’ translation; this is also true of the teacher’s seminary, only there the Tamil translation is used. In 1912 Cordes’ translation was replaced by one made by Missionary Zehme and Pastor Arulappen, which is in use today. The Danish Society, which is active in the Tamil territory since 1864, has not supplied us with any information. Among the Tamil in the Salem, North Arcot and Mysore district the Synod of Missouri is doing successful work. According to the authorities in St. Louis it uses the Augsburg Confession in a translation by Pastor N. Samuel and insists upon thorough instruction of the native teachers and pastors in it as well as all the other Symbolical Books and pledges all of their workers to them. In the land of the Telugu, Hermannsburg (now Ohio) is at work. They use a Telugu translation. The United Lutheran Church also maintains a mission there which goes back to 1841. They use the English translation of Jacobs and an edition in Telugu. The June issue of *The Gospel Witness*, organ of the Lutheran Churches in India, was devoted to the jubilee of the Augsburg Confession and reprinted my article on “The Birth of a Great Confession” and the proclamation of the King of Sweden concerning the celebration of the

jubilee. The field of the Breklum Society is north of the Teluguland with its center at Jeypur and Kalahandy. Their missionaries have transcribed the Confession in the language of the Odiya. Aside from the Catechism it is the main book for the instruction of the catechists and pastors. In North India the Gossner Mission has found a field chiefly in Chota Nagpur among the Kols. The Confession is translated into Hindi and is used in the instruction of the catechists as it also forms the basis of the dogmatical instructions of the pastors. Director of Missions Stosch remarks expressly: "We are very successful in this." Santal, which lies in the northern part of the province of Bihar, is the scene of the labors of the Danish Santal Mission, from where it reaches out to Parganas, Malda, Dianajpur, and as far as Assam. I do not know whether this mission uses the A. C. although it has translated Luther's Catechism into four different languages. The Norwegian Mission is operating also in Santal. Its General Secretary writes: "The A. C. has been translated into Santali and is used as a textbook in our theological college at Ebenezer in Benagaria in Santal Parganas. Rev. P. O. Bodding is the translator."

On the western coast, from the northern boundary of the kingdom of Kotschin in the south on up to the Dekhan sections of Bombay in the north, Basel has had a large mission territory since 1834. Direktor Hartenstein reports: "Parts of the Augsburg Confession were printed this year in the Indian parish paper in the native language and so made available to the people; in our theological Seminary we like to use the Confession in the English language in summing up the message of the Reformation."

All Lutheran missions in China, the Swedish, Norwegian, American, German, use the Augsburg Confession. Erik Soevik of Northfield, Minn., who for a long time was active

in this field writes, "The first translation of the A. C. into Chinese was made about the year 1914 by Rev. Kastler, formerly of the Basle Mission in South China. It was made into "Wenli," the old classical style. When the written language changed from "Wenli" to "Mandarin" a few years ago it became necessary to provide a version of the Confession in Mandarin. I was asked by the Second Central Assembly to do this, and in collaboration with Mr. Ch'en Chien-hsun, a graduate from the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Shekow, the translation was completed in 1928. It is now in use by all the Lutheran Missions in Central and North China. The translation is made use of very extensively at the theological seminary at Shekow and in the normal and Bible schools." It is sold by the Lutheran Board of Publication at Hankau.

The Missouri mission has its own translation, made by E. L. Arndt, but so far only in mimeographed form. When it celebrated the 400th anniversary of the Confession at Hankau it distributed Soevik's translation and began, in her weekly Bible classes, a study of all of the twenty-eight articles.

In Japan the Augsburg Confession is used by the Finns, Danes, and Americans in their instructions. It has been translated several times into the language of the land. The latest one, which shows prospects of becoming the standard, was made by Rev. Asagi and is based on Dr. Jacobs' text in the People's edition. In the instructions at the seminary at Tokyo much stress is placed on a thorough understanding of the Confession. The 400th jubilee was celebrated on June 25 and 26 by the Western Conference of the Japan Lutheran Mission in Fukuoka. In connection with it the blind pastor Ishimathu of Kumanoto presented a description of the birth of the Confession while Rev. H. Inadomi of Kyushu Gakuin gave an explanation of its doctrine.

Even Australia has its adherents to the Augsburg Con-

fession. The two main Lutheran bodies, The Ev. Luth. Synod of Australia, associated with the Missouri Synod of America, with its 69 pastors, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia, with 79 pastors, pledge their pastors and congregations to the Augsburg Confession as they also try to make it a factor in their doctrine and life. The Lutheran Mission of New Guinea also stands on the foundation of this Confession but has, probably wisely, refrained from translating it into the native languages. The Confession after all presupposes a higher culture and a better developed language than found there.

In viewing this triumphal progress of the Augsburg Confession through the centuries and all five continents we can only humbly bow before this miracle of God. And how firmly joined and how richly blessed would the Lutheran Church be today if all those who confess it officially would genuinely conform to it in faith and practice. It would usher in a new period in the history of our church.

HISTORICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. The most important writings and articles of Brieger, Kolde, Schubert and Gussmann to be considered are: Theodor Brieger, *Die Torgauer Artikel: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Augsburger Konfession* (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, H. Reuter, 1888), Separat edition 1890.—*Beitraege zur Geschichte des Augsburger Reichstags von 1530* (Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte, 12), 1891.—*Zur Geschichte des Augsburger Reichstags von 1530, 1903*.—Theodor Kolde, *Die Augsburger Konfession lateinisch und deutsch, kurz erklart*, 1896.—*Der Tag von Schleiz und die Entstehung der Schwabacher Artikel* (Beitraege zur Reformationgeschichte, D. Koestlin gewidmet), 1896.—*Die aelteste Redaktion der Augsburger Konfession mit Melancthons Einleitung zum erstenmal herausgegeben und geschichtlich gewuerdigt*, 1896.—*Neue Augustanastudien* (Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift 17), 1906.—*Historische Einleitung in die symbolischen Buecher der ev.-luth. Kirche*, 1907.—Hans von Schubert, *Buendnis und Bekenntnis 1529-1530, 1908*.—*Bekenntnisbildung und Religionspolitik 1529-1530* (in part in: Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch. 1908; complete in special edition 1910).—*Nuernberg und die Reformation, 1925*.—*Revolution und Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert, 1927*.—*Die Anfaenge der evang. Bekenntnisbildung bis 1529-30, 1928*.—*Der Reichstag zu Augsburg von 1530 im Zusammenhang mit der Reformationgeschichte, 1930*.—*Luther auf der Koburg* (Luther Jahrbuch), 1930.—Wilhelm Gussmann, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Augsburger Glaubensbekenntnisses*. Erster Band: *Die Ratschlaege der evang. Reichsstaeude zum Reichstag von Augsburg 1530. I. Teil: Untersuchungen, 1911. II. Teil: Texte, 1911*. Zweiter Band: *D. Johann Ecks Vierhundertvier Artikel zum Reichstag von Augsburg 1530, 1930*.

2. The German text of the decree of Worms is found in: Walch, *Luther's saemtliche Schriften*, St. Louis edition (1880ff), 15, 2264-2280; English translation in: H. C. Vedder, *The Reformation in Germany, 1914*, 418-427. Compare A. Kluckhohn and A. Wrede, *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Karl V.*, 2, 1896.—3. J. Ney, *Der Reichstag zu Speyer 1526, 1889*.—Theo. Brieger *Der Speyerer Reichstag von 1526 und die religioese Frage der Zeit, 1909*.—The Recess in German in Walch, 16, English in part in Kidd, *Documents illustrative of the Continental Reformation, 1911*.—4. J. Ney, *Geschichte d. Reichstags zu Speyer 1529*,

1890.—E. Heuser, *Die Protestation von Speyer*, 1904.—J. Ney, *Die Appellation und Protestation der evang. Staende auf dem Reichstag zu Speyer* (*Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Protestantismus*, 5. Heft) 1906.—J. Kuehn, *Die Geschichte d. Speyrer Reichstags 1529*, 1929.—5. The Imperial proposition, as it has been presented to the Diet by Ferdinand, is found in German in Ney, 104ff.; extracts in English translation by Kidder, 240-241; also in Part II, document No. 3b. Compare Joh. Kuehn, *Wer traegt die Verantwortung an der Entstehung des politischen Protestantismus?* (*Kultur und Universalgeschichte, Walther Goetz gewidmet*) 1927, and Joh. Kuehn, *Die Geschichte d. Speyrer Reich.*, 1929.—6 The resolutions of the majority which later were adopted are found in Ney 129ff. English extracts in Kidder, 242, and in Part II Document No. 4.—7. The German text of the Protest in Walch 16, 315ff.; a very poor English translation in Vedder, XX 431ff., new translation in Part II, 5; extracts in Kidder, 243f.—8. Extracts of the "Burgrecht" or Christian Civic Alliance in Kidder, 469. Other cities joined: in 1528 Bern and St. Gall; in 1529 Biel, Muehlhausen. Basel and Schaffhausen. Of note is the fact that a theological agreement was to be the basis of the alliance. Although stated in general terms (to keep true to God and in accord with Holy Scripture) yet it was based on the Zwinglian understanding of the doctrines in Scripture. So when later Saxony and Brandenburg would not hear of an alliance without a common confession their request was nothing new in Evangelical circles.—9. We here closely follow Schubert's *Buendnis und Bekenntnis*, 3.—9a. W. Walther, *Die Schweizer Taktik gegen Luther im Sakramentsstreit* (*Zur Wertung der deutschen Reformation*), 1909, 211-256.—10. We offer it in Part II. Document 6; the German original in Schubert; *Bek. u. Rel.* 138-141.—11. Schubert, *Bdnis. u. Bek.*, 6f.—12. *ibid.*, 7f.—13. Cf. Part II. Document 7.—14. The "Notel" of Rotach in J. J. Mueller, *Historie von der evang. Staende Protestation und Appellation . . . wie auch ferner von dem zu Augsburg . . . uebergebenen Glaubensbekenntnis*, Jena, 1705, 236ff.

15. H. v. Schubert, *Bdnis u. Bektnis*, 9f.—16. Luther, Erl. Ed. 54, 72ff; English in Schmauk, *The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church*, 1911, 296.—17. *Corpus Reformationum*, I, 1071.—18. Schubert, *Bdnis. u. Bek.*, 12.—19. For this see H. von Schubert *Die Vorstufen des saechsisch-fraenkischen Bekenntnisses in Bektnisbldg. u. Religionspolitik*, 64-95, especially 81ff. There is also plainly shown that the Margrave Kasimir since the Diet in Nuernberg of 1524 had made an effort, in agreement with the demand

of the diet, that those estates who have schools "are to prepare a statement of all new doctrines and books, as to what they contain that is of dispute," and to have such statements regarding faith in his own domain handed in. The result was a number of valuable documents which have been preserved to us and published in extensive selection in the collection edited by W. F. Schmidt and K. Schornbaum, "*Die Fraenkischen Bekenntnisse*" (München, 1930). Especially noteworthy are the detailed Ansbach *Evangelische Ratschlaege* of 1524 (183-322) which were probably written by John Rurer of Ansbach and Adam Weiss of Krailsheim, also the first Nuernberg *Evangelische Ratschlag* of the same year which goes back to Osiander, Sleupner and Venatorius (ibid. 411-455). The first was rightly called the first Evangelical confession of Franconia. From Schubert and more detailed from K. Schornbaum's *Die Stellung des Markgrafen Kasimir zur reformatorischen Bewegung in den Jahren 1524-1527* (Nuernberg 1900) and Schornbaum's other work: *Zur Politik des Markgrafen Georg von Brandenburg* (1906) we at the same time learn why in these years the Brandenburger, especially Margrave George, kept themselves as much as possible free from all political alliances with other Evangelical estates. Then when a meeting of the Saxon Elector and Margrave George was arranged for Koburg October 24, 1528, it was agreed to have articles of faith drawn up which were to be examined and so, if possible, obtain a common confessional basis which could also be adopted by other Evangelical estates. The Wittenberg theologians were to present all disputed articles by the 7th of March, 1529, and explain them with Scripture. Even if at the time nothing came of the matter the Margrave and the Elector came in closer touch with each other and agreed as to the basis and aim. Now was the time to refer back to this.—In the matter of Nuernberg see: K. Schornbaum, *Zur Politik der Reichsstadt Nuernberg vom Ende des Reichstags zu Speyer 1529 bis zur Uebergabe der Augsburger Konfession (Mitteilungen d. Vereins f. Geschichte d. Stadt Nuernberg, 17, 1906)*.—20. Kolde *Der Tag von Schleiz* etc., 96.—21. The instructions are found in Schubert, *Bekntnis. u. Rel.*, 61-63; we offer them in translation in Part II, Document 7.—22. Schubert, *Bdnis. u. Bek.*, 31, Note 29.—23. The "Notel" of Rotach is found in J. J. Mueller, 236ff; compare note 14 above.—24. The opinion of the Nuernberg clergymen is found in J. H. Riederer, *Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gelehrten- und Buechergeschichte, Altdorf 1764-1767*), II, 216ff.—25. Kolde, *Der Tag von Schleiz*, 98.—26. Kolde, ibid. 98f; Schornbaum, 80.—27. Westermayer, *Die Bran-*

denburgisch-Nuernbergische Kirchenvisitation und Kirchenordnung (1894), 79.—28. Cf. Note 19.—29. The Saalfeld recess is found in *Ansbacher Religionsakten* VII, 69; cf. Kolde, *Der Tag v. Schleiz*, 100.—30. *ibid.*, 102f.—31. *ibid.*, 99, Note 2.—32. *ibid.*, 100.—33. Corp. Ref., I, 1077; Luther, Erl. Ed., 54, 83ff. Corp. Ref., I, 1080.—34. The letter in Kolde *ibid.* 104f.—35. *ibid.* 111-115.—36. For the instructions for Schwabach see Mueller *ibid.* 281ff.—37. For this see, aside from Kolde, *Der Tag von Schleiz und die Entstehung der Schwabacher Artikel*, 108ff, and the works of Schornbaum quoted in Note 19, also H. v. Schubert, *Die Entstehung der Schwabacher Artikel (Bekenntnisbildung u. Religionspolitik 21-30)*, 63. What Theo. Schmauk said in opposition findings.—38. Corp. Ref. I, 1084: *Ad haec institui Enchiridion dogmatum Christianorum, ut quid de omnibus fidei articulis scenserimus, posteritas iudicare possit.* It is, however, very doubtful whether these words refer to the preparation of the Schwabach Articles.—39. Kawerau, *Justus Jonas Briefe* (1884-85), I, 128.—40. Strobel, *Miszellen lit. Inhalts*, IV, 123; Schubert 43f.—41. The instructions for Schwabach in J. J. Mueller, 281-303; cf. Schubert 45f.—42. German in Kolde, *Die Augsb. Konf.* 123f.; English in Part II, Document 8.—43. F. W. Schirrmacher, *Briefe und Akten zu der Geschichte des Religionsgesprachs zu Marburg und des Reichstags zu Augsburg, 1876.*—Bernh. Bess, *Luther in Marburg 1529 (Preussische Jahrbuecher)*, 1901.—H. v. Schubert, *Die Vorgeschichte des Marburger Gespraechs (Bekenntnisbildg. u. Rel. 1-20)*; *Das Marburger Gespraech als Anfang der Abendmahlskonkordie* (*ibid.* 96-116); also: *Die Entstehung des saechsisch-fraenkischen Bekenntnisses* (*ibid.*, especially 28ff.), 1910.—Walter Koehler, *Zum Religionsgesprach zu Marburg (Festgabe fuer Meyer v. Knonau) 1913.*—H. v. Schubert, *Die Anfaenge d. ev. Bekenntnisbildung*, 1928.—W. Koehler, *Das Marburger Religionsgesprach, Versuch e. Rekonstruktion*, 1929.—The Marburger articles in German in Kolde, *Die Augsburg Konfession*, 119-122; English in Part II, doc. 9; there also Luther's declaration.—44. Zwingli's *Fidei Ratio* in English translation in Jacobs' Book of Concord II, 190ff.—45. The Schwabach recess is found in G. Weber, *Kritische Geschichte d. Augsb. Konfession*, 1782. We offer it as document 10 in Part II.—46. Compare H. v. Schubert, *Die Sprengung der protestantischen Einigungsversuche durch das saechsisch-fraenkische Bekenntnis auf dem Tag zu Schmalkalden (Bekenntnisbildung u. Religionspolitik, 117-1660, 118f.)*.—47. Schubert, *ibid.*, 44ff.; English in Part II, document 13.—48. Schubert, *ibid.*, 169ff.; English in Part II, doc. 11.—49. The instructions for the Brandenburger representa-

tives for Schmalkalden, Schubert, *ibid.*, 141ff.; English Part II, doc. 12.—50. Schubert, *ibid.* 122.—51. *ibid.* 127ff.—52. *ibid.* 167ff.—53. The recess of Schmalkalden in Mueller 330f.; English in Part II, doc. 14.—54. Schubert, *ibid.*, 133f.—55. Regarding this meeting in Nuernberg, Schubert, *Bdnis. u. Bektnis*, 23, and J. J. Mueller 345ff.; Schornbaum, 102ff.

56. H. v. Schubert, *Die Sonderverhandlungen zwischen Kurfuerst von Sachsen und d. Kaiser vor dem Reichstag zu Augsburg (Bekennnissbildung u. Religionspolitik, 235-273)*—57. Bouterwek, *Sybilla, Kurfuerstin von Sachsen (Zeitschrift d. Bergischen Geschichtsvereins VII), 1871*.—G. v. Below, *Landtagsakten von Juelich-Berg, 1400-1610, 1895ff.*—M. Ritter, *Sachsen und der Juelicher Erbfolgestreit (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Historische Klasse XII, 2)*; G. Mentz, *Johann Friedrich der Grossmuetige, 1903ff.*, I, 19ff.—Redlich, *Juelich-Bergische Kirchenpolitik, I, 1907*.—H. Forsthoef, *Rheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1929*, p. 156f.—58. Regarding these counts see H. v. Schubert, *Bek. u. Rel.* p. 241.—W. Koehler, *Der katzenelnbogische Erbfolgestreit (Mitteilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins, XI), Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, I, p. 79f.; 127ff., 1906*.—59. Georg Berbig, *Quellen u. Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts, V.: Spalatiniana, 1908*. Here it is stated in Spalatin's *Index brevissimus rerum etc.* (p. 39): 1530, mense Januario [Johann] profectus Arnstadium una cum filio Duce Johanne Friderico et Duce Francisco Luenebergio, ubi ad XXX comites fuerant dedit operam ad reconciliandos Comites Mansfeldios.—60. Regarding these dates compare: K. E. Foerstemann, *Urkundenbuch zu der Geschichte des Reichstags zu Augsburg im Jahre 1530. Halle 1830, I, 10*; F. W. Schirrmacher, *Briefe u. Akten zu der Geschichte des Religionsgesprachs zu Marburg 1529 und des Reichstags zu Augsburg 1530 Gotha 1876, 459ff*; H. Baumgarten, *Geschichte Carls V. Stuttgart 1885ff.* III, 23. The summons is found in Foerstemann I, 2ff. The principal part is given in Part II, 15.—61. Already in 1911 Gussmann offered his opinion in this matter (I, 1, 2ff) but changed it in 1930 in his article in the *Allg. Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung* (No. 10 and 11): *Das kaiserliche Ausschreiben des Reichstags*. We accept his summary as it is also recognized by J. v. Walter in his splendid essay on the Augsburg Diet in *Luther Jahrbuch* of 1930, p. 1-90. We read on page 6 "Even if the Emperor had the pipe of peace sounded it did not mean the abandoning of his final goal which was not the free discussion of the questions of faith at a free council but a breaking up of the

Protestant convictions either by mildness or force as the matters shaped themselves. Then the council, and not before. One of the conditions of the Peace of Barcelona was: The Protestants were, first of all to be coaxed back into the bosom of the most holy Church; but if this goal could not be attained then both Charles as well as Ferdinand were, by unfolding all of their power, to revenge the disgrace brought upon Christ."—62. J. v. Walter, (p. 4f.): "One thing certainly was certain. The Emperor was not one of the followers of an unconditional Papacy. Reared in the Spanish reform movement he found himself in sharp contrast to the Pope. In Bologna Charles V and Clement VII lived in adjoining houses. But where an outward show of unity is made it usually is a proof that true unity is lacking. Charles was sincerely convinced that the "utter depravity which marked the present life of all, clergy as well as laity," must be counteracted. In his conversation with the Venetian representative Tiepolo on the 12th of August, 1530, in which he voiced this judgment (J. v. Walter, *Die Depeschen des Tiepolo vom Augsburger Reichstag*, Berlin 1928, p. 66), he also said: "Therefore, from early childhood I had in mind if possible to call in my time a universal council so as to abolish this gross disorder. It seems to me that such a council ought to meet just in the days when the Turk is active for only in this way can it be expected that all Christendom will unite to make common cause against the enemy. I can not expect to accomplish this in any other way. And although my brother and I will always do our duty we still are aware that we do not have sufficient means at our disposal to shoulder this task." Charles seemed to have something in the line of a crusade in mind. . . But how did he expect to attain this gigantic goal, the reform of Christianity on the one hand and the rout of the hereditary enemy on the other? He does not leave the Venetian in the dark regarding the one thing which is in the way: *Quando non vi fusse questo dissidio si grande della fede*. The Emperor desired a council which was to take up the reform of the Church, but this had nothing in common with the questions which moved the Protestants. The *questione della fede* and the *questione del concilio* were to him two entirely different things."—63. The Landgrave answered the Elector's invitation to attend the diet on the 20th of March and even at that time he was not certain if he would attend in person (Foerstemann, I, 62). Of note are his detailed instructions of March 27 to his councillors who are to represent him in Augsburg in case he would not be able

to attend. Gussmann published them in I, 1, page 326ff. In them the councillors are not only instructed to counteract any attempt to let any dogmatic differences cause a political split but are also to stress the point that the Emperor cannot rule in matters of faith without a general council.—64. The Landgrave had sent the Emperor a French translation of the *Oeconomia christiana* of Lambert of Avignon to inform him of the reason for the differences in faith (C. R. II, 167). Charles saw in this high treason, "in which his Majesty is being attacked" (C. R. II, 166). In the discussions which Philipp had with Charles, at the time of the Diet regarding this accusation, the sending of this document played the major part, cf. J. v. Walter, 11f.—65. Schmidt-Schornbaum, *Die Fraenkischen Bekenntnisse. Eine Vorstufe der A. K. Muenchen 1930*, p. 104ff.—66. Foerstemann, I, 11.—67. Sehling (*Evangelische Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1902) I, 1, page 149-174) has the complete instructions. The principal parts are found in Part II, in English translation.—68. Cf. these documents in Foerstemann I, 11-38; 45-61; 112-141. The call to prayers for the diet is mentioned in Foerstemann I, 131ff; Willkomm has found one of these prayers from the hand of Cruciger which he published in *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte* 1912, page 249f.—69. Foerstemann, I, 134-138.—70. *ibid.* I, 39-40.—71. *ibid.* I, 40-44.—72. That Melanchthon was in Torgau on March 27 is seen from the date of his letter to Mykonius, C. R. II, 33f.—73. Foerstemann, I, 66-108; in English translation in Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, 1905, 104-128, also in our Second Part, 19.—74. Gussmann, I, 1, 94-101; 433; J. v. Walter, *Der Reichstag zu Augsburg* (*Luther Jahrbuch 1930*), p. 24.—75. Walter calls attention to the fact that this sentence is found in the opinion: "It is to be remembered that not many Doctor Martinus will follow our times who will be able to manage such great things with so much grace" (Foerstemann I, 80), and asks: "How is it possible that such a sentence could have found space in an opinion which Luther helped to formulate?" He therefore would rather see in it a separate opinion of Melanchthon than a common opinion of all. But his objections lose their force if we keep in mind that what Melanchthon wrote was the result of a common discussion but penned independently by him. Walter refers to his essay which appeared in "Festschrift der Goettinger Coburgia" 1930 which was not available to the author.—76. Th. Kolde, *Nuernberg und Luther vor dem Reichstag von Augsburg* (*Kirchengeschichtliche Studien. Reuter gewidmet*, 1890), p. 251ff.

—Regarding Luther's journey to Coburg, P. J. Th. Lingke, *Luther's merkwuerdige Reise-geschichte*, 1769, p. 190ff.; K. F. Koehler, *Luthers Reisen*, 1873, p. 15ff.; C. A. Burkhardt, *Altes und Neues ueber Luthers Reisen* (*Zeitschrift f. Kgeschichte*), 1899, p. 102f.; G. Buchwald, *Lutherana. Aus den Rechnungsbuechern des Weimarer Archivs* (*Archiv f. Refgeschichte*) 1928, p. 104f.; G. Buchwald, *Lutherkalendarium*, 1929, p. 70ff. H. v. Schubert effectively uses Luther's sermons in describing Luther's Journey (*Luther Jahrbuch* 1930, p. 110ff)—77. H. v. Schubert, *Luther auf der Koburg* (*ibid.* p. 109-161) especially p. 112-116.—78. Bernhard Willkomm, *Beitraege zur Reformationsgeschichte aus Drucken und Handschriften der Universitaetsbibliothek in Jena* (*Archiv f. Ref.geschichte*, IX, 3 u. 4.) 1912.—79. I, 109-112; Kolde, *Aelteste Redaktion*, 34; Gussmann, I, 1, 439; B. Willkomm, 331ff.—80. H. E. Jacobs, *The Book of Concord*, 1908, II, 69ff.—80. Gussmann, *Quellen u. Forschungen zur Geschichte d. Augsburgschen Glaubensbekenntnisses*. 2. Band D. Johann Ecks 404 Artikel zum Reichstag von Augsburg, 1930.—81. This request is published in *Conspectus historiae universitatis Viennensis exactis veteribusque documentis erutae*. 1722ff., II, 120f., or in F. B. von Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*, 1831ff, VIII, 131ff.—82. R. Klink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universitaet Wien*, 1854ff, I, 1, 136.—83. Gussmann, Dr. Ecks Artikel, p. 9; The text of the mandate is found p. 195-196; our translation in Part II, doc. 17.—84. Gussmann, II, 196f.; English translation Part II, doc. 18.—85. Gussmann, II, 13.—86. Th. Kolde, *Aelteste Redaktion*, etc., 1906; translated by Schmauk, *Confessional Principle*, 1911. We give it in slightly modrnized form in Part II. 37.—87. Schubert's statement (*Luth. Jahrbuch* 1930, 145), that Luther's words, regarding his inability to tread gently, do not necessarily need be taken ironically, has just come to my attention: "To improve or change is not proper. Why not? For I am not able to tread so lightly and gently. That can only mean: Since my whole way —*meus spiritus*—of expressing such matters is different, I will not undertake to make changes; it would not be suitable,—to use Melanchthonian language and Lutheran language are two different things—, but I will only say: *de toto scripto placet*."—88. H. v. Schubert, (*Luther Jahrbuch* 1930, p. 145) calls attention to the fact that also Melanchthon's letters of the 6th had not reached Luther on August 14; the messenger from Augsburg arrived on the 15th (Enders 8, 179, 190). Schubert practically comes to the same conclusion, regarding Melanchthon's letter of May 22, when he translates: "I wish you had gone over the articles of faith, if

only, according to your opinion, no mistakes have been made there, we will somehow manage the rest. For there we can change, or accommodate, as the occasion may demand."—88a. Kolde, *Einleitung*, xf.—89. *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 1923, No. 1 and 2.—90. Kolde, *Älteste Redaktion*, 40.—91. For this paragraph compare Foerstemann I, 162ff., where all pertinent documents will be found; the instructions for Hans v. Minckwitz, I, 166f.; Schubert, *Bek. u. Rel.*, 255ff.—92. J. W. Richard, *Lutheran Quarterly*, 1901, July issue, published the Latin text of this confession (Schwabach Articles) with English translation; later C. Stange published the text with introduction and critical notes (*Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*), 1903, p. 495ff. St. Ehses, in 1903, published Campegius' despatches on the subject to the papal court (in extracts) (*Roemische Quartalschrift* XVII, 382-406) which shed light on the matter. The whole mass of material in these despatches has been used by J. v. Walter, after extensive work in the Italian archives and the Vatican library in his essay on the Diet of Augsburg in *Luther Jahrbuch* 1930, 17ff.—93. J. v. Walter, 17.—94. Gussmann, II, 46f. That Eck's articles reached the Emperor at this time is certain, less certain is their effect on him. It also seems that they came to the attention of Campegius. For he not only followed up the "instruction" to the Emperor with a "Sommario" but also a very incriminating catalog of all atrocities of the Anabaptists so as to incite the Emperor to persecute not only the Anabaptists but also all Evangelicals. This catalog reminds strongly of parts of Eck's articles. It bore the title, *Fructus Lutherani evangelii in Anabaptistis apud Germanos*. It has not yet been published, but Ficker, who has seen it, reports as follows (*Die Konfutation des Augsb. Bekenntnisses*, 191, p. XXIIIff.): "The wide spread of the Anabaptists, the secrecy of their propaganda, their enmity against all government is here amplified. It was said of them that they held their women in common, and things much worse; that they rejected Mary as the mother of the Son of God, and the divinity of Christ. And finally, they were accused of aiding the Turk and that they had again called him into the land. It closes: *Haec autem crudelissima instituta ac perniciosissimaeque haereses tantum ex Lutheri libris ac suorum complicitum ortae sunt*. It certainly is to be acknowledged that the Emperor did not let this sway him from his intended action. In order to prove the opposite, the Emperor's statement: "Not with steel but with fire are heretics punished," is quoted. J. v. Walter (p. 22), however, claims that these words have been misunderstood. The facts regarding these words are, according

to Walter: At the time when the Emperor, coming from Innsbruck, arrived at Munich a pageant had been arranged for his reception. One of the scenes portrayed Cambyzes surrounded by blood-stained people who had been put to the sword. The Legate remarked that this ought to give the Emperor an idea how to treat the heretics. In giving the above answer it is far more probable that the Emperor intended to divert, for otherwise he would have betrayed far crueler intentions, which is contrary to all indications.—95. Compare for this and the following, Theo. Schmauk, *Confessional Principle*, 386ff.—96. Compare Schubert's splendid appreciation of Luther's "*Vermahnung*" in *Luther Jahrbuch* 1930.—97. Kolde, *Aelteste Redaktion*, 108.—98. cf. the chapter, "*Die fraenkischen Bekenntnisse und die Augsburger Konfession*" in *Fraenkische Bekenntnisse*, p. 135-151.—99. Foerstemann, I, 248-254; 257-267.—100. *ibid* I, 267-270.—101. *ibid* I, 270-272.—102. *ibid* I, 294.—103. *ibid* I, 274-281.—104. Kolde (*Aelteste Red.*, 69; *Historische Einleitung*, 16) is probably correct when he surmises that it was the Latin copy, formerly in Cassel but now in Marburg, from which the French translation was made which Foerstemann gives in I, 355-368.—104a. J. v. Walter, 41.—105. In place of the fourth point one occasionally meets the request for a general council (Kolde, *Aelteste Red.*, 102; H. Laemmer, *Monumenta Vaticana historiam ecclesiasticum saeculi XVI. illustrantia*, Freiburg 1861, p. 44). The despatches of Bagaroto's, the representative of Mantua (*M. J. Sanuto, Diarii I-LXIII, Venice 1879ff.*, 53, 6), and those of Tiepolo, of Venice, (J. v. Walter, *Die Depeschen des Venezianischen Gesandten Nicolo Tiepolo*, Berlin 1928, p. 47), name the four mentioned by us.—106. Schirmacher, *Briefe und Akten*, 1876, p. 72.—107. cf. the Emperor's statement that it would be more fruitful to "undertake the matter in privacy and seclusion," C. R. II, 123.—108. Schirmacher, p. 72.—109. Fr. v. Bezold, *Geschichte d. deutschen Reformation*, 1890, p. 621; G. Kawerau, *Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte III*, 2. A. 1899, p. 97; K. Mueller, *Kirchengeschichte*, II, 2, 1902, p. 372f.; G. Ellinger, *Phil. Melanchthon*, 1902, p. 268f.—110. Brieger, *Zur Geschichte d. Augsburger Reichstages von 1530*, Leipzig 1903 (*Program*).—111. *Aelteste Redaktion*, 76-106; English in Schmauk, *Confessional Principle*, 192-220.—112. *Die Depeschen*, p. 46ff.—113. From Protestant sources (C. R. II, 116f.) we know that the Imperial preachers were instructed to read only the Bible text.—114. C. R. II, 106: The Landgrave had answered the Emperor: Our ministers "preach nothing objectionable or new but solely the Word of God, as the

ancient Christian teachers, Augustin, Hilary and others, of which the Landgrave named about four, have also explained and preached.”—115. *Roemische Quartalschrift*, 17, 397.—116. C. R. II, 120; The speech is found in Coelestin, *Historia Comitiorum*, I, 1597, p. 105ff.—117. Joh. Ficker. *Die Originale des Vierstaetebekennnisses und die originalen Texte der Augsbургischen Konfession* (*Geschichtliche Studien, Festschrift fuer A. Hauck*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 240-251). These results of Ficker were fully adopted this year by Karl Voelker after he had investigated the volume of documents pertaining to this subject. This volume, formerly in the archives of the Mainz Archchancellery, since 1851 has been in the *Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna. Voelker, *Das Augsburger Bekenntnis in Oestereich* (*Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer die Geschichte des Protestantismus im ehemaligen und im neuen Oesterreich*, 51. Jahrgang, Wien 1930, p. 7-8), goes a step beyond Ficker. From a note of the chancery on the cover *Exhibitum et lectum altera die Johannis Baptistae in praesentia Imperatoris electorum et aliorum principum et statuum Imperii*, he concludes that this was the copy which was read. That probably needs to be proven. When reading the proofs the excellent publication *Die Bekenntnisschriften der ev. luth. Kirche, herausgegeben vom Deutschen Ev. Kirchenausschuss*, Goettingen 1930 arrived. Here Dr. Bornkamm, the editor of the A. C., also accepts the findings of Ficker, p. XIX, note 15.—118. Cf. especially G. G. Weber, *Die Augsburger Konfession nach der Urschrift im Reichsarchiv, neben einer Ehrenrettung Melanchthons*, Weimar 1781; of more importance is the same author's *Kritische Geschichte d. Augsburger Konfession*, Frankfurt a. M. I, 1783. The second chapter deals with the originals and 'archives' copies of the Augsburg Confession, p. 57-352; The third chapter treats of the oldest copies, and speaks also of the Mainz copy, p. 353-408. The second volume of 1784 also contains material on the subject: 2. *Von Ausgaben der A. C., so auf der churbrandenburgischen, chursaechsichen, und Pfaffschen Collation des Mainzischen Actenexemplars im Reicharchiv beruhen*; 6. *Von der Restitution des unvollstaendigen Mainzischen Actenexemplars der A. C. und ob solches oder die erste Melanchthonische Ausgabe der deutschen Konfession mehr kritisches Ansehen habe.*—Also H. E. Bindseil's resume in C. R., XXVI, Braunschweig, 1858, p. 431-464;—O. Zoeckler, *Die Augsburger Konfession*, 1870, p. 74; Kolde, *Historische Einleitung* XXX; *Neue Augustanastudien* (*Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift* XVII), 1906, p. 729ff.—119. John Ficker, *Die Eingenart des Augsb. Bekenntnisses*, Halle 1930, p. 21.—120. Weber, *Kritische*

Geschichte, I, 3rd suppl.—121. P. Tschackert, *Die unveraenderte Augsb. Konfession, Kritische Ausgabe, 1901*, p. 17.—122. The volume which contains the documentary material of the religious discussions in Augsburg—also the Augsburg Confession, has 382 leaves and was bound in the first half of the 16th Century. It is the original volume of the official documents of the imperial chancery and contains the original documents expressly so designated with official endorsements of the chancery. The few copies of originals which are included in the volume were also written in Augsburg in the imperial chancery and are included in the documents of the archchancellery in place of the originals. The Augsburg Confession is found on leaves 21-53. The paper used points to Augsburg; the handwriting seems to indicate the imperial chancery. The writing of the first 12 pages is a display of art, later on it becomes hasty, irregular and small only to end in the careful writing of the beginning. On the cover we find written with great care: *Der funf Chur vnd fursten Sachssen || Brandenburg, huneburg, hessen vnd anhalt || furbrachte opinion vnd Bekantnus || Im glauben.* || At the left we find a Latin note of the chancery: *Exhibitum et lectum altera die || Johannis Baptiste In || praesentia Imperatoris electorum et aliorum || principum et || statuum Imperii.* It was this manuscript which was handed to Eck during the religious discussion in Worms when he demanded the "original" in the chancery of Mainz. It is the same which, with the whole volume, was sent to the Council of Trent from where it was again returned to Mainz. We therefore know positively what was publicly read on June 25. Regarding the Latin text, of June 25, Ficker says (*Eigenart*, 31): "For the wording of the Latin text we now have ample security since I found two carefully made copies of the original in the imperial archives in Brussels, which had been certified before notaries. The one in Rome dated 1566, the other from the residue of the Jesuit seminary of Ingolstadt. Both confirm the reliability of the copies made 1530 in Augsburg (especially the Wuerzburg and Regensburg manuscripts) and the printed text of Fabricius (in *Harmonia Confessionum*). They also prove the truth of Lindanus' statements, regarding the original manuscript, which were very critically reviewed by Kolde (*Neue Augustanastudien* 742ff; cf. also C. R. XXVI, 219ff). There can be no doubt that the original showed Melancthon's handwriting. According to the Roman manuscript this original contained 54 leaves." So far Ficker. The original Latin and German texts will be published under the title: "Joh. Ficker, *Die in Augsburg*

überreichten Bekenntnisse, Band I: Die Augsburgische Konfession." It would not at all be surprising if a copy of the Latin text which was handed to Campegius when the *Confutatio* was being written would be found in Rome.—123. Compare Note 62. The Nuernberger helped, as it seems, the Landgrave to obtain this change concerning the Council. Nuernberg from the beginning doubted the authority of the Emperor in matters of religion. On May 16 the Landgrave debated the question with Kress, Nuernberg's representative, and on June 22 the Nuernberg jurist Hepstein gave his "opinion" in the matter which emphasized the Landgrave's view. (Gussmann I, 53f. 143.)—124. Cf. H. A. Niemayer, *Collectio confessionum in ecclesiis reformatis publicatarum*, Lipsiae 1840, p. 740-770; K. Mueller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 55-78. Foerstemann, II, 21-70, notes variant readings of the Latin and German texts. The Latin text was also included in *Harmonia Confessionum* published by Salnar 1581 at Geneva. In 1586 this *Harmonia* was issued in English translation which was used by H. E. Jacobs in his translation in *The Book of Concord* (II, 209ff.); cf. also A. Paetzold, *Die Konfutation des Vierstaedtebekenntnisses*, Leipzig 1900, and Ficker, *Die Originale des Vierstaedtebekenntnisses etc.* (*Festschrift fuer Hauck*), 1916.—125. The text is found in Niemayer's *Collectio confessionum*, p. 16-35; also in Mueller, p. 79-94; H. E. Jacobs has an English translation in *Book of Concord* (II, 188-209).—126. Through the Cardinal of Mainz an extension had been requested which was not granted. Brueck reports on this in his history of the diet reproduced in Foerstemann's *Archiv* (1831), p. 50f.—127. This, however, has been rejected by Kolde as an error (*Neue Augustanastudien*, 742ff.). He thinks Wilhelm Lindanus' statement, who in his *Apologeticum ad Germanos* of 1568 claims to have examined the Latin original in the archives of Brussels and found it was written in Melanchthon's handwriting, as unreliable. But Ficker, who has found two copies of the Latin original, says (*Eigenart d. A. Bekenntnisses* 1930, p. 31): "There can be no doubt that the original shows Melanchthon's handwriting."—The haste in which they were compelled to work is also attested by Brueck, p. 50ff: "So the document also had the form of being compiled in haste and was difficult to read." In Caspar Sturm's report (in Cyprian, *Historie d. A. C., Halle 1730*, p. 76) it is also stated: "that some things were erased and also showed other defects."—128. Since the copy of the Latin original has not yet been published, and the otherwise complete Mainz copy of the German original does not contain the signatures, the number of

the original signers is not absolutely certain. Brueck always speaks of only five electors and princes. He therefore does not include Franz von Lueneburg. But in the writing of Caspar Sturm (*Eine kurze Anzeigung und Beschreibung Roem. Kais. Majestat Einreiten etc.*, 1530) he is mentioned as among those who on the 24th of June rose from their seats when the Confession was presented. Yet that does not imply that he signed the document. The supposition, that the electoral prince Johann Friedrich also signed, arose from a statement made by Jonas to Luther (Enders VIII, 26), and because Melancthon, in the *Editio princeps*, named him as among the signers (also Franz von Lueneburg), C. R. XXV, 415.—129. H. Preuss, *Luthertum um 1530 in Wort und Bild*, Berlin 1930, p. 21.—130. Kolde has grouped them (*Neue Augustanastudien*, 738ff.); aside from the ones named here by Kolde, Ficker (*Die Originale etc.*, 248) reminds of Ehinger's description, cf. Dobel, *Memmingen im Reformationszeitalter*, VI, 1878, p. 32. The claim that the German original had been given to the Lord high chancellor probably has its origin in the fact that an authentic copy of the original was filed in Mainz; the copy was confused with the original.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1) Brueck's *Geschichte der Religionshandlungen auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg*, in: Foerstemann, *Archiv fuer die Geschichte der kirchlichen Reformation*, I, 1. Halle 1831, 49f.—2) Th. Brieger, *Beitraege zur Geschichte des Augsburger Reichstags von 1530*, in *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte* XII, 1, 1890.—Johannes Ficker, *Die Konfutation des Augsburger Bekenntnisses. Ihre erste Gestalt und ihre Geschichte*. Leipzig 1891.—J. v. Walter, *Die Depeschen des venezianischen Gesandten Nicolo Tiepolo ueber die Religionsfrage auf dem Augsburger Reichstage 1530*, Berlin 1928.—J. v. Walter, *Die Augustana im Feuer der roemischen Kritik*, in: *Allg. Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung* 63, 22, 1930.—J. von Walter, *Der Reichstag zu Augsburg (Luther Jahrbuch)*, 1930. A view of the previous work done is found in Bindseil's comprehensive introduction to the 27th volume of *Corpus Reformatorum*, Braunschweig, 1859.—3) H. Laemmer, *Monumenta Vaticana historiam ecclesiasticam saeculi XVI. illustrantia*, Freiburg i. Br. 1861 45.—4) This opinion is found in Brieger, 126-127.—5. Campegius' answer is found in Lanz, *Staatspapiere zur Geschichte des Kaisers Karl V.*, in: *Bibliothek d. literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, XI, 45-50.—6) Brieger, 127-130.—7) Jonas' letter to Luther, June 27, Enders VII, 387.—8) *Corp. Ref.* II, 141.—9) C. R. II, 145f.—10) Enders, VIII, 34ff.—

11) Enders VIII, 41ff.—12) Enders, VIII, 50ff.—13) The proof for this is found in Ficker, *Die Konfutation etc.* XIX.—14) Ficker, XX.—G. Veessenmeyer, *Kleine Beitræge zur Geschichte des Reichstags z. Augsburg, Nuernberg 1830*, chapter 2.—15) Ficker, XXI-XXIX.—16) Ficker XXXII and 1-4; compare also Part II, document 45.—17) Ficker, 52f; 73f; 70.—18) Ficker, 134ff.—19) Ficker, XLIX.—19a) Spalatin reported in his *Annalen*, p. 148: Imperial Majesty is reported to have crossed out and corrected so much in the document that no more than twelve pages (or 16 as Jonas wrote to Luther, Kolde, *Analecta*, p. 145) were left uncorrected. Brenz wrote to Isenmann on July 15th: *Interea novi nihil apud nos accidit, nisi quod acceperim, confessionem Sophistarum auctoribus ipsis sophistis a Caesare rursus esse reeditam, propterea quod adeo confusa, incondita, violenta, sanguinolenta et crudelis sit, ut puderit, eam coram Senatu Imperii recitare. Est autem reddita, ut emendetur et civiliter componatur* (*Corp. Ref. II*, 197ff.). Compare also the dispatches of the Ambassador of Venice, Nicolo Tiepolo, of July 16, in J. v. Walter, *Die Depeschen etc.* p. 58.—20) "They are all weary and if no special enmity or special interest is found faith will help very little," the Emperor complained in those days to the Pope (Ficker LIV.).—21) Zwingli's *Ratio fidei* in English translation in Jacobs II, there also the English translation of Tetrapolitana. Compare: W. Gussmann, *Quellen u. Forschungen II*, p. 21ff; John Ficker, *Die Originale d. Vierstaedtebekenntnisses etc.*, in *Festschrift fuer Hauck* (p. 240ff.), 1916.—22) Comp. Ficker, LI, who not only calls attention to Melanchthon's letter of July 10, but also to the advise given the Emperor by the Spanish counsellors. To them it also was certain that the Emperor must use force if all other methods failed. So the Emperor's former confessor, Cardinal Garcia de Loaysa, wrote to him on July 18 from Rome where he had been sent to represent the Emperor's interests: "I then see, if Thou art determined to bring Germany back, no better remedy than to use gifts and flattery to bring back to our faith those who are the leaders in science and in the empire If this is done Thou hast for the other common people this course: first to proclaim Thy imperial edict and Christian admonition. Will they not heed these then there is yet the true rhubarb—force. It alone cured Spain's rebellion against their king and it will also cure Germany's faithlessness against their God" (Heine, *ibid.*, page 20). But also see Garcia's letter to the Emperor (July 31) in which he advises at first to only abolish the principal heresies. Ficker LI refers for this to *Docum. ineditos XIV*, 54, which

are not now available to me.—23) C. Heine, *Briefe an Kaiser Karl V geschrieben von seinem Beichtvater 1530-32*, Berlin 1848, p. 522ff.—24) The Emperor's letter of July 10 is found in Foerstemann II, 9-12; the answer of the Cath. estates of July 13 was published by Brieger in 1890 (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte XII*, 134).—25) According to Elector Joachim (Foerstemann II, 105.—26). For the Catholic opinion compare Brieger (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte XII*, 152), who for the first time published the form of preface and conclusion suggested by the estates.—27) Ficker, LIV-LXXXVIII.—28) They worked in great haste. More than a dozen clerks were employed to produce the two German copies and several scholars were busy examining and comparing them. This haste explains the accidental omitting of a whole section of the copy to be read so that the close of the article on the mass, and all of the following ones, were entirely overlooked, Ficker LXXXVI. Another odd thing was the reading of a daring exposition regarding the mass in which with Hebrew, Greek and Latin an attempt was made to prove that the "facite" in the "facite" in the words of institution are the same as "sacrifice." The reader had overlooked that this section had been previously struck. What impression just this exposition made is seen from the report of the Frankfurter representatives (Schirmacher, *Briefe u. Akten*, 418).—29) The Latin is found in *Harmonia Confessionis Augustanae doctrinae evangelicae consensum declarans. Adiunctum est Caroli Quinti Caesaris semper Augusti, potentissimorumque Imperii Christiani Principum ac doctissimorum nostri saeculi hominum de eadem Confessione iudicium. Omnia in unum veluti fascem comportata studio et opera Andreae Fabricii . . . Coloniae . . . M. D. LXXIII*. Easier found in Corp. Ref. XXVII, 81-184. This Latin text has been published in various German translations but the original German form read at Augsburg and mostly drawn by the Bavarian Chancellor Leonhard von Eck from the Latin copy, was first printed in 1808 in: *Formula confutationis Augustanae Confessionis cum latina e Codice Mscr. qui in Bibliotheca Iulii Pflugii Cizensi asservatur, tum germanica ex Actis tabularii Electoralis Moguntini, nunc primum in lucem edita. Cum Editionibus vulgatis contulit notisque illustravit M. Chr. Gottf. Mueller . . . Lipsiae 1808*. This German form of the Confutation is reprinted in Corp. Ref. XXVII, 190-228.—30) Ficker, LXXXVII.—31) Brieger, 158 has this from the minutes: "Thereupon, Friday after *Vincula Petri* (Aug. 5), it was decided by Imperial Majesty, Electors, Princes and estates that the five Electors,

Princes and cities were to receive a copy of the Confutation with the understanding that His Majesty would not accept an answer but that they were to see from it in what articles they were wrong and in which they were to conform with the Church; and also they were to keep this copy and not print it."—32) *Corp. Ref. II*, 169ff. No matter how much attention is called to the fact that Melanchthon just as in the conclusion of the first half of the Augsburg Confession—in speaking of *ecclesia Romana* meant the church of the first five centuries and, in mentioning the Catholic doctrines which the Lutherans upheld, always thought of those which they defended against the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians, still the letter is ambiguous and degrading.—33) *Corp. Ref. II*, 172ff.: *Paucis rebus vel condonatis vel dissimulatis, posset constitui concordia, videlicet si nostris utraque species Coenae Domini permitteretur, si coniugia sacerdotum et monachorum tolerarentur*. He added: *Hoc si aperte concedi non videretur utile, tamen praetextu aliquo dissimulari possent, videlicet quo res extrahatur, donec Synodus convocetur. De missa etiam ratio iniri posset a bonis et doctis viris, ne quid dissidii pararetur amplius. Nostris vicissim conveniet, obedientiam reddere et iurisdictionem Episcopis. Ita enim si levis dissimilitudo esset in una atque altera re: tamen quia iisdem episcopis parerent ecclesiae, nulla videri discordia posset, praesertim cum de dogmatibus conveniret. Et episcopi auctoritate sua pleraque incommoda tempore sanare possent, cum iam iterum haberent obediētes pastores, si tamen vellent restituere disciplinam ecclesiasticam iam diu ne neglectam.*—34) Melanchthon's letter to Veit Dietrich; *Corp. Ref. II*, 174f.—35) Foerstemann II, 16-19.—36). Document found in: J. J. Mueller, *Historie von der Evan. Staende Protestation etc. Jena 1705*, p. 671-673. The splendid "opinion" with which Spalatin came to the aid of his Elector in these momentous days is given by Foerstemann II, 80-84.—37) The whole document is found in J. J. Mueller op. cit. page 673-685. The second half, dealing with the faith, is also found in Foerstemann II, 113.—38) Foerstemann has a detailed report of these deliberations II, 93-108.—39) *C. R. II*, 253f.—40) This imperial statement probably was the reason why the timid Melanchthon again turned to Campegius on Aug. 4. and again urged the conditions which he thought would bring about the concord desired by the Emperor. *C. R. II*, 246-249.—50) Schirrmacher's *Briefe und Akte*, 420. For this and other negotiations compare Foerstemann II, 180-183.—50a) The Landgrave sent a letter to the Elector explaining his departure. In it he said: "This is my wish, Your Grace would watch

and not deviate from God's Word and not be frightened . . . , then Your Grace may be sure that I will offer my body and goods, land and people for Your Grace and the Word of God." J. J. Mueller, 713.—51) Foerstemann, II, 183-187. This splendid answer was not signed only by the cities of Nuernberg and Reutlingen, but also by Kempten, Windsheim, Heilbronn and Weissenburg. With it they also pledged themselves to the Augsburg Confession.—52) Foerstemann, II, 201-217. In closing it is stated: "We on our part have thought that it would not be a very inconvenient way and method, in agreement with the imperial summons, to select from both parties an equal yet small number of men who are familiar with the subject and who incline to peace and unity, who will confer with each other in love, grace and amity, regarding the disputed articles, especially those which deal of the abuses, in the hope that they will endeavor to bring the matter to a peaceful conclusion.—52a) Enders, 8, 112f.—53) Compare Foerstemann, II, 219-437. There it is shown what Eck objected to in the Augsburg Confession and especially in what they had agreed and in what they differed. There is also found the touching letter of the Augsburg physician Gereon Seiler to Spalatin in which he enquires if there is any truth in the report that the Lutherans had agreed with the Papists. This letter (p. 290) has this postscript: "The whole city is saying of the *Concordia*: 'Better to perish and die with Christ than to earn the whole world's acclaim without Him.'" Comp. the pertinent statements in *C. R. II*, 275-386.—53a) Foerstemann, II, 56-263.—54) Foerstemann, II, 302-305.—55) *C. R., II*, 363ff.—56) Foerstemann, II, 474-478.—57). On Aug 21 Melanchthon formulated the uncompar'd Articles thus: (*C. R. II*, 297ff): "1. That faith and not works justifies before God; neither the former nor subsequent works or merits, but for Christ's sake we are justified, if we believe that God is merciful to us for the sake of Christ.—2. Good works are necessary although one cannot thereby earn grace nor justification before God; this is alone done through faith and not through our works.—3. That it is not necessary to name the sins in confession.—4. That although contrition must and should be present in repentance, sin is not forgiven for its sake but by faith, if we believe the absolution or the gospel that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake. Therefore faith must be added to contrition to console the conscience that in faith our sins are forgiven for the sake of Christ.—5. That it is not necessary for remission of the *poena* that special satisfactions be laid upon man in repentance.—6. That the holy Sacrament does

not justify, *ex opere operato* without faith.—7. That for a true unity of the church and of faith unity of human ordinances is not necessary, but unity in the articles of faith and the use of the sacraments.—8. That church services instituted by man, for the purpose of thereby obtaining merit contrary to the Word and Commandments of God, are contrary to the Gospel and obscure the merits of Christ.—9. That the monastic vow and life, when instituted as a divine service to merit grace, is contrary to the gospel.—10. That human ordinances, which may be kept without sin and are beneficial to good order in the church should be observed in love for the sake of avoiding offence. Yet it must be remembered that such works are not a necessary divine worship and even the bishops have no right to burden the consciences with such traditions. It therefore is not sin to omit such traditions as long as no offence is thereby given.—11. To call on the saints is an uncertain and dangerous matter and obscures the office of Christ, who is held up by Scripture as our Mediator and Redeemer.—12. That those who forbid both forms in the Sacrament act contrary to Christ's institution and Scriptures.—13. That those who forbid matrimony do so contrary to God's command which ordered, to avoid unchastity, that each man have his wife.—14. That the mass is not a work which *ex opere operato* merits grace, but that the Body and Blood of Christ is given to offer us grace which we receive through faith and not *ex opere operato*.—Such articles the Elector and his (religious) associates thinks right and Christian, and herewith should also be included all articles which follow in logical consequence. Namely if any more articles are in dispute which are not in opposition to the presented Confession—they are all to be referred to the Council so that in the meantime neither party burden the other on their account.”—Melanchthon is here speaking, as it were, in his official capacity and mentions only such points for whose omissions no resolution from the Lutheran estates was at hand. In how far he himself, before or later on, was willing to yield these points in the meetings of the commissioners, cannot be definitely determined now. Officially on the 22nd of Sept. probably all of these belonged to the uncomparing points which the Evangelicals should reconsider.—58) Foerstemann, II, 478-483.—59) Foerstemann, II, 181: “Since now much had been done and said on both sides when the Emperor insisted on delivering the Confutation only under unacceptable conditions, Saxony and its associates replied: “If the desired document is not to be handed them they would have to leave it to

God and the Emperor, still they cannot let it pass unchallenged. and although so much has been done in haste yet they have retained enough of the writing that the main parts are still at hand. They expect to make it do and present an answer with the hope that it will be well enough founded in Scriptures and also sufficiently reject all of the statements of the opposition against the presented Confession. If this answer should not in all points be right Imperial Majesty is not to conclude that this is done intentionally, it is due only to the fact that the Confutation was not at hand.”—60) Th. Kolde, *Historische Einleitung zu den symbolischen Buechern*, XXXVI.—The Nuernberg representatives reported on Aug. 4 regarding the reading of the Confutation: “Then the document—containing over 50 pages—was read. We have, as much as we were able to remember, let Joachim Cammermeister, whom we took with us, put down the substance of it. He did this diligently, article for article, in his note book, as well as he could and even more than we were able to understand and retain as his Honor will see from the enclosed copy.” *C. R. II*, 250.—For the opinion compare Vogt’s article, *Die Korrespondenz des Nuernberger Rats mit seinen zum Augsburger Reichstag von 1530 abgeordneten Gesandten*, in *Mitteilungen der Vereins fuer die Geschichte Nuernbergs* (IV. 1882), p. 30; for the presentation to Melanchthon see the representatives’ report of Aug. 19, *C. R. II*, 289. Kolde suspects that the opinion in question is identical with Osiander’s regarding the Confutation which is to be found in Coelestin, *Historia Comitiorum*, III, 48f, and also in the Walch’s edition of Luther’s Works, XVI, 1775ff.—Nuernberg maintained a determined stand during the Diet; see also A. Engelhardt, *Der Reichstag zu Augsburg und die Reichstadt Nuernberg*, 1920.—61) *S. R. II*, 321.—62) *C. R. II*, 321.—63) In the extended and printed Apology Melanchthon states in the preface: *Iusserant autem me et alios quosdam parare apologiam confessionis, in qua exponerentur Caes. Maiest. causae, quare non reciperemus confutationem, et ea, quae obicerant adversarii, diluerentur . . . Quamquam autem initio apologiam instituimus communicato cum aliis consilio, tamen . . .* Mueller, *Symbolische Buecher*, p. 74.—64) Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius (Sep. 20) (*C. R. II*, 383): *Contineo me iam domi propter malevolorum sermones, et scripsi his diebus apologiam confessionis nostrae, quae, si opus erit, exhibebitur: opponetur enim confutationi adversariorum, quam praelegi audivisti.* He also refers to the arguments presented to him by Nuernberg without saying whether he used them or not; his words let one rather suspect the latter: *Tui cives miserunt eodem argumento*

compositum librum, de quo brevi, ut spero, coram.—65) Just this letter, in which the Nuernberg representatives reported this matter, is missing, see Vogt a. a. O p. 44.—66) Foerstemann, *Archiv*, p. 184. *Urkundenbuch* II, 478-483; Spalatin's *Annalen*, p. 197; Luther, *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*. 1531, Weimar Edition, 30, III, p. 276ff.): Schirrmacher, *Briefe und Akten*, p. 314.—67) In the Latin edition of Chytraeus' *Historie der Augsburger Confession* (Frankfurt 1578) the Latin text of the *Prima Delineatio* is found on pages 335-360. The title of Coelestin's book, which contains the German text, is: *Die erste, ungeanderte, Rechte, ware Augsburgische Confession, wie die auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg a. 1530 Carolo V. vbergeben, zu Meintz in des Reichs Archivis beygelegt vnd aus dem Original beiden Churfuersten Sachsen vnd Brandenburg zugeschickt. II Confutation oder Wiederlegung von den Bapstischen wider dieselbe vbergeben. III. Die erste, Rechte, Ware Apologia Aus Philippi vnd der Zeit anwesenden Theologen Correctur vnd Hand trewlich abgeschrieben. Allen Christen zur bestendigen gewissheit vnd vmgescheweten Bekentnus in Druck gegeben. Georg Celestinus Doctor. MDLXXVII.* In Foerstemann the Latin text is found II, 483-529, the German in II, 530-598; in *Corpus Reformatorum* both texts, with a valuable introduction, are found in XXVII, 246-378.—68) Foerstemann, *Archiv*, p. 192-205.—69) Compare J. J. Mueller, *Historie von der Ev. Staende etc.*, p. 997-1024, and Foerstemann, *Urkundenbuch* II, 715-725. The Emperor had not reached his goal, therefore his turning back to the medieval ideas as they are expressed in this recess. All the deviations from the established order and customs are held up to the Evangelicals in a long catalog of sins and then they continue (Mueller 1010, §39): "Since all of this is not only contrary to the Holy Gospel and divine Scriptures but also to the ancient, laudable usages and customs of the Christian Church, and furthermore was done in an unseemingly manner, we have peacefully united with Electors, Princes, and Estates of the holy empire and they again with us and have decided to abolish all these innovations . . . against the common, Christian Church, faith, order, religion, ceremonies . . . It is all dismissed . . . We order, as is proper, that those who have undertaken such innovations agree with us."—70) Kolde, *Historische Einleitung* XXXVII ff.—71) Matthesius, *Luthers Leben in Predigten*, ed. by G. Loesche, 2. Ed. S. 299f.—72) Proof by Kolde.—73) The 5½ sheets which were saved by Veit Dietrich and were formerly in the city library of Nuernberg are published by B. F. Hummel, *Neue Bibliothek von seltenen u. sehr seltenen Buechern*. 2. vol. Nuernberg 1777,

page 356ff. and *C. R.* XXVII 460 fl.—74 Kolde, *Neue Augustanastudien*, p. 731ff.—75) Melanchthon himself stresses this in the preface: *Semper hic meus mos fuit in his controversiis, ut quando omnino facere possem retinerem formam usitatae doctrinae, et facilius aliquando coire concordia posset.*—76) Whether this was done to avert the suspicion that the Catholic doctrine of transsubstantiation was being defended can not be proven. Melanchthon may have made the change because, as he later said, he realized that although Oekolampad—from whose edition he copied the quotation—had *bona fide* printed the passage in this way, it was missing in other manuscripts. Compare *C. R.* XI, 785, 849.—77) Melanchthon to Reiffenstein on Sep. 26, 1531: *Nam etsi Lipsiam proficisciscupio, tamen vereor, ut mihi permittant χαλκῳγραφοι, qui adhuc cudent Germanicam Apologiam, in qua emendanda nonnihil habeo negotii* (*C. R.* II, 541ff.). It therefore appeared after the second (Octavo) edition of the Latin text which Melanchthon on Sept. 14 was already able to send to the Margrave George of Brandenburg (*C. R.* II, 540ff.). That the German edition was also sent separately is seen from the letter of the printer George Rhau to Stephen Roth in Zwickau of Nov. 30, 1531: "I will send thee a German Apology, nicely bound" (Buchwald, *Der Stadtschreiber M. Stephan Roth in Zwickau*, in *Archiv sur Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 1893, p. 131.—78) Other deviations from the Latin text are explained by the fact that at times the second (Octavo) edition was used.—79) M. M. Mayer, *Spengleriana*, Nuernberg 1830, p. 86. Brenz to Melanchthon (July 5, 1531), *C. R.* II, 510.—80) Proof in Kolde XL; comp. G. Plitt, *Die Apologie d. Augustana geschichtlich erklart*, 1873, 246ff.—81) Spalatin in Kolde, *Martin Luther*, II, 537; Brueck in Seckendorf, *Commentarius Historicus de Lutheranism etc.*, 1692, III, 24ff. Winckelmann, *Der Schmalkaldische Bund 1530-32 und der Neurnberger Religionsfriede*, 1892, p. 305; Pressel, *Anecdota Brentiana*, 1868, p. 122ff ff. 132.—82) As early as the summer of 1531 Melanchthon published a new, improved Latin edition in Octavo. He was able to send it on Sep. 14 to the Margrave George of Brandenburg (*C. R.* II, 540f.). The exact title is found in *C. R.* XXVI, 337; the variant readings, p. 419. It contains partly actual improvements, partly widely extended discussions but, aside from the previously mentioned striking of the questionable quotation from Theophylakt in the article on the Lord's Supper, there are hardly any dogmatic changes. Minor changes have also been made in later editions but they are dogmatically unimportant. The German appeared as appendix of the Octavo-edition of the Augsburg Confession of

1533 in a second revision; for exact titles as also of later editions see C. R. XXVI, 695ff.). This edition—Melanchthon said that it was “amended with skill”—is much sharper in tone against the Romanists than the former and shows extensive changes; even whole articles, as the one on justification and good works, of penance, of the mass, also the one on Christian perfection, have been completely recast (comp. the texts in C. R. XXVIII, p. 54.89.130. 181ff. 213. 232f. 276. 289, 303ff. 318. 323). Other changes are found in the edition of 1540 but they do not change the doctrinal status either. At least neither then nor now have these changes been objected to. But when the Apology was included in the Book of Concord it was held that for both the Latin and German text the *editio princeps* was to be used.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Compare especially J. C. G. Johannsen, *Die Anfaenge des Symbolzwangs unter den deutschen Protestanten*, Leipzig, 1847. Kolde, *Historische Einleitung*, p. XXIff.—James A. Richard, *The Confessional History of the Lutheran Church*, Philadelphia, 1909.—2. P. Tschackert, *Urkundenbuch zur Reformationsgeschichte des Herzogtums Preussen*, I, 172; M. Reu, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. kirchl. Unterrichts* I, 2, 8, 1927.—3. While still in Augsburg (Sept. 23) the Lutherans had refused to agree to a united front against the cities of Southern Germany, “Since it is hoped, that they might still unite with the common Christian church in this (the doctrine of the Sacrament),” Foerstemann II, 606. After a previous conversation of Bucer with Melanchthon, the latter had tried to open the way for him to Luther with a letter of Aug. 25 to Veit Dietrich, and that enclosed a series of propositions by Bucer (Enders VIII, 209ff.; C. R. II, 315). On Sept. 25 Bucer was with Luther at Coburg and conferred with him regarding the Sacraments. He was able to send a favorable report to Strassburg, (*Politische Korrespondenz der Stadt Strassburg*, I, 512ff.) and even Luther became mildly hopeful that a union of the Protestants of Germany could be effected. After all, Article 10 had made a more favorable impression on the South Germans than had been expected. The representatives of Memmingen even declared: If during the deliberations of 1529 the Augsburg Confession in place of the Schwabach Articles had been before them “we would not have become separated” (Dobel, *Memmingen*, IV, 32).—4. The *Bundesurkunde* in *Politische Korrespondenz Strassburgs* II, 17. That they were allowed to retain, aside from the Augsburg C. and Apology, their own confession, *ibidem* II, 107ff.—5. *ibid.*, II, 322.—6. Sehling, *Evang.*

Kirchenordnungen, IV, 329.—7. Kolde, *Analecta Lutherana*, 1883, p. 297; C. R. III, 267.—8. An Evang. order for churches had existed in the Duchy of Zweibruecken as early as 1534, but after the synod of 1539 they sought, on the basis of the Augsburg C. and Apology, to obtain a greater unity in their doctrine as their Chaplain, Johann Schwebel, had also signed the Wittenberg Concord in 1536.—9. The Reformation indeed goes back farther than this but their order for churches is dated 1542. There it is said: that the pastors in the villages were to have among their books, "Thirdly, the *Apologia Philippi*, wherein the doctrines of the Gospel are defended, and also is shown how one ought to live and teach."—10. The first order is of 1527. In the one of 1542 it is said: The pastors should cultivate unity of doctrine and "in all debateable articles of the Sacrament, Baptism, and other questions of the religion, to conform with the Confession and appended Apology which the princes . . . presented in Augsburg in the year 1530" (Sehling, III, 440).—11. Foerstemann, Liber, *Decanorum Facultatis Academiae Wittebergensis*, Lipsiae 1538, p. 152.—12. The exact words are found in Foerstemann, 158; cf. also P. Drews, *Die Ordination, Pruefung und Lehrverpflichtung der Ordinanden in Wittenberg 1535*, Giessen 1904, a book which quite often corrects G. Rietschel's, *Luther und die Ordination*, 2d. edition, 1889. In this oath it is stated: I promise . . . that I will constantly defend the three Symbols, namely, the Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasiam, and I will abide steadfastly in the consensus of the doctrine contained in the Augsburg Confession, which was delivered by this Church to the Emperor in the year 1530. And when dark and difficult controversies arise, I will not make individual statements concerning them, but will first counsel with some of the elders who instruct the Church and hold to the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession.—13. It had been declared in the *Wittenberger Reformation* of 1545 which, although written by Melancthon, was signed by Luther, Bugenhagen, Crutziger, and George Major, that they expected to remain in "the Confession presented anno 1530 at Augsburg to H. M. . . as correctly and rightly understood and as it is held and understood in our churches. For we do not doubt, that this our doctrine is truly the one eternal and unanimous teaching of the true Catholic Church of Christ, given through the prophets, Christ and the Apostles and that it is in agreement with the apostolic and Nicene creeds and in conformity with the ancient holy councils and the judgment of the ancient and uncorrupted Church" (Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, I, 1, 210). Compare

also Enders 15, p. 87 and 16, p. 275. These passages also proof that only the Augsburg Confession can be meant.—14. The proof of these statements are found in Drews 27ff. In the oldest Ordination certificate which has come down to us—Drews claims for it the year 1535—it is said: *Et pollicitus est ipse, se diligentiam et constantiam in docendo velle praestare, ac bona fide traditurum esse doctrinam incorruptam, quam ecclesia nostra profitetur*. In another of 1539: "He also has promised to conduct his office with all diligence and to remain steadfast in the Christian doctrine of the Gospel as it is preached in our church." In a third given by Luther himself, from the year 1540, it is said of Fischer of Rudolstadt. "Having examined him in doctrine, we know that he holds the pure Catholic doctrine of the Gospel, as taught and professed by our Church, and rejects all fanatical opinions which have been condemned by the judgment of the Catholic Church of Christ. He has also promised that he will faithfully deliver to the people the pure doctrine which we profess." A very complete certificate, written by Bugenhagen and Forster and witnessed by Melancthon, Hostilius, and Hetzer of the year 1553, is found in Richard, 285.—15. G. Buchwald, *Wittenberger Ordiniertenbuch*, 1894-1895.—16. Proof in M. Reu, *Quellen z. Geschichte d. kirchl. Unterrichts* L, 2, 68; 126; 174f.; 357; 405; 441; 477; 484; two of these proofs go back to the time of 1570.—17. *ibid.* 214.—18. Proofs in Richard, 246f.—19. W. Moeller, *Lehrbuch d. Kirchengeschichte: Reformation und Gegenreformation* by G. Kawerau, 1899, p. 146-147.—20. Richard, 251; G. Wolf, *Der Augsburger Religionsfriede*, 1890. Critical edition of the text by K. Brandi, 1896; an extract of the same in Mirbt, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Papsttums*, 197-199. The unsatisfactory conditions of the religious peace of Augsburg took from the Protestants the possibility of obtaining new territories and by the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* the Catholics obtained a large portion of Germany although 7/10 of the inhabitants called themselves Lutheran (Kolde, R. E. II, 252).—21. P. Tschackert, *Die unveraenderte Augsbургische Konfession deutsch und lateinisch nach den besten Handschriften aus dem Besitz der Unterzeichner. Kritische Ausgabe*, Leipzig 1901.—22. For in the preface he said that his edition was to oppose the *ante duos menses* unauthorized editions.—23. Although it has often been claimed that as early as 1530 an official, separate edition of the Augsburg Confession had been published, Kolde has proven the opposite (*Neue Augustanastudien*, 729ff.).—24. Even on September 24 Melancthon was engaged in improving the German edition then on

the press, C. R. II, 541f.—25. Ficker, *Eigenart*, 31.—26. Kolde, *Augsb. Konfession*, 1896, p. 38; *Histor. Einleitung*, XXII, cf. Ficker, *Die Confutatio*, p. 48 and 60.—27. Probably without Melancthon's aid, reprints of the Latin Octavo edition had been published in 1535 in Augsburg and Hagenau. The claim based upon the words of the Elector Johann Frederick mentioned before that as early as 1535 a Latin Variata had appeared must be put down as an error (Kolde, *Einleitung* XXIII).—28. The title is found in Bindseil C. R. XXVI, 343. Kolde has already remarked: "While the Apology again connected with the Confession, is designated as "diligenter recognita", Melancthon neither hints on the title nor in the preface that the Augsburg Confession is also a revision!"—29. In Article 6: "We must hold . . . that afterwards (after justification) this obedience towards the law does also please, and is accounted a kind of righteousness, and merits rewards"; in Article 20: "Although, therefore, this new obedience is far from the perfection of the law, yet it is righteousness and merits rewards, for the reason that the persons are reconciled."—30. In Art. 18: "Spiritual righteousness is wrought in us when we are helped by the Holy Spirit. Moreover, we receive the Holy Spirit when we assent unto the Word of God, so that through faith we are comforted in terrors of conscience."—Kolde, (*Hist. Einl.* XXV) reminds us that Mel., in the article on marriage of priests, so enlarges the apostrophe to the Emperor that it became, as it were, an article of faith regarding the ecclesiastical rights of the princes (Jacobs, p. 142f).—31. Kolde, *Analecta Lutherana*, 297, C. R. III, 267.—32. Luther had neither expressly approved of the Variata as Peucer and Selnecker claimed later on (cf. Kolde, *Einleitung* XXVf), nor had he expressly condemned it as the Gnesiolutherans later on would have it; for either claim the proof from Luther's letters or from other testimonies of that time is missing (cf. Koellner, *Symbolik* I, 237).—33. C. R. IV, 34ff.; J. Ficker, *Die Originale*, 247. 249.—34. This difference is made because the Quarto edition of the Apology of 1531 contained the quotation from Theophylact which could suggest an explanation of the 10th Article in the sense of transubstantiation, which was very objectionable to the Calvinistic Elector Fredrick III of the Palatinate. The Octavo edition did not have this quotation. cf. R. Calinich, *Der Naumburger Fuerstentag*, 1870, p. 165.—35. Of course, when H. Heppe, in his *Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus*, 1852, I, 406, states that at this Day of the princes the Variata was declared the authentic explanation of the Augsburg Confession of 1530, and that Melancthon

thionism has been victorious along the whole line he, as so often, again missed the mark.—36. The German text was taken from the edition of 1533, the Latin was given in two forms, at first in the one of 1540 (resp. 1542), and then in the one of 1531.—37. O. Meusel, *Die Reussische oder Reussisch-Schoenburgische Konfession von 1567* (*Beitraege z. saechsischen Kirchengeschichte*, 1899), p. 149ff.—38. David Chytraeus reprinted it in his "*Historia der Augsbургischen Konfession*" of 1576. He prefaced it with the remark: "Although, a difference exists in some of the copies of the Augsburg Confession, which later on were often republished and sold, even in the time of Luther the Confession and Apology were enlarged and improved, and without doubt with the consent and knowledge of Luther were laid before the opponents at the Colloquy at Worms and again at Regensburg—still I shall use the first copy which was, word for word, copied from the original now in the archives of the Archbishop at Mainz and with which the following prints of the Confession, although they explain and repeat some articles more clearly and fully, yet, as far as the doctrine and facts are concerned, agree almost altogether with them." Coelestin's edition (1576) bore the title: *Symbolum Germanicum. Die Augspurgische Confession, aus dem rechten Original Keyser Carolo V. auff dem Reichstag zu Augspurgk Anno 1530 vbergeben. Vor zehn jahren auff Chur- und Fuerstlichen beuelch zuwegen bracht vnd jetzo vmb deren willen, so noch immer jm zweiffel haefften, in Druck verfertigt. Georg Coelestinus Doctor. Cum Gratia et privilegio Imp. Franckfurt an der Oder bey Jo. Eichorn Anno 1576.* In the title of the edition of 1597 he designates it as *Die Vngeeenderte, Rechte, Ware Augspurgische Confession* etc.—39. W. Lindanus, *Apologeticum ad Germanos pro religionis Catholicae pace etc.*, Antwerpiae 1568, III, 92. Kolde quotes the passages in *Neue Augustanastudien*, 742.—40. In the preface of the Latin edition of the Book of Concord Selnecker, himself, writes: *Privato et festinanti instituto*.—41. The complete title in Bindseil, *C. R. XXVL*, 226.—42. Complete title *ibid.*, 105.—43. So Fabricius wrote in the preface, cf. Ficker, *Originale*, 250.—44. Ficker, *Eigenart*, 31.—45. The author's own articles in *Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Chicago, 1913 are based on this work.—46. Cf. for this, G. Loesche, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*, 2nd ed. 1921; The enlarged edition, published in 1928, was not available; see also, M. Reu, *Luther's Small Catechism, A History of Its Origin, Its Distribution and Its Use*, Chicago 1929. p. 87ff.; 396ff., where the spread of the Reformation in Austria and other non-Lutheran lands is briefly

described.—47. For this see especially, G. Loesche, *Die reformatorischen Kirchenordnungen Ober- und Inneroesterreichs* (Archiv f. Ref. geschichte) 1920-21, and the instructive article by K. Voelker in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft fuer die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich* (1930): *Das Augsbургische Bekenntnis in Oesterreich*.—48. Exact words in V. Bibl, *Die Organisation d. ev. Kirchenwesens im Erzherzogtum Oesterreich unter der Enns*, p. 14-19.—49. G. Loesche, *Die reform. Kirchenordnungen*, 51.—50. Printed in Voelker, *Die Entwicklung des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*, 1917, p. 32.—51. C. F. Bauer, *Die ev. Landschaftsschule in Linz* (Jahrbuch), 1925, p. 2.—52. J. Loserth, *Die steirische Religionspacification*, p. 33. 49.—53. Ibid., p. 90.—54. Loesche, *Kirchenordnungen*, 43. 47. 49ff.—55. G. Weber had with great care written of this literature in his: "*Kritische Geschichte der Augsb. Confession*" (Frankfurt a. M. 1784, II, 253ff) and splendidly supplemented Feuerlein's information (*Bibliotheca symb. ev. lutherana*, Goettingen, 1752). According to our inquiry at 35 European libraries we have the following picture: In 1562 Truber published in Tuebingen in the Carniolan language, using Latin type: "*Articuli oli deili, te prave stare Kerszhanske etc*" or, according to the German part of the title page: *Drey Christliche Confessionen, nämlich Augsburgische, Wirtenbergische und Sächsische, wie die eine dem Grossmaechtigen Romischen Keiser Carolo dem funfften, etc. Hochloblicher Gedaechnuss, im 1530. Jar, vnd die andern zwo dem Concilio zu Trient Anno 1522, von etlichen von Gott erleuchten, Chur, Fursten, Stett und Theologen ueberantwort, auss Latein vnd Teutsch, in diss Windisch Buch zusammengezogen.* (*Vtbingi Vtim leitu po Christuseuim Roistuu M. D. LXII.*). A thousand copies were printed of this edition, Weber 278. The dedication and preface of Truber is followed by Brueck's Preface to the Augsburg Confession; the articles are a paraphrase of the original with additions from the Confessio Wuerttembergica and the Confessio Saxonica of 1551. For example, Article 10 reads: "Of Communion or Christ's Supper (which Supper of Christ the priests and monks have given the queer and strange name "mass") we teach and believe, that if it is administered and held in accordance with the true institution of Christ, at such Supper the true Body of Christ and His holy Blood is truly given, distributed and received. And we contradict those who do not believe this and we write against them and our preachers answer them; and this faith in the Supper of Christ they maintain and prove by the Holy Scriptures." The 28th Article is followed by several ex-

tracts from the Wuerttemberg Confession: Of the Councils, Of the Holy Scriptures, Of the writings of the ancient Christian Doctors and teachers; Of memorials and prayers for the dead; Of the torture of purgatory; Of blessing water, salt, herbs, etc. Copies of this edition are to be found in the *Landesbibliothek* in Dresden, *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin, *Landesbibliothek* in Kassel, and in the *Stadtbibliothek* at Koenigsberg.—Antonius of Dalmatia and Stephanus of Istria translated this book into the Croatian language and had it printed in Tuebingen in 1562 in an edition of 1000 with Cyrillic and another 1000 with Glagolian type . . . Copies of the first are found in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin, the *Universitaetsbibliothek* in Goettingen and Halle, the *Landesbibliothek* in Kassel and the *Stadtbibliothek* in Breslau; copies of the second in Berlin, Halle, Kassel, in the *Stadtbibliothek* in Koenigsberg, and Frankfurt a. M. and the *Provinzialbibliothek* in Hannover. The Croatian translation with Latin types is supposed to have also been printed in Tuebingen (400 copies, Weber, 278).—The Italian edition bore the title *La Confessione, della fede data all Inuitissimo Carolo V. nella Dieta di Augusta, del M.D.XXX. Nouamente uersa dal Latino in lingua Italiana, per alcuni fideli Christiani, amatori d' Italia* . . . It has 103 leaves Octavo. Vergerius, who at that time lived in Tuebingen, has been named as the translator (Weber, 225f) but since the Apology has been translated by Antonius of Dalmatian and Stephanus of Istria into Italian, one of them is probably the translator of the Confession. Copies of this Italian translation are in Tuebingen, Dresden, Berlin, Goettingen, Hamburg, Wolfenbuettel and in the *Stadtbibliothek* of Breslau.—It seems to have escaped the investigators that Melanchthon's Apology was also translated into the Croatian language, although there is a copy of an edition, printed in Tuebingen in 1563, and in Berlin (Sign, Df. 1584. R.). There is in Dresden even a copy of the Latin type edition of 1564: *Bramba Augustusatsanske szpoveda Apologia imenovana. Verno Almatzena iz Latinszkoga yazika va Hrvatszki* . . . Tuebingen 1564. For the work in Carniola, Dalmatia and Istria the Apology was also transcribed into the Italian. In the *Stadtbibliothek* at Breslau (Sign. 8 K 516/1) is found: *La difesa della confessione detta apologia. Versa dal latino in lingua Italiana rivista et correcta con diligenza, per Antonio Dalmata et Stephano Istriano. Psal. 119. Et parlava de tuoi testimoni. . . confuso. Tubinga 1563*. Another copy is in Berlin (Sign. Df. 1681. R.). How the copy of 1564 (Tuebingen), now in the *Nationalbibliothek* in Vienna. (Sign. 15. 490-A): *Spovid i spoznanie prave kristienske vire etc.*,

compares with the Augsburg Confession, we are not yet able to state.—56. K. Voelker, *Das A. B. in Oesterreich*, p. 13ff.—57. Text in Voelker, *Entwicklung*, p. 94ff.—58. Cf. G. Loesche, *Geschichte* etc., see a review in my *Luther's Small Catechism*, p. 93ff. and the literature listed on p. 398.—59. Reprinted by Loesche in *Jahrbuch d. Gesellschaft f. Protest. in Oesterreich*, 1894.—60. G. Trautenberger, *Die Kirchenordnungen von Iglau im 16. Jahrh. (Jahrbuch)* 1881, p. 143-177.—61. G. A. Skalsky, *Die Kirchenordnungen von Sternberg in Maehren (Jahrbuch)*, 1907, p. 90-107.—62. An edition in Bohemian of 1607 is at Wolfenbuettel (Sign. 1173. 10 Theol. 8).—62a. For splendid information: F. Hrejsa, *Die Bohemische Konfession, ihre Entstehung, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte (Jahrbuch 1914, 16, 17)*. It is a condensation of his larger work written in Czech (Prag 1912). Also valuable was Brieger's short introduction: *Das Boehmische Glaubensbekenntnis von 1575. Neu uebersetzt von Rud. Eger, mit e. geschtl. Einleitung von Dr. Theo. Brieger*. Leipzig 1900. I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Leube in Leipzig for his kindness in securing this very rare book for me.—63. To be considered are the confessions of 1532 and 1573. The first was approved by Luther (W. Ed. 38, 75) and the second was printed with a recommendation of the Theological Faculty of Wittenberg. It treated: 1. Of Holy Scripture and ecclesiastical writers; 2. Of Christian Catechising; 3. Of the unity and divine essence and of the three Persons; 4. Of the knowledge of oneself; 5. Of sin, the cause and fruits hereof, and of the promise of God; 6. Of repentance; 7. Of Christ the Lord, and of justification through faith in Him; 8. Of good works; 9. Of the Holy Catholic Church, the order and discipline thereof, and of the Antichrist; 10. Of the ministers of the Church; 11. Of the Word of God; 12. Of the Sacraments in general; 13. Of holy Baptism; 14. Of the Supper of the Lord; 15. Of the keys of Christ; 16. Of rites or ecclesiastical ceremonies; 17. Of the State or Civil magistrates; 18. Of saints and their worship; 19. Of fasting; 20. Of single life and wedlock; 21. Of the time of grace.—We have before us the English translation in the *Harmony of the Confessions, Cambridge 1586*.—64. Eger in the place quoted, has given us the Confession in a new German translation. It contains 25 articles: 1. Of the Word God; 2. Of God; 3. Of the Trinity; and the differences of the three Persons in the Divinity; 4. Of the fall of the first pair and of Original Sin; 5. Of free will of man; 6. Of the origin, cause and extent of sin; 7. Of the law and commandments of God; 8. Of justification of man before God. 9. Of faith; 10. Of good works; 11. Of the church of

God; 12. Of the keys of the church, or the power of the office; 13. Of the Sacraments, their value and right use; 14. Of Baptism; 15. Of the Supper of the Lord; 16. Of repentance; 17. Of confession; 18. Of the servants of the church; 19. Of ecclesiastical usages; 20. Of secular government; 21. Of matrimony; 22. Of the memorials of the saints; 23. Of fasting; 24. Of the resurrection of the dead and final judgment; 25. Of eternal life. Agreement with, or differences from the Augsburg Confession can be seen by comparing those sections which we reproduce in Part II, 56. The Wittenberg Faculty, to whom Hassenstein von Lobkowitz had already sent a German copy in 1575 for their opinion, had only words of highest praise for it. The Bohemian Confession was for the first time prepared for the press in 1579 by Michael von Spanowsky. This was in the Bohemian language; Count von Kurzback had it printed in German in 1584; it appeared in Latin at Frankfurt a. M. in 1619.—65. The words in Voelker, *Entwicklung*, p. 35.—65. *ibid.* p. 47ff.—66. Konrad, *Dr. Ambr. Moibanus, ein Beitrag z. Geschichte der Kirche u. Schule Schlesiens im Reformationszeitalter*, Halle, 1891; Sehling, *Ev. Kirchenordnungen III*, 390ff.—67. *ibid.* III, 440.—68. *ibid.* III, 476.—69. Published by Skalsky (*Jahrbuch*) 1901, p. 4-17.—70. Voelker, *Entwicklung*, 55ff.—71. F. W. Ghillany, *Diplomatisches Handbuch I*, 34.—72. Voelker, *Entwicklung*, 82ff.: "The churches and schools in the principalities Liegnitz, Brieg, Muensterberg and Oels, as also the city of Breslau and the other cities, suburbs and villages which were taken by the Treaty of Westphalia... are again to be given the position they held at the time of the peace . . . holding to the Augsburg Confession. Those congregations, which have their churches in the cities of Schweidnitz, Jauer, and Glogau, are not only at liberty to call as many ministers as they need for their churches but are also to be allowed to erect and maintain schools, aside from their churches, to train their children." All others were at least permitted to hold private services in their homes.—73. Translated this reads: "The Augsburg Confession at the expense of the gentlewoman Alena Berka of Mezeritsch of Lomnitz in Olmuetz, 1576."—74. In English: George Tranoscius, *The Augsburg Confession translated truly and correctly from the real original copies in the Czech language*. Printed in Olmuetz at Khristof Kutek, 1620. We also have two hymns of Tranoscius which treat of the Augsburg Confession and are still being sung. I am indebted to Dr. Fajnor, Bishop of the Czecho-Slovakian Church

in Modre, for this information.—75. See: *Die wichtigsten Schicksale der Evang. Kirche Augsburgischen Bekenntnisses in Ungarn von der ersten Einfuehrung derselben in diesem Lande bis zu ihrer Begrueundung und Sicherstellung durch ein feierliches Reichsgesetz, 1520-1608*, Leipzig 1828.—Joh. Borbis, *Die ev. luth. Kirche Ungarns in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Noerdlingen 1861.—Netoliczka, *Oesterreich-Ungarn (Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, IV)*. 1913.—Alex. Payr, *Kompendium der Prot. Kirchengeschichte in Ungarn* (in Magyar).—Jos. S. Szabo, *Der Protestantismus in Ungarn* (in German by Horvath), 1927.—Others to be considered are: Victor Bruckner, *Die oberungarischen Glaubensbekenntnisse und die Confessio Augustana (Gedenkbuch anlaesslich d. 400 jaehrigen Jahreswende der C. A. von den Professoren der ev. Hochschule fuer Rechts- u. Staatswissenschaft in Miskolc, Ungarn)*, Leipzig 1930.—76. We name especially: Peter Pereny, Alesius Thurzo, Casper Dragfy, Franz Dersfy, Franz Revay, Franz Bebek, The Bodmanitzkys, the Illeshazys, George, Stanislaus and Emericus Thurzo, Niklas Dersfy, The Theokelys, Sigm. Balassa, Moses Szunyogh, Jeremias Pongracz, Theod. Scirmiensis, Johann David de Szent-Peter, Johann Hrabowszky and Franz Esterhazy.—77. Other schools also came into being, as in Saros-Patak, Bitsa, Galgotz, Freistadt, Csepreg, Bistritz, Trenschein, Illawa, Neustadt, Berzewitz, Goerge, Szent-Ivany, and elsewhere.—78. *Die wichtigsten Schicksale etc.* 138. On Sept. 20, 1545, 29 ministers united at Erdoed, a town of Szathmar county, and formed a synod under the patronage of Anna Bathory. They adopted various statutes, also a confession of 12 articles: 1. Of the Trinity; 2. Of the Son of God, the only Mediator; 3. Of sinful man's justification before God; 4. The nature of faith; 5. Why good works are to be performed; 6. The two sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; their celebration and effect; 7. Of the departed saints and the right veneration of them; 9. Of the grades of true Christian liberty; 9. Of the threefold form of confession (a. before God; b. before the Christian brother, and c. Private Confession.); 10. The head of the Church (Christ and not the bishops); 11. Why we have deviated from the order of episcopal succession. While the relationship with the Augsburg Confession is apparent in these eleven articles the last article expressly states: "In the other articles we are in complete harmony with the true church as is clearly to be seen from their Confession which in Augsburg was presented to his invincible Majesty Emperor Charles V. in 1530." I am reminded by Dr. K. Proehle, of Sopron, to whom I am indebted

for the information regarding the Synod of Erdoed, that the confessional status of this synod is a subject of debate among the Hungarian church historians since some claim to see a slight tendency of Calvinism in their confession. Still it states of the Sacrament: "The Body and Blood of Christ is truly (*vere*) received."—79. The 11th Article states: *Anabaptistas et Sacramentarios iuxta admonitionem Regiae Maiestatis, qui adhuc in regno supersunt, procul expellendos esse de omnium bonis. Ordines et Status Regni statuerunt, nec amplius illos aut quempiam illorum intra Regni fines esse recipiendos*" (*Akten des ungarischen Reichstags*, Budapest 1876, 219).—80. *Die wichtigsten Schicksale etc.*, 262.—80 *ibid.*, p. 265.—81. Dr. Bela of Zsedenyi writes in his instructive article: *Hierarchie und Kyriarchie in der Verfassungs-entwicklung der ungarlaendischen evang. Kirche A. B. (Gedenkbuch, 1930. 541-676)*, page 583: "Our laws of the 16th century tell of the burning and beheading of the Protestants, the confiscation of their property, or at best, the banishing from the land. Yet the Reformation spread with mighty strides and captured nearly the whole land. However, the laws which the 17th century gave us endeavored to build the altar of religious freedom and surround it with the bulwark of Imperial oaths to which the crack of the whip, fire, steel, gallows and galley furnished the echo."—82. Cf. Fr. Teutsch, *Geschichte der ev. Kirche in Siebenbuergen*, I, Hermannstadt, 1921.—G. D. Teutsch, *Urkundenbuch der Ev. Landeskirche A. B. in Siebenbuergen*, II. *Die Synodalverhandlungen im Reformationszeitalter*, Hermannstadt, 1883. Bishop Dr. F. Teutsch of Hermannsburg was so kind as to lend us this book, which now is out of print, from the Hermannsburg Archives. We give in Part II only 13 articles; the remaining treat (14) *De oratione et invocatione*; (15) *De conjugio*; (16) *De magistratu politico*; (17) *De ecclesia*; (18) *De ministris ecclesiae et verbi dei efficacia*; (19) *De adiaphoris ritibus et ceremoniis*. (20) *De immortalitate animae*; (21) *De extremo iudicio et vita aeterna*; (22) *De vita et moribus ministrorum ecclesiae*; (23) *De excommunicatione*; (24) *De visitatione ecclesiarum*. (25) *De sepulturis*; (26) *De dierum festorum observatione*; (27) *De scholarum regimine*.—83. Dr. Teutsch, I, 270.—84. The oath was: "Upon my soul and in the presence of the holy church I call upon the eternal God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost to witness that I will remain steadfast in the doctrines of the Gospel which in their main parts are contained in the Augsburg Confession until the very end, defend them, with the help of the Holy Spirit against all heretics and live and

die in the same" (Fr. Teutsch, I, 290f.).—85. F. Teutsch (I, 297) rightly estimates the *Formula pui consensus*: "It was a free explanation of the Augsburg Confession in which the digressing views were stressed, and of which the old heresies, the new Arians, and the the papal errors are condemned. Persons were not named. Uniformity of ceremonies, as demanded by Prince Bathory, was rejected and Christian freedom permitted. It stated that uniformity of ceremonies was not necessary for unity of the Church. With it went the homely element which led them to consider the conditions in Transylvania and formulate regulations for the conduct and office of the ministers and teachers. The Confession ends with a prayer to God that He would gather, here on the very border of Turkey, a pure and holy church and eternal heritage; that He would protect this His Church and lead the rulers to love the truth and true religion." It is of note, and probably is to be explained by the fact that Calvinism was equally recognized, that the Formula contained an article on Predestination.—86. K. Voelker, *Der Protestantismus in Polen*, Leipzig 1910.—Th. Wotschke, *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen*, Leipzig 1911.—K. Voelker, *Kirchengeschichte Polens*. Berlin 1930.—Sylvius Wilhelm Ringeltaube, *Beytrag zur Augsburger Confessions Geschichte in Preussen und Polen. Von derselben gesegneten Anfang, Fortgang und fast unbekannten polnischen Uebersetzung*, Danzig 1746. G. G. Weber, *Kritische Geschichte d. Augsb. Confession*, II. Frankfurt 1784, p. 142ff.—Tadeusz Grabowski, *Literatura Luterska w Polsce Wieku XVI, 1530-1630*, Poznan 1920.—E. Sehling, *Evang. Kirchenordnungen d. 16. Jahrhunderts*, V, Leipzig 1913.—M. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts im evang. Deutschland zwischen 1530-1630*, I, 3. Guetersloh 1927.—M. Reu, *Dr. M. Luther's Small Catechism. A History of its Origin, its Distribution, and its Use*, Chicago, 1930.—87. Lubiencius, *Historia reformationis Poloniae*, p. 91. The librarian of the Biblioteka Jagiellonske in Krakau called my attention to the fact that in K. Estreicher, *Bibliografja Polska* XXVI, 429 it is recorded on the basis of Macejowski's *Literaturgeschichte: Zgodne rozumienie w przedniejszych czesciach wiary, 1570* which book is supposed to contain a section of the Augsburg Confession. Lack of time prevented further investigation of this matter. But the date would hardly permit one to think of Poland Minor. The Petrikau Confession of 1555, written by Lutomirski and presented to the king, was Lutheran although not a translation of the Augsburg Confession. Beginning with the universal sinfulness in

article 1 it took up Christ as the sole Revealer, Mediator and Redeemer in Article 2-7; discussed in Art. 8-14 the means of grace (Word and Sacrament), and then in Art. 15-24, after rejecting the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, develops the Evangelical doctrines of death, resurrection and the last things (Wotschke, 149). It was different, however, from Lutomirski's personal confession of 1554 and printed by Daubmann in Königsberg in 1556. It frankly followed the Augsburg Confession in the construction of the middle part. Its statement, on partaking of the true Body and Blood in the Sacrament, is a sharp rejection of Calvinism, yet it does not go beyond Bucer, since it knows only of a partaking of the true Body and Blood by those who believe (Wotschke, 148).—88. M. Reu, *Quellen*, I, 3, 39-52; 96;—89. Which is: "Confession of faith of a number of princes and German cities presented to Emperor Charles V. at the Diet of Augsburg in the year 1530. To this is added the Apology of this Confession. Translated and published at the expense of his serene highness of Prussia for the Polish Churches of his serene grace in Prussia 1561." (A copy is in the City Library in Danzig [Sign. II D. q. 14 No. 1] and in Copenhagen). The translation of the Apology mentioned here is not included in the book. Radomski, it is true, also translated it in 1562 and Quiatkowski aided him or produced an independent translation; but for unknown reasons it never was printed (Wotschke, 259).—90. Wotschke, 259.—91. Quiatkowski studied in Königsberg 1553-1554 and in Leipzig from 1560-1561. The title of this rare print, also in the Library at Danzig (Sign. XX A q 315), is: *CONFESIO* (sic!) *AVGVSTANAE FIDEI. To iest, Wyzna nie Wiarei Krzescianskiei etc.*" which translated is: "Confession of Christian faith of various electors, princes, counts and free cities . . . which was presented to his I. M. Charles V. in Augsburg in the year 1530. Again translated with much diligence and labor from the Latin into the Polish language by Martin Quiatkowski of Roszicze, printed in the year 1561." The book was dedicated, under date of "Leipzig, May 13, 1561" to the Castellan of Brest, Rafael of Dzialin.—92. Sehling IV, 268.—93. Sehling IV, 257f. has this *Consensus* which came into being at Sandomir April 14, 1570. Its main sentence stated: *Primum quemadmodum et nos qui in praesenti synodo nostram confessionem edidimus et fratres, nunquam credidimus, eos, qui Augustanam confessionem amplectuntur, aliter, quam pie et orthodoxe sentire de deo et sacra trinitate atque incarnatione filii dei et iustificatione nostra aliisque praecipuis capitibus fidei nostrae.*

Ita etiam ii, qui Augustanam confessionem sequuntur, professi sunt candide et sincere, se vicissim tam de nostrarum ecclesiarum quam de fratrum Bohemicorum.... confessione de de et sacra triade, incarnatione filii dei, iustificatione, et aliis primariis capitibus fidei christianae, nil agnoscere, quod sit absonum ab orthodoxa veritate et puro verbo dei. Ibique sancte invicem polliciti sumus, unanimiter secundum regulam verbi dei, nos defensuros consensum hunc mutuum in vera et pura Christi religione contra pontificios, contra sectarios, contra denique omnes hostes evangelii et veritatis." In matter of the sacraments they held to Melancthon's statements in the *Confessio Saxonica* (cf. Part II, 54). At the same time complete communion fellowship was established (Wotschke, 249f).—94. See especially Sehling, *Ev. Kirchenordnungen V*, Leipzig 1913; B. Arbusow, *Die Einfuehrung der Reformation in Liv- Est- und Kurland*, Leipzig 1922; Otto Pohrt, *Reformationsgeschichte Livlands*, Leipzig 1928.—95. 1570: "When the new pastors have been installed and confirmed in their office of teaching they are to be diligent in keeping before their congregations the saving Word of God . . . according to the Augsburg Confession and Apology" Sehling, 70.—1582: . . . *ut Augustanae confessioni et decem articulis de coena domini a D. Nicolao Selneccero in paedagogia* (Selnecker's book of this name is meant) ordine comprehensis ab omnibus huius regionis ministris verbi subscriberetur et iuxta illos totius doctrinae norma in his controversiis ex composito dirigeretur (Sehling, 111).—96. For this information I am indebted to Bishop Irbe in Riga and Pastor Poeld in Reval.

97. Cf. H. Roerdam, *Danske kirkelove fra Reformationen indtil Christian V*, 1883-1889.—A Chr. Bang, *Den Norske Kirkes Historie i Reformationsaarhundredet*, 1895.—G. G. Weber, *Kritische Geschichte etc.* II, 226ff.—*Bibliotheca Danica* (Copenhagen 1877), I, 218-220.—98. A. Joergensen published the 43 Copenhagen Articles of 1530 this year in the *Neuen kirchlichen Zeitschrift* in German translation.—99. M. Reu, *Dr. Luther's Small Catechism*, 1929, p. 107ff.—100. D. Andr. Seierstadt and D. Olaf Moe of Oslo have supplied me with much of this information regarding Norwegian and Danish editions. 101. Bishop Helgason's book: *Islands Kirke fra Reformationen til vore Dage*, 1922, was not available to me.—102. L. A. Anjou, *Swenska kyrkoreformationens historia*, 1850.—J. Weidling, *Schwedische Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 1892.—K. B. Westman, *Reformationens genombrottsaer i Sverige* 1918.—Helge Almquist, *Reformationstiden ock stormakstidens foersta skede*, 1922.—H. Holmquist,

Die schwedische Reformation, 1925; cf. also his article in Hauck's *Real Encyclopaedie*.—103. Jacob's, *The Book of Concord*, II, 334ff. has the wording of the Upsala Decree.—104. Before me is a gift of Bishop Jaakko Gummerus: *The Church of Finland*, by Aleski Lehtonen (Helsinki 1927); it gives a sufficient resume of the history of the Finnish church.

105. Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1679), 1865.—J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials relating chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it and the Emergencies of the Church of England under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary*, (1721), 1822.—W. R. W. Stephens and W. Hunt, *A History of the English Church*, 1899-1910.—Ch. Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII*, 1825.—Jenkyns, *The Remains of Thomas Crammer*, 4 vols, 1833.—Charles Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 1851.—Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, 1914.—C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16. Century*, 1886.—H. E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England During the Reign of Henry VIII, and Edward VI, and Its Literary Monuments*, 1890.—A. Lang, *Bekenntnis u. Katechismus in der Kirche unter Heinrich VIII*, 1917.—G. Mentz, *Die Wittenberger Artikel von 1536*, Leipzig 1905.—106. Reprinted in Hardwick supplement I, p. 233-248. Cf. also the historical introduction in the same place p. 39-59.—107. Coelestinus says in his *Historia Comitiorum* (Frankfurt 1597) II, 190: "His Majesty the Emperor commanded that the Confession should be translated into the Spanish and Italian languages by his Secretaries Alfonso Valdes and Alexander Schweisz. Also Legates of certain Kings, as those of France, England, Portugal, the Dukes of Lorraine and Juelich, as well as certain other princes caused this Confession to be translated into the tongues of their own people, in order that they might send it to their Masters and obtain their opinion concerning it." This translation into English is also mentioned by Chytraeus in his *Historie der A. Confession* (Rostock, 1576) p. 85 and by J. F. Fabricius in his *Centifolium Lutherianum*, p. 112. B. Schmuckers article in *The Luth. Church Review*, VI, 1827 p. 9ff.—108 cf. *The Augsburg Confession. Translated from the Latin in 1536, by Richard Taverner. With the Variations of the English translations, directly or indirectly dependent thereon. Edited for the Use of the Joint Committee of the General Council, the General Synod and the United Synod of the South, charged with the preparation*

of a revised translation, by Henry E. Jacobs, Secretary of the Committee. Philadelphia, Luth. Publication Society, 1888. Here the text of the Confession (but not of the Apology) is reprinted according to Taverner, while the changes which the reprint of the Taverner edition underwent in *An Harmony of Confessions* of 1586 and 1844, and the English translations of this country by Dr. Krauth (also Jacobson of Decorah, Ia.) of 1868 and 1877, which rest on it, are recorded in the notes. Dr. Jacobs says of the Taverner translation (p. V): "In this translation of the Augsburg Confession, the marked individuality and versatile genius of the accomplished classical scholar, who fluently cited the statutes of the land in Greek, of the well-versed lawyer and diplomat, of the diligent student of theology, of the industrious writer of sermons and lay preacher, of the skillful translator of many evangelical books, who had learned by much experience how well the Lutheran faith could find utterance in the old English tongue before its simplicity was corrupted by stilted Latinisms, of the dauntless confessor of the Gospel who bore bonds and imprisonment, and was ready to lay down his life also for the faith he so jealously advocated, even of the slightly eccentric recluse, as quaint as he is sharp, terse and forceful, are most plainly seen. As loyal to the original as to the Gospel which it declares, his demands for exactness are such that frequently, according to the usage of his profession as a lawyer, he calls to his aid a pair or more of synonyms in order to express the full contents of a single Latin word. Thus e. g. Art. 1. "Ghost and Spirit"; Art. 2. "Concupiscence or lust." "Disease or sore"; Art. 3. "Conjoined and knit," "A sacrifice and host;" Art. 5. "Favor and grace"; Art. 6. "Ordained and instituted"; Art. 16. "Leaving, forsaking or giving over." Similar examples may be found on almost every page."—109. Seckendorf, *Historia Lutheranismi*, III, 111f. He called the articles rightly *repetitio et exegesis quaedam Augustanae confessionis*—110. Erl. Ed. 55, 129. 111. Cf. *ibid.*: 55, 133, his letter of April 20 to Chancellor Burchart.—112. The Six Articles of 1539 are in Ch. Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith etc.*, 1825. Here these demands were made; 1. The belief in transubstantiation; 2. The belief that Holy Communion need not necessarily be given in both kinds; 3. The belief that after a man has entered the priesthood marriage for him would be a sin; 4. The belief that vows of chastity are absolutely binding; 5. The belief in the efficacy of private masses; 6. The belief that auricular confession is compulsory.—113. Henry Jenkyns, *The Remains of Thomas*

Cranmer, 4 vols., Oxford 1833, I, 273-292.—114. Reprinted in Ch. Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 1851, Appendix.—115.—Reprinted in K. Mueller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der Reformierten Kirche*, 1903, p. 505ff.—116. "*The Confessyon of Faith, delyvered to the Emperour Charles Vth by the Lordes of Germany, written in Latyn by Phylippe Melancthon, and translated into English by Robert Syngylton. Printed by John Mychell, Canterbury.*" This edition is quoted by B. Schmucker (*Luth. Church Review*, 1887, p. 6); but he had not personally seen it. In the large work: *A short title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of the English books printed about 1475-1640 compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 1926*" which also states in which English library these books can be found, probably more information can be found, but I do not happen to have the book at hand.—117. This *Harmony* which we have often mentioned, and of which I have a copy, has this title, *An Harmony of the Confessions of the Faith of the Christian and Reformed Churches, which purtelie professe the holy doctrine of the Gospell, in all the chiefe Kingdomes, Nations and Provinces of Europe, the catalogue and order whereof the pages following will declare. There are added in the ende verie shorte notes; in which both the obscure thinges are made plaine, and those thinges which may in shewe seeme to be contrarie each together, are plainlie and very modestlie reconciled, and if anie points do as yet hang in doubt, they are sincerelie pointed at. All of which things, in the name of the churches of France and Belgia are submitted to the free and discrete judgement of all other churches. Newlie translated out of Latine into English. Also in the end is added the Confession of the Church of Scotland. Allowed by publique authoritie. Imprinted by Thomas Thomas, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1586.*" The book was written in interest of unionistic tendencies, as is clearly stated by the preface in these words: "Ye therefore moste gracious Kings, Dukes, Earles, Marquesses, moste famous Barons, and noble Lords, ye cities, and Common wealthes, ye most wise Pastours, Doctours, and, to be short, all Christian people, professing the trueth of the Gospell, be present in soulss and bodies, suffer not the poyson of discord to spread any farther: but kill this hurtful serpent, and receive with a Christian minde as is meete, and as is offered unto you this most sure token and earnest of the everlasting friendship of the French and Belgian Churches with you, offered to you in the face of the whol world: that we beeing by a friendly league coupled together in Christ, may

vanquish all Antichristes, and may sing that hymns to the Lord our God, Beholde how good and ioyfull a thing it is, brethren to dwell together in unitie." The book is the translation of a Latin original: *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei, Orthodoxarum et Reformatarum Ecclesiarum etc.* which was printed by Petrus Santandreasus in Geneva in 1581. It grew out of a strong movement in the French Reformed Church to form, for political-religious reasons, a union of all Protestant churches who had not signed the Formula of Concord. They even dreamed of a new, unified confession (National synod of Figeac 1579, *Aymon, Tous les Synodes nationaux des Eglises reformees de France. Ala Haye* 1710, I, 145). This was proven impossible. But Pastor Salnar, of Castres in South France, at least compiled this *Harmonia Confessionum* in Latin. It arranged the statements of the various reformed confessions, the one of the Bohemian Brethren, and the Lutheran Augsburg Confession (Unaltered and Variata), the *Confessio Saxonica* (1551) and *Confessio Wuerttembergica* (1551), under 19 main dogmatic points. The book then appeared in a French translation, with notes by Goulard, in 1601. The English translator does not mention his name. Aside from the editions of 1586 and 1844, mentioned in the text, one also was published in London in 1643. All particulars can be found in the new edition by Hall, London 1844.—118. See B. Schmucker (*L. Ch. Review* 1887), p. 21. He calls attention to the Augsburg Confession in verse which the Moravian Brethren included in their Collection of Hymns (London 1754) under the heading "Doctrinal Hymns out of the Augsburg Confession,"—a creation of no value.—119. Rev. W. H. Teale, *The Confession of Augsburg, with Introduction and Notes*, London 1842 (American Edition of Hagenbach's *History of Doctrine*, II, 147).—120. *The Harmony of the Protestant Confessions; Exhibiting the Faith of the Churches of Christ Reformed after the Pure and Holy Doctrine of the Gospel, throughout Europe. A New Edition, Revised and considerably enlarged by the Rev. Peter Hall, M. A., Rector of Milston, Wilts; and Minister of Long-Acre Chapel, London.* London: John F. Shaw, 27 Southhampton Row, Russel Square. 1844.—121. Benthem, *Hollaendischer Kirchen und Schulstaat*, Frankfurt 1698. J. Lehnemann, *Historische Nachrichten von der vormals im 16. Jahrhundert beruehmten ev. luth. Kirche zu Antorff*, Frankfurt 1725.—F. J. Domela Nieuwenhuis, *Geschiedenis der Amsterdamsche Luth. Gemeente*, Amsterdam 1876.—J. W. Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618*, 1911.—H. Garrelts, *Johannes Ligarius*, 1915.—Steitz and Dechent,

Geschichte der von Antwerpen nach Frankfurt verpflanzten Gemeinde Augsb. Konf., 1888.—122. So, according to G. Weber, in *Kritische Geschichte*, II, 218, the intrepid enemy of Protestantism, W. Lindanus, stated in his *Concordia discors*, p. 302f.: *Confessio Augustana anno 1543 Belgice conversa. Wesaliae anno 1558, impressa per John Braker in octavo*. The report is exact that it must rest on some foundation. The edition of 1558 is also mentioned by J. G. Sardemann in his essay: *Ueber einige im 16. Jahrhundert in Wesel gedruckte Schriften* (p. 358-366) and I also have called attention, in the *Festschrift fuer Ihmels* (1928, p. 132), to the fact that a copy is to be found in the *Ratsbibliothek* in Zwickau. I am not able to supply the correct title at present. As Philipp the Second's inquisitor for Holland and East Friesland Lindanus was in a position to obtain reliable information. And the information seems to fit the situation. No Lutheran writings were permitted to be printed in the Netherlands so they were printed elsewhere and smuggled into the land. This was frequently done from Wesel. There they had accepted the Augsburg Confession as early as 1543 for, when Nicolaus Buschoducensis was called there as superintendent and Thomas Plateanus as pastor, both were pledged to the Confession (G. B. A. Natorp, *Geschichte der ev. Gemeinde in Duesseldorf, Duesseldorf* 1881, p. 33ff). In 1545 they also published Luther's Catechism for the Latin school (Reu, *Luther's Katechismus am Niederrhein in Festschrift fuer Ihmels* 1928 p. 130ff). Very probably this translation was made for his people by the Netherlander Heinrich Bommelius, who after 1542 was connected with the school at Wesel, and who, in 1558, also translated Luther's Catechism for them.—123. When the Lutheran pastors of Antwerp were accused of all sorts of fanaticism they published this *Confessio Antwerpiensis ecclesiae*; this must not be confused with the Augsburg Confession although it was in harmony with it and in 1566 was also issued together with it. Lindanus must have had this print in hand for he (as well as Tiletanus) published a libel against it (J. Lehnemann, *Historische Nachrichten*, p. 57f). A copy of this Antwerp Confession: "*Confessie Oft Bekenntenisse der Dienaren Jesu Christi in de Kercke binnen Antwerpen die welcke der Confessie van Ausborch toeghedaen is, 1567*," may be found in the City library of Frankfurt a. M. In it the congregation at Antwerp confesses the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Articles of Schmalkalden and especially defends the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It is signed by the six pastors of the congregation: Johann Ligarius, Franciscus Alardus, Dytmarus Tyman-

nus, Christianus Warnerus, Johannes Beatus and Balthasar Houvvaert. It is also countersigned by the six German theologians, among them, Cyr. Spangenberg, Herm. Hamelmann, and Flacius—whom the congregation had called to Antwerp to prepare a church order for them. It appeared in 1567 but was not adopted by the congregation since the persecution again broke out in the same year and continued for ten years.—124. Weber, 219, says that a duodecimo copy of this year, without publisher's imprint, is to be found in Wolfenbuettel and surmises that there probably were two editions of the year 1567. I think this is an error. Is this copy still in Wolfenbuettel? It was not listed in the answer to my questionnaire.—125. Nieuwenhuis, appendix, 32-62.—126. Already on May 28, 1530 the Nuernberg representatives reported that the Confession "was to be put in Latin, German and French" (C. R. II, 71). Since, about this time, the Elector requested Tucher to translate into French a document which was to be presented to the Emperor, Foerstemann thinks that he probably also translated the Confession. However this is only a supposition. As the manuscript is found among the Hessian documents it may also have been made for the Landgrave's negotiations with the French. At any rate it is not complete and belongs to the period before June 25, in the time between May 31 and June 15. The second was made after the presentation. The imperial secretary, Alexander Schweiss, immediately after the presentation, was requested by the Emperor to make an exact translation in French (Foerstemann I, 356; Spalatin's *Annals*, p. 140; Coelestin's *Historia comit. Aug.* II, 190).—127. The fact that Luc le Cop, in his translation of Chytraeus' "History of the Augsburg Diet," which was published in Antwerp, mentions the edition of 1566 makes it very probable that this edition was made for the French Lutherans in that city. Luc de Cop writes: *La Confession d'Augspourg . . . translatee en Francois et puis imprime quelque part en l'an 1566. est tellement desguisee qu'on ne la doit reconnoitre pour celle que le Titre parle.* The translators of 1561 and 1566 therefore must have used the Variata and even then did not translate very exactly.—128. See note 117.—129. Reu, *Quellen* I, 2, p. 461.—129a. G. Weber II, 215. He also mentions an edition of 1586(?).—130. Pfender, in his introduction, gives a review of the French editions of the Augsburg Confession. This information reached me too late to use it. Roehrich calls attention to an edition of 1839 which was published by Ph. J. Oster: *La foy catholique exposee dans la confession de foi presentee le 25 Juin 1530*

a la dicte d' Augsbourg . . . Traduit des originaux allemand et latin, et precede d'une Dissertation sur la origine, la nature, et lan valeur des symboles ou confessions de foi. Paris, Metz, Strasbourg, 1839.

131. Compare for this section especially G. Weber, *Kritische Geschichte* II, 210-212: 281ff.—132. See also the section on Argentina.—133. Spalatin, *Annales Reformationis* (Leipzig 1718, p. 140).—134. Dolscius was born in 1526 at Plauen, studied in Wittenberg where he was close to Melanchthon. Became rector of the Latin school in Halle; later on was Mayor of the city, then inspector of churches, schools and salt works, Proof in Weber II, 283.—135. Weber II, 288, quotes the title as: *Summa Doctrinae Christianae articulis XXI Confessionis Augustanae prioribus comprehensa. . . Germanice, Latine, Graece et Ebraice. Edita studio et opera M. Philippi Galli Wittebergae anno M. D. LXXXVIII*, 8^o. Gallus has the German text of the Book of Concord, the Latin of the *Editio princeps*, the Greek translation of Dolscius and adds a Hebrew translation of his own. Regarding the latter Weber states: "It is fairly accurate, the Biblical expression has been retained as much as possible, some expressions have been transcribed while the rabbinical language is extensively used."—136. In Wolfenbuettel (Theol. 1771) is found: *Augustana Confessio Germanica et Latina cum versione graeca Pauli Dolscii Soluta et Laurentii Rhodmanni Metrica . . . cura et opera M. Christiani Reineccii. Lipsiae M. D. CCXXX*. This edition in meter by Laurentius Rhodomannus in 1579 first appeared as part of his Life of Luther in verse. Title in Weber, II, 285.—137. Reu, *Luther's Small Catechism*, 1929, p. 53f.—138. This letter of Melanchthon to Patriarch Joasaph is known (C. R. III): of greater importance is this letter to Bording (C. R. III) in which he said: *Mitto tibi interpretationem graecam Confessionis sine meo consilio editam. Probo tamen phrasin ac nisi Constantinopolin per virum doctum, qui ibi Diaconi officio fungitur*.—139. Weber II, 285 refers as proof to the—unknown to me—*Acta et scripta Theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Hieremiae*.—140. Weber refers to *Cyprii Chronicon Ecclesiae graecae*, ed. Hillarii, where, page 425, it is said: *Augustana Confessio Constantinopoli sequentibus data fuit . . . Domino Michaeli Cantacuzeno, qui sibi in vulgarem linguam transferendam curavit et in patriam Anchialum (urbem Ponti) secum asportavit*.—141. *Cypril Chronicon ecclesiae Graecae*, ed. Hilarii, p. 425.—142. In Wolfenbuettel (Sign. Theol. 1766): *Augustana Confessio in germanicum Judaeorum idioma transferri curavit Jo. Henr. Callenberg, Halae 1732*.—143. Original plans called for a detailed story

of the Augsburg Confession in America in a separate chapter. Due to lack of space the completed chapter had to be set aside. Plans have now been made to include it in my *New Studies in the Augsburg Confession* which will probably be published in May. We here must be satisfied with a mere outline.—144. See H. P. Beach and Ch. H. Fahs, *The World Missionary Atlas*, 1925.—Jul. Richter, *Evangelische Missionskunde*, 1927.—Joergensen, Fleisch and Wentz, *The Lutheran Church of the World*, 1929.—M. Reu, *Luther's Small Catechism*, 1929, p. 322ff.—

SECOND PART

A Collection of Sources

1. INSTRUCTION OF THE VISITATION COMMISSIONERS TO THE PASTORS OF THE ELECTORATE OF SAXONY, MARCH, 1528.¹

The Preface. The preface states that the place of oversight in the Church is amply proved by scriptural examples and that such oversight is the real duty of bishops and pastors. They, however, had delegated their duties to others while they flourished as princes and commercialized the whole ecclesiastical system, so that the abuses resulting from their neglect are everywhere apparent. Since the Gospel has been restored a return of episcopal authority would be welcomed but the authority of appointment of bishops is still in question and so it is necessary to act according to the universally binding law of love. Accordingly the Elector, who as a worldly prince has no authority to teach or rule the Church, is appealed to, because he does have unquestioned authority to prevent discord and confusion, such as has come with the disordered state of affairs, in his domains.

Concerning Doctrine. Among other things we find that the chief defect in teaching is that while some do preach concerning the faith by which we are justified, nevertheless the manner in which we attain that faith is not made sufficiently clear, and so almost all neglect the one article of Christian doctrine without which no one can understand the true nature of faith. For Christ says, in the last chapter of Luke, that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name. But, at the present time, many speak only of the forgiveness of sins and have little or nothing to say concerning repentance. Yet there can be no forgiveness of sins nor understanding of the nature of such forgiveness without repentance. So when the forgiveness of sins is preached without regard to repentance it follows that the people imagine that they have already attained forgiveness and thus become secure and presumptuous, which is a far greater error and sin than all the errors of preceding times. And we must fear lest the last state become worse than the first, as Christ says, Matt. 12.

Therefore we have instructed and admonished the pastors that it is their duty to preach the entire Gospel and not only a portion of it. For God says, Deut. 4, that we should add nothing to His Word, nor diminish aught from it. Today preachers inveigh against the pope that he has added much to Scripture, which is unfortunately

all too true. But those who do not preach repentance tear a large piece out of Scripture. They talk much about the eating of meats and similar trifling matters, which, it is true, should be mentioned at the proper times as a protest against tyranny and in defense of Christian liberty, but when they omit the other they do what Christ described when He speaks in Matt. 23 of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. Accordingly we have admonished them frequently and repeatedly to exhort the people to repentance, that they may have contrition and sorrow for sin, and a fear of God's judgment, and that they do not neglect this all important matter of repentance, for both John and Christ censured the Pharisees, because of their holy hypocrisy, more severely than common sinners. So the preachers shall rebuke the gross sins of ordinary men but where there is a false holiness they shall admonish to repentance still more vehemently.

While some think that nothing of this should be taught preceding faith, but that they should teach repentance as proceeding from and following faith, so that our opponents might not say that we have recanted our previous teaching, nevertheless it must be taken into consideration, because repentance and the law also belong to the common faith. For we must first believe that God is and that He threatens, commands and terrifies etc. Thus it is necessary for the sake of the uncultured common man that we should keep these elements of the faith under the names of repentance, commandment, law, fear etc., that they may more discriminatingly understand the faith in Christ, which the apostles call *iustificantem fidem*, that is the faith that justifies and blots out sin. This faith concerning the law and repentance cannot do, and so the common man is misled concerning the word faith and unprofitable questions are aroused.

Concerning the Ten Commandments. In this section directions are given that the Law should be preached with all its threatenings, and with the consideration of specific sins, so as to bring men to the fear of God, to repentance and to the knowledge of sin, to all of which must be added faith and forgiveness. So men are to be kept from a false security and a false faith. For the sake of the two fundamental elements of Christian life, repentance and faith, the Ten Commandments are to be preached, but also, in the third place as a guide to good works, not only those works we do towards our fellow man but also to teach us the duties we owe God.

Concerning true Christian Prayer. A long section tells how men are to be taught that the neglect of prayer is a great sin, and that God has not only commanded prayer but also promises to hear our petitions. Even sinners who come in penitence and faith are heard, but hypocrites are not. Vain repetition

is not prayer nor should our prayers be addressed to any but God, for all their significance and efficacy depends on the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ. Prayer is not a meritorious work but the result of faith and consequently the spirit of prayer will produce good works. In this connection there is a long excursus on obedience to parents and to the civil government and the need of intercessory prayer for those in authority.

Concerning Tribulation.

Concerning the Sacrament of Baptism. Baptism shall be observed as before, including the Baptism of children, for Baptism has the same significance that circumcision had before it, and as children were circumcised so they should also be baptized. God promised that He would guard and protect the children who were circumcised, as He says, Gen. 17, I will be "a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." Also, "and I will be their God." The children that are baptized are likewise under God's protection and we should therefore fervently invoke God, on the strength of His promises. Uneducated people should also be instructed concerning the great benefits that Baptism brings with it, namely that God desires to receive the child and to become its guardian and protector. That those present may understand the words and prayers of the Baptism it is well that it be held in German. The people shall also be admonished on occasion, when the sermon deals with the Sacraments, that Baptism does not merely mean that God desires to receive the child but that it involves the whole of life as well. Thus Baptism is not only a token to the children but it also incites and admonishes adults to repentance, for repentance, contrition and sorrow are enjoined by the Baptism with water. Baptism should likewise awaken faith, so that those who have sorrow for sin are forgiven and cleansed from sin, because such faith is the completion of Baptism. There should be no disputes about the chrism, because the real chrism, with which Christians are anointed by God Himself, is the Holy Ghost, as is recorded in Isaiah 21 and Ephesians 1.

Concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord. Concerning the Sacrament of the true Body and Blood of our dear Lord Jesus Christ the people shall be taught these three articles.

First; That they believe that in the bread the true Body of Christ is present and in the wine the true Blood of Christ. For it is so stated in the words of Christ recorded by the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke. "This is my body," and "Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the

remission of sins." As Paul also states in the 11th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians: The bread which we break is the distributed Body of Christ. If this were to be understood, in the way that some interpret it, as referring not to the true Body but only to the Word of God, then there would not be a distribution of the Body of Christ but only of the Word and Spirit. Paul also states in the same Epistle that this food is not to be regarded as common food but as the Body of Christ and he censured those who receive it, without reverence, like common food. The pastors shall also read what has been written on this subject by those of olden times, so that they may be better able to instruct others. Hilary says in the eighth book concerning the Holy Trinity, that no one should doubt that the true Body and Blood of Christ are present, because Christ has said so. And it is to be remembered that such a great miracle takes place not through the efforts of the priest, but because Christ has decreed that His Body shall be present to those communing. Just as the sun rises daily not because of our efforts, but because God has so ordered.

The second article is the instruction to be given the people that it is right to receive both kinds. For the Holy Gospel (Thanks be to God) has come to light, and in it is clearly testified that both kinds in the Sacrament are to be administered and received. This has been commanded by Christ as the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke testify. St. Paul also administered in this way as we have seen in First Corinthians, 11. It is not within the power of any man to alter such a divine institution, and, as St. Paul writes to the Galatians, if the last will of any person may not be altered, still less dare God's own testament be altered. Accordingly we have instructed the pastors and preachers immediately and openly to teach this doctrine of the Gospel concerning both kinds to all, whether they be strong, weak, or obstinate, and in no wise to approve communion under one kind, but to condemn it as wrong and contrary to the institution and last testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. So that the truth in itself may be taught purely and openly. But as no one is to be compelled to believe, nor may be moved from his unbelief by commands or by force, since God is not pleased with enforced service but always desires voluntary servants, and, furthermore, because the people have various opinions and different qualifications, it has been, and still is, impossible to determine the exact standards concerning the persons to whom, according to Christ's

teaching, both kinds are to be given or from whom they are to be withheld. Therefore while we can easily direct the preaching of this doctrine purely and openly as Christ Himself has given it, nevertheless, in the practice and application of this teaching we have not been able to regulate it according to fixed limits, methods or persons, because of the fact that the people through common custom have become captivated with the idea of communion under one kind, and since through this former custom there may still be those who are troubled by doubts we must bide our time and commit the matter to God.

Here follow a number of practical directions concerning the period of transition. They direct that the weak are to be treated considerately in practice and the communion may be administered to them for a time under one kind, but the obstinate and those who deny the true teaching are to be denied the Sacrament.

The third article, which is the most important of all, is that we teach why the Sacrament is to be used and how we should be prepared to receive it. *First*. The pastors shall teach the people how great a sin it is to dishonor the Sacrament and not use it rightly, for Paul says, in the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians, that they are guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord and that they receive it to their condemnation. Again, For this cause many are sick and many have died among the Christians. For God says in the Second Commandment, Exodus 20, that He would not hold him guiltless that took His name in vain. Without doubt then such dishonoring of the Body and Blood of the Lord will likewise not go unpunished. This fact shall be diligently impressed on the people so that they may avoid this sin and that they may be encouraged to fear, repentance and amendment. For the same reason none should be admitted to the Sacrament who live in open sins, adultery, gluttony and the like and who will not cease from them. *Secondly*. No one shall be admitted to the Sacrament unless he has previously come to the pastor, who shall examine him as to his knowledge of the Sacrament and learn whether he requires other counsel, etc. Afterwards they shall be taught that only those who have real contrition and sorrow for sin and whose conscience is troubled are prepared to receive the Sacrament, for insolent and presumptuous persons are not to be admitted, because it is written in First Corinthians, 11, "This do as oft as ye do it in remembrance of me." Now to remember the death of Christ is not merely to hear the narrative preached but to be terri-

fied that God shows such anger against sin that, on account of it, He causes His own Son to be slain, and that no angel nor saint could make atonement for sin, but that Christ, Himself God, had to be sacrificed, etc. Then O what severe penalty will descend on those who regard sin lightly, when they hear how great it is in God's sight. The one who rightly remembers the death of Christ shall receive the Sacrament and seek consolation, Not that the external reception can comfort the heart, but it is a pledge of consolation and of the forgiveness of sins, which pledge encourages the heart so that it believes that God forgives the sin of the penitent. And so the heart shall be encouraged and aroused to believe not only by the reception of Sacrament but also through the words that accompany the Sacrament, for in the words God promises the forgiveness of sin: This is my Body which is given for you, and again, This is the cup of the New Testament, that is, of the New Covenant, of the promised righteousness, of everlasting life, in my Blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sin. So they attain the forgiveness of sin not by the mere external reception but through the faith that is enkindled by the words and the tokens. The people should also be instructed that this token has not been instituted only to enkindle faith but also to incite us to love, as St. Paul says, in the 10th Chapter of First Corinthians. It is one Bread and one Body, as we are all part-takers of the one Bread. So we should not cherish envy and hatred but care for one another and help each other with alms and other forms of service as God has commanded. Such admonitions should often be repeated, for what else is it but a dishonoring of Christ's Body if we bear envy and hatred and do not desire to show any love, and yet should be accounted members of Christ?

Concerning True Christian Repentance. Penance is also numbered among the Sacraments because all Sacraments imply repentance and for several other reasons, which it is not necessary to recount here.

We have indicated above that it is necessary to preach repentance and to condemn the presumptuous attitude now in the world, which has come, in part, from a wrong conception of faith, for many, when they have heard that their sins are forgiven them, invent a spurious faith and imagine they are pure, and, as a result, they become secure and insolent. Such carnal security is worse than all the errors of previous times. Therefore when preaching about faith the people must continually be instructed where true faith can exist and how we may attain to it, for true faith cannot exist where there is no true repentance,

and a true fear and terror of God. It is exceedingly necessary to keep this fact before the people, because where there is no contrition and sorrow for sin there true faith is also lacking. So it is written in the 147th Psalm: "The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him, in those that hope in His mercy." And God Himself says, Ezekiel 3, that if the preacher does not condemn the error and wickedness of those he is teaching their souls would be required at his hands. Such a judgment God pronounces over those preachers who console the people and have much to say about faith and the forgiveness of sins, but have nothing to say about repentance, the fear of God and the judgment of God. Such preachers are also condemned by Jeremiah in the 7th chapter when he says that those were not to be believed who cry, peace, peace, when God is angry and there is no real peace. Yea, it is to be feared that God will severely punish these preachers and their hearers because of this false security, for this is the sin about which Jeremiah complains (Chapter 6) that they were not at all ashamed. And St. Paul in Ephesians 5, condemns those who, without sorrow in their hearts, live in unrestrained security, and says, "For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolator, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience. Be not yet therefore partakers with them."

Now true repentance means to have genuine contrition and sorrow for sin and really to fear the wrath and judgment of God; this is true contrition and knowledge of sin. Again, the putting to death of the flesh refers especially to repentance and so contrition is given many different names in Scripture. Some, when they speak of putting to death the flesh, imagine that it only means to restrain the flesh, which is rather a work of the new life. But before such works must come the putting to death of the flesh, which is nothing else but true repentance. Again, some others say, we must acknowledge that all nature is evil, etc., and when they consider such words the people imagine that they recognize their condition and so only wax wanton. But to understand our own condition is a very different matter and such a knowledge of sin comes through the law. We truly recognize sin when we are sorry and contrite on account of it and are really terrified at the prospect of God's wrath and judgment, as David recognized it when the prophet Nathan came to him and condemned him, as told in Second Samuel, Chapter 12. David

was well aware before that he had sinned, but he had not yet repented and so he lacked the true knowledge of sin.

It is also a profound statement, which the novices among the laity fail to understand, that we should so recognize our nature as to understand that we are wholly sinful. It is not easy to come to the knowledge that we sin even in our good works, as Solomon describes it in Ecclesiastes, chapter 7, "For there is not a just man upon earth, that doeth good and sinneth not." Children have to learn to walk by holding fast to the benches, and so penitence and contrition have to be learned through the gross sins that we all understand. Gluttony, lewdness, envy and hatred, miserliness, lying, and the like, should be condemned, the people exhorted to repentance, the judgment and punishment of God held before them, together with examples of God's punishment of sin taken from Scripture. But in dealing with hypocrites, it is necessary that the wrath and punishments of God on false servants of God, or hypocrites, be not forgotten.

Others dream that because it is God's work that therefore it is not permissible to exhort men to repent. It is true that God works genuine repentance, but He does so through the Word and its preaching. Just as men are exhorted to believe and God works their faith through such preaching, so there shall be admonition and exhortation to repentance, leaving it to God as to whom He moves to repentance, because He acts through the preaching. As Moses says, Deuteronomy, chapter 4, God is a consuming fire, so the preaching of God's judgment and wrath shall work repentance within us.

Thus the first part of repentance is penitence and contrition. The other part is faith that sin will be forgiven for Christ's sake. Such faith produces good resolutions and so with faith we attain the forgiveness of sins, as Paul has said to the Romans, chapter 3. But, as has been repeatedly stated, such faith cannot exist where there is no preceding penitence and contrition. For sorrow without faith is the remorse of Judas and Saul, which is despair, just as faith without penitence and contrition is presumption and carnal security, as will be shown hereafter.

In the past it has been taught that penance consists of three parts, namely, of contrition, confession and satisfaction. We have now spoken of the first part, that contrition and sorrow should be preached continually and that the recognition and destruction of sin demand contrition and sorrow. It is also good to use these words contrition and sorrow, because they are simple and easily understood.

Concerning True Christian Confession. Papal confession, demanding the enumeration of all sins is not required because it is an impossibility, as is written in the Nineteenth Psalm, "Who can understand his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults." Nevertheless, for many reasons, the people should be admonished to confess, especially those situations in which they need counsel and which particularly trouble them. Neither should anyone be permitted to receive the Holy Sacrament unless he be first expressly examined by his pastor to ascertain whether he be qualified to receive the Holy Sacrament, for Paul says in the 11th chapter of First Corinthians, that those are guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ who receive it unworthily. Now the Sacrament is dishonored not only by those who receive it unworthily but also by those who carelessly give it to the unworthy, because the common rabble runs to the Sacrament out of habit, without understanding for what purpose the Sacrament should be employed. No one is to be admitted to the Sacrament who does not understand this. In such examination the people are to be admonished, so that they may rightly use the Sacrament, to confess, that they may be instructed on points in which their conscience has been led astray and also that, where there are truly contrite hearts, they may receive consolation through the hearing of the absolution.

Concerning the True Christian Satisfaction for Sin. Satisfaction for our sin is not a work for any of us to perform because Christ alone has made satisfaction for our sin, and this part of penance belongs to the forgiveness of sin and to faith, as we know and believe that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake. It is necessary to teach this article in the following manner: that we know that God will punish sin and that we feel sorrow for sin is not enough, but we must also know that God, for Christ's sake, will forgive sin, and that such forgiveness is attained by faith, when we believe that God will forgive sin for Christ's sake, because contrition and faith must be united, since contrition without faith produces despair as in the cases of Judas and Saul. In the same way it is also impossible to have genuine faith without contrition. These things shall be kept before the people: *first*, they should be aroused to fear because God's wrath against sin is so great that no one is able to make satisfaction for sin except Christ, God's Son. That God's wrath against sin is so great should rightly terrify us and the word of Christ, Luke 23, may well be recalled, "If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" If Christ had to suffer thus for our sins

how will we not have to suffer if we are not contrite but despise God? *Secondly*, The people should be aroused to believe, for even though we have deserved nothing except damnation, God still forgives us, without our merit, for Christ's sake. This is the satisfaction, that we attain the forgiveness of sin through faith, when we believe that Christ has made satisfaction for us, as John says in the First Epistle, chapter 2, "And he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."

Concerning Human Church Order. It is evident that much confusion results from indiscreet preaching concerning church regulations, therefore the preachers are admonished that they be more industrious in preaching the things that are essential, such as Christian repentance, as it was discussed above, faith, good works, the fear of God, prayer, not to blaspheme against God, the honoring of parents, the education of children, the honor due the government, not to envy, not to bear hatred, not to kill or injure anyone, chastity, discipline in married life, not to be over anxious, not to steal, not to be drunken, not to lie, to slander no one. For such matters are more important than questions about eating meat on Friday and the like, even though it be right before God and according to the testimony of conscience. But the people should be instructed to speak modestly about such church regulations, for some church regulations have been made in the interest of peace and good order, as St. Paul says in First Corinthians, 14, that all things should be done decently and in order in the churches.

For this reason festivals, like Sundays and various other festival days should be observed according to the custom of each parish, for the people must have a certain appointed time when they may assemble themselves for the hearing of God's Word. Neither shall the pastors enter into disputes with each other if one observes a certain festival and the other does not, but each one should peacefully follow his established custom, though they shall not abrogate all festivals. It would be well that all should unanimously celebrate Sundays, the Annunciation, Purification and Visitation of the pure Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, St. Michael, the Apostles, St. Magdalene, unless these festivals have fallen into disuse and cannot readily be restored. And especially Christmas, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day and Pentecost are to be observed, though any unchristian legends or hymns associated with them are to be omitted. Because it is not possible to teach all of the Gospel

at once, these festivals have been established in order that such teaching may be distributed throughout the year, just as in school it is so ordered that one day is devoted to reading Virgil and another is given to Homer. In the weeks preceding Easter the customary weekday services, with the preaching of the Passion shall be held, and it is not necessary to alter such ancient customs and regulations, even though it is not compulsory to discuss the sufferings of Christ during just this particular time. But the people are to be taught that such holidays are observed in order that they may learn God's Word, and that if anyone happens to have necessary labor to perform he may do it. For God requires such church regulations only for the sake of instruction, as Paul tells the Colossians, chapter 2, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holyday, or the new moon, or of the sabbath days."

Besides such regulations as these that were made for the sake of good order, there are others that were instituted with the idea that they were a special service of God, by which God was propitiated and grace was attained, as through the law of fasting and of abstaining from meat on Fridays. Now Christ teaches, Matthew 15, that such commandments are valueless in reconciling God, when He says, "in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." So Paul also teaches, First Timothy, 4, that making commandments out of opinions is a doctrine of devils. Paul also tells the Colossians, chapter 2, that no one should judge them on account of such ordinances, that is, such ordinances are not to be made, nor is it to be taught that it is a sin to break them, neither is it to be taught that God's service consists in the keeping of them. Even the Apostles broke them, Matthew 15. Nevertheless it should be pointed out to the people that they shall not disregard such ordinances among those who have not yet been instructed, so that they may not be offended, for we should not believe to the injury of love, but use faith to increase love. As Paul says in First Corinthians: "Though I have faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."

In this connection the people should also be instructed concerning the difference between church ordinances and the laws of the civil government. All civil laws are to be kept, since the government does not inaugurate a new service of God but makes regulations to promote peace and love. Therefore they are all to be kept unless they should command something contrary to the Commandments of

God, as, for example, if the government should command the suppression of the Gospel or of a part of it. In such cases the rule of Acts 5, is to be observed: "We ought to obey God rather than men."

Requiem masses and others that are said for stipends are no longer to be held, for if the requiem masses, vigils and the like could count for anything it would mean that sin could be removed by works. But Christ alone is the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world, as St. John the Baptist says, in John 1. Furthermore, the masses have been appointed for the living and not for the dead, so that they might receive the Body and Blood of Christ and remember Christ's death. Now no one except one who is living can remember Christ's death.

What the priests are to do with the canon of the mass they know from other writings and it is not necessary to preach much to the laity about it.

Some sing German and some Latin masses, which we permit, but where the majority do not understand Latin we regard it as profitable and good that the mass be held in German, so that the people may the better understand what is read and sung, as St. Paul says, First Corinthians, 14, "When thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at the giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well but the other is not edified." Paul also says, in the same connection, "Let all things be done unto edifying." On high festivals, such as Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and the like, it would be well to use certain Latin hymns, that are scriptural, in the mass, for it is abnormal always to sing only one song. While there is a desire to write German hymns not every one should attempt to do so, unless he possesses the necessary gifts.

Because it has been stated that certain festivals should be observed (so that the people may hear and learn God's Word), it does not follow that the invocation of saints is thereby confirmed or approved. For Jesus Christ is the only mediator who intercedes for us, as John points out in the second chapter of his Epistle, and Paul in Romans, chapter 8. Moreover, the saints are properly honored when we know that they are set before us as examples of divine grace and compassion. For just as Peter, Paul and other saints who shared our flesh, blood and weaknesses, were saved by the grace of God through faith, so we receive the comforting assurance, through their

example, that God will also favorably regard us in our weakness and bestow on us his grace if we believe and trust in Him, as they did, and call upon Him in our weakness. The saints are also honored when we increase in faith and good works in following their example. Therefore the people are to be encouraged to faith and good works by the example of the saints. As is written in Hebrews 13, "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation." Thus St. Peter, in the third chapter of his First Epistle, admonishes the women that they should follow their mother Sara in adorning the heart; in a gentle and quiet spirit, and says: "For after this manner in the old time the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands: even as Sara obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement."

Concerning Matrimony.

Concerning the Freedom of the Will. Many talk in presumptuous terms about the freedom of the will, therefore we have written this short instruction concerning it.

Man has the ability to exercise freedom of the will in doing or omitting external works as he is driven by law and its penalties. Likewise he is able to practice worldly piety and good works by his own powers, which have been given him and are maintained by God for that purpose. Paul calls this the righteousness of the flesh, namely, that which the flesh or man does by his own powers. If man is able to work a certain righteousness by his own powers then he possesses a liberty of choice and freedom to flee evil and to do good. God also requires such external or worldly righteousness, as is written in Galatians, chapter 3, that the law was made to guard against external transgressions, and in First Timothy, chapter 1: "Knowing this, that the law is not made for righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners." Just as though St. Paul wanted to say, By our own powers we cannot change the heart but external transgressions we can avoid. It shall also be taught that God has no pleasure in a dissolute, heathenish life, but that God demands such righteousness from everyone, and that He punishes such a dissolute life with all kinds of temporal plagues, and with eternal torments. But this freedom is hindered by the devil, so that if man be not protected and ruled by God the devil drives him to sin with the result that he does not maintain

even external honesty. It is needful to know this fact that people may learn how weak and miserable that man is who does not seek help from God. We should recognize this condition and pray for God's aid that He may protect us from the devil and defend us and endow us with real heavenly gifts.

In the next place; it is impossible for man, by his own efforts, to cleanse his heart and to produce heavenly gifts such as true sorrow, for sin, a genuine and not pretended fear of God, true faith, sincere love, chastity, an unvindictive spirit, true penitence, fervid prayer, liberality, etc. Thus Paul says, Romans, 8, that the natural man cannot do that which is godly, does not perceive the wrath of God and therefore does not rightly fear Him; does not perceive the loving kindness of God and therefore does not believe and trust Him rightly. Therefore we should continually pray that God would bestow His gifts upon us. This is true Christian piety.

Concerning Christian Freedom. Some also talk presumptuously concerning Christian freedom, by which some people understand that they are free from all government and that they do not have to pay what is their due. Others think that Christian freedom is nothing but eating meat, not confessing, not fasting and the like. The preacher should condemn such improper dreams of the rabble and impart instruction that shall serve for their amendment and not for the encouragement of folly.

In the first place, Christian freedom is the forgiveness of sins by Christ, through the Holy Ghost, without any merit or addition on our part. This freedom, if rightly interpreted, is very consoling to devout folk and inspires them to love God and to do Christian works. On this account this subject should often be rehearsed. Those who are not preserved by the Holy Ghost the devil has in his power and drives them into great vices and shame. He makes of one an adulterer, of another a robber, of another a murderer. We can see how many fall into such disgrace without understanding how they have come to it, but it is the devil who has brought them to such a pass. This constitutes the prison of the human race for the devil does not reprove, and he is a murderer, who sees to it that he destroys both our bodies and souls, and who takes pleasure and joy in our destruction.

On the other hand, Christian freedom rests on the promise of Christ to bestow on us the Holy Ghost, that He may guide and protect us against such diabolical power. Thus Christ Himself says, John 8, "If the son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free

indeed.”—In this connection the people should be exhorted to be afraid, so that they may consider in what great danger they would be and how none would be safe from sin and shame if God did not protect them. On the other hand, they should be consoled and exhorted to believe and to pray that they may be protected by the Holy Ghost against the devil. As Christ commanded us to pray, Luke 22, “Pray that ye enter not into temptation.” For the devil is not an insignificant or weak foe, but the prince of this world, as Christ Himself calls him, John 12, 13 and 14, and the god of this world, as Paul writes to the Ephesians in the 6th chapter, we have to contend “not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places, “But this is our confidence,” as St. John says in his Epistle, chapter 4, “that he that is in us is greater than the world.”

This subject of Christian freedom shall often be discussed that the people may be stirred up to fear and believe. For there is no article of Christian teaching that can impart greater joy to devout hearts than to know that our God will thus rule and protect us. As Christ has promised, Matthew 16: “The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”

The *second part* of Christian freedom consists in the fact that Christ does not bind us to the ceremonies and judicial regulations of the law of Moses, but that Christians may employ the judicial regulations of all countries; the Saxons, Saxon law; the others, Roman law. As was stated above, all such regulations, when not contrary to God and reason, are approved and confirmed by God. And it is written in Romans 13, that all power is given of God, not only the Jewish, but also that in all other lands. And St. Peter, First Epistle, 2, says: “Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man.”

The *third part* of Christian freedom has to do with human ecclesiastical order, as fasting, the observance of festivals and the like. Here it is necessary to understand that the keeping of such regulations does not help us to attain godliness in God's sight, as Christ says, Matthew, 15: “In vain do they worship me with the commandments of men.” Concerning this matter, however, we have already shown above that there are three sorts of church order: *Some* which may not be kept without sin, as those rules that forbid marriage, because we ought to obey God rather than men. Acts 5. So St. Paul in First Timothy, 4, call this a doctrine of devils. In addition Christ Himself, Matthew 18, denounces those commands that direct the doing of

what is sinful.—The *second class* consists of those that have not been instituted for the purpose of earning grace nor with the idea that it is necessary to observe them but because they are useful, like the observance of Sunday, Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, which times have been appointed that people may know when they are to assemble themselves together and learn the Word of God. Not that it is a necessity to keep just those days or a sin to labor at those times, but as all are accustomed to these days it is good to retain them for assembling together and learning.—The *third class* of ecclesiastical order has been instituted for the purpose of acquiring grace for our sin, like prescribed fasts, abstinence from meat on Fridays, the observance of the canonical hours, and the like. Such opinions are contrary to God and therefore these observances may be discarded, for St. Paul calls it a doctrine of devils to keep such regulations or to encourage men in the opinion that grace is thus obtained and that they are necessary to gain grace from God.

Concerning the Turks. Some preachers are declaiming that the Turks should not be withstood, because vengeance is forbidden to the Christian. This is a seditious statement which should not be suffered nor permitted. For the sword and civil power has been given to the government and it has been commanded to punish all murder and robbery. Therefore it is in duty bound to wage war against those who wage an unjust war and who carry on robbery and murder. Such vengeance is not forbidden, for Paul says in Romans 13, that the government is an avenger ordained by God, and one which God supports in time of need. However that vengeance which is not exercised by the government nor executed by its command is forbidden to a Christian. Exactly as the Scripture forbids each and every Christian to take vengeance, so it commands the government to exercise it and calls this vengeance, that is exercised by the government, a divine ministry. Yea, it is the best charity to resist murder with the sword, as God has commanded and as is recorded in Genesis 9: "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

Some also say that the faith should not be defended with the sword but that we should suffer like Christ and like the Apostles, etc. It should be understood in this connection that it is perfectly true that those who do not govern should suffer, each one for himself, and that they should not defend themselves, even as Christ did not defend Himself, because He had no civil jurisdiction nor desired to have any, and consequently would not suffer the Jews to make Him a king, John 6.

But the government ought to protect its subjects, against unlawful supremacy, whether such unlawful supremacy be exercised against the faith or for any other cause. And as the government should honor good works and punish those that are evil (Romans 13, and First Peter 2) it should also protect men against those who would destroy the service of God, good order, right and justice. Therefore it is necessary to provide protection against the Turks, who not only seek to devastate the country, and ravish and kill women and children, but who also destroy civil law, God's service and all good order, so that the survivors cannot afterwards live in security nor rear children in discipline and virtue.

The principal reason a government should wage war is to maintain right and authority in the land so that posterity may not live in unbridled license, because it would be more tolerable for a devout man to see his children dead than to have them compelled to adopt the Turkish customs, since the Turks neither know nor regard honor, and those in power take others goods, wives and children according to their fancy. The common man among them likewise regards no marriage bond, takes wives and discards them as he pleases and sells his children. What are such customs but simple murder? The Hungarians know this full well and can testify to the facts. When they war against the Turks they exhort the masses in these words: Friends! Even if the Christian faith were nothing it would still be necessary that we fight against the Turks for the sake of our wives and children, because we would rather be dead than see such shame and debauchery happen to our own. For the Turks drive the people to market, buy and sell them, and use them like cattle, whether they are men or women, young or old, virgins or married. So infamous is the conduct of the Turks.

Therefore the preachers shall admonish the people to pray God that He may protect us from such raging creatures and he shall instruct the people that it is a true service of God to fight against such, when commanded to do so by the government.

Concerning the Daily Services in the Churches. Further, because the ancient ceremonies have been abrogated in many places and little is read or sung in the churches, orders have been given, as hereinafter follows, as to how services are to be held in the churches and schools, especially in the localities with a larger population, like the towns and their suburbs.

Namely, first of all, each day three psalms may be sung in the

churches in Latin or German, and, on the days when there is no sermon, a lesson may be read by a preacher, as, for example, Matthew, Luke, the First Epistle of John, both Epistles of Peter, St. James, several of St. Paul's Epistles as the two to Timothy, Titus, Ephesians and Colossians. When these have been finished they shall be repeated. The one who reads the lesson shall then admonish the people to pray an "Our Father" for the common needs, particularly for those felt at the time, as for peace, sustenance, and, especially, for the grace of God, that He may protect and direct us. Thereupon the whole congregation may sing a German hymn and the preacher shall read a collect.

In *Advent* it would be good to sing three vesper psalms in Latin instead of German, for the sake of the scholars so that they may become accustomed to Latin, and afterwards the pure antiphons, hymns and responses. Then a lesson may be read in German from Genesis, Judges or Kings. After the lesson the "Our Father" shall be said. Then the *Magnificat* may be sung or *Te deum laudamus* or *Benedictus* or *Quicumque vult salvus esse*, or pure suffrages, so that the youth may keep in touch with Scripture. Then the whole congregation may sing a German hymn and finally the priest reads the collects.

In smaller places where there are no scholars it is not necessary to sing daily but it would be good that they sing some portions when there is to be preaching.

On week days there should be sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays.

The pastor shall be careful to select practical and not difficult books of Scripture for his sermon. The faith should also be so preached that sincere Christian repentance, God's judgment, the fear of God, and good works (in the manner that was previously indicated and explained) be not forgotten, because without repentance it is not possible to possess faith nor to understand it.

On festivals there shall be sermons in the morning and at Vespers; those of the morning on the Gospel. In the afternoon, because the servants and children attend at that time we regard it desirable that on Sundays the Ten Commandments, the articles of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer be regularly preached about and expounded in turn. The Ten Commandments that the people may be admonished to fear God. Then the Lord's Prayer that the people may understand what they pray. After that the articles of the Creed shall be the subject of the sermons and the people shall diligently be taught the

three chief articles which are contained in the Creed: Creation, Redemption and Sanctification. We regard it as profitable that the Creation be taught in such a manner that the people know that God still works, daily nourishes us and provides fruitfulness, etc. In this way the people are to be exhorted to faith, that we pray God for nourishment, life, health and similar bodily needs. Then the people should be instructed concerning Redemption and how our sins are forgiven through Christ. All the statements concerning Christ, how He was born, died, rose, etc., are to be brought into consideration in this connection. The third article of Sanctification treats of the working of the Holy Ghost. Here the people shall be admonished to pray that God may direct and protect us through His Holy Spirit and that they be shown how weak we are and how grievously we fall when God does not correct and preserve us.

On Sundays, when the successive sermons on the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed have been completed, they shall be followed by diligent preaching on marriage, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Altar.

In connection with these sermons the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed shall be recited word for word, for the sake of the children and other simple and uneducated folk.

The preacher shall refrain from using abusive language and shall condemn, in an impersonal way, the vices of those who hear him and not preach about those who do not hear him, as the pope, the bishops or the like, except as it is necessary to warn the people and furnish them with examples. For those have not yet overcome the pope who allow themselves to imagine that they have vanquished him.

On the festivals such as Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and others, as it may be the custom to observe them in each parish, the sermons in the afternoon shall deal with the festival. As was stated above the festivals of Christmas, Circumcision, the Three Kings, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost shall be observed. The observances of Holy Week, Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, during which the Passion is to be preached, shall be retained in moderation, as noted above.

The people shall be instructed concerning the Sacrament, that they do not approach it simply from habit, but receive it at other times in the year, as God indicates to them, so that it is not limited to any one season.—Certain rude and unintelligent persons declaim against such observances. This should not be permitted since such obser-

vances have been ordained because it is impossible to teach the people all of Scripture on one day, and the various portions have been so disposed that each may be taught at a particular time, just as in the schools Virgil is read on one day, Cicero on another.

How these observances can be kept without superstition an intelligent preacher can readily indicate.

Peace shall be maintained regarding the festivals so that when certain undesirable observances have passed out of use no contention be aroused concerning them.

Because it is abnormal to continually sing the same songs on all festivals it would be well to sing the Latin *Introit*, *Gloria in excelsis deo*, *Hallelujah*, the pure *Sequences*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* on the principal festivals.

At other times, on Sundays we permit the Christian ceremonies to remain as customary in each parish, only it would be well to exhort the people to receive the Sacrament.

No one shall be permitted to receive the venerable Sacrament unless he has first been examined, so that the Body of Christ may not be dishonored, as was pointed out above.

The many divergencies existing in the celebration of the mass, which continue till uniformity be established (as far as that is possible) should not occasion great concern or offence since even under the papacy there were also great dissimilarities and variations in all the institutions and in addition three or four masses were sometimes sung at once, which made a great bawling but moved no one, and still fails to do so.

Funerals should likewise be decently conducted and attended by a chaplain and sacristan, while the people should be admonished from the pulpit to be present and at the interment the German hymn "Mitten in dem Leben" should be sung.

We have also learned that unseemly sermons have been preached about the six weeks which women observe after childbirth with the result that some women were forced to go to work, in spite of their weakness, and some consequently became ill and died. Therefore we have regarded it necessary to admonish the pastors to speak with restraint concerning this and similar customs, for the observance of the six weeks was ordered in the Law of Moses, Leviticus 12. Though the Law has been abrogated, nevertheless such matters, which are taught not only by the Law but by nature itself, have not been abrogated, especially those natural and social customs which involve

nature and morals. Wherefore Paul in First Corinthians (Yea, even nature itself) shows us and teaches us that we are bound to observe the laws which nature instructs us to keep. Therefore the women should be exempted till they again regain their full strength, which will not happen in a shorter time than six weeks. It is no sin to go abroad before the expiration of such a period but it is a sin to bring injury to the body. Just as it is no sin to drink wine, yet a sick person should not be given wine because of his sickness. So in this matter, the necessities of the body should be considered, together with the observance of due propriety, and Christian freedom should not be used to the injury of the body nor for carnal reasons. For the results of unrestrained Christian freedom are the same as if a prince were to invite a herd of swine to his table. They do not understand such an honor and only destroy what is set before them, at the same time defiling the master. So the rabble hearing about Christian freedom do not understand the nature of such freedom and imagine that they do not have to regard any discipline or any wholesome customs, and in this way God is blasphemed.

Concerning the True Christian Ban. This article calls for the restoration of discipline on the Scriptural basis of Matt. 18 and directs that those who have been guilty of gross and open sins, and who will not reform after repeated admonition are to be excluded from the Sacrament. The Instruction points out that this is a very grave punishment from God. Like Jews and the heathen, however, they are to be allowed to attend the preaching services. There is a further warning about the avoidance of trivial disputes between pastors and people and a direction that the people are to be instructed in the significance of the ringing of the prayer bell *pro pace*, not to encourage the superstitions that have grown up about it, but to point out the true significance of that peace for which they call on us to pray.

Concerning the Institution of Superintendents.

Concerning the Schools.

2. LUTHER'S CONFESSION, MARCH, 1528²

As I see that sects and errors are continually being multiplied, and that the rage and fury of satan knows no end, lest at some time in the future, either during my life or after my death, there should be those who would undertake to falsify my writings so as to bolster up their own errors and aid their own cause, just as the fanatics have already begun to do in connection with the Sacraments, I purpose in this book to confess my faith, article by article, before God and the whole world. This faith I intend, by God's help, to keep to the

end and to remain steadfast in its profession when I leave this world and appear before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ. Should anyone after my death attempt to say, "If Luther were now living he would believe or teach otherwise in this or that matter, for he had not sufficiently considered it, etc." I reply to them, now as then and then as now, that by the grace of God I have most carefully considered all these articles, have proved them repeatedly by Scripture and have defended them as resolutely as I have defended the Sacrament of the Altar. As I now write I am neither drunk nor reckless, but I know what I am saying and realize full well what it will mean for me upon the return of the Lord Jesus Christ at the last judgment, therefore let no one regard it as a jest or as idle talk for with me it is a serious matter. By the grace of God I understand the wiles of satan very well and if he can confuse and pervert God's Word and the Scriptures, what might he not do with my words or those of some other writer?

First. Against the Arians, Macedonians, Sabellians and all similar heresies, I believe with my whole heart in the exalted article of the Divine Majesty, that three distinct Persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one, true, real, undivided, essential, Very God, Maker of heaven and earth and of all things, as this truth has always been believed both in the Roman Churches and in the Christian Churches of the entire world.

Secondly, I believe, what I know the Scripture teaches, that the Second Person of the Godhead, namely the Son, alone became true man, was conceived, without human instrumentality, by the Holy Ghost of the pure and holy Virgin Mary; that He was born of a true natural mother, as St. Luke has clearly narrated and as was foretold by the prophets. Thus neither the Father nor the Holy Ghost was made man, as some heretics have taught. Likewise the Son did not merely assume a body without a soul (as other heretics have taught) but that He also took to himself a soul, that is an entire and complete humanity, and is the true seed of Abraham and of David, according to the promise; that He was born of Mary according to the course of nature and is in every way a true man, just like myself and all others, except that He alone was born without sin, through the Holy Ghost of the Virgin. And this Man is truly God because He is an eternal Person in the indivisible Godhead, Who became man, and therefore, Mary, the Holy Virgin, is a true and real

mother not only of the man Christ, as the Nestorians teach, but also of the Son of God, as St. Luke says, "That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God."; He is my Lord and the Lord of all men, Jesus Christ, the one, true, rightful Son of God and Mary, Who is truly God and man.

I likewise believe that this Son of God and Mary, our Lord Jesus Christ, has suffered and was crucified, died and was buried for us poor sinners so that He might redeem us from sin, death, and the eternal wrath of God by His innocent blood, and that the third day He arose from the dead, ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, a Lord over all lords, King over all kings and over all creatures in heaven, on earth and under the earth, over death and life, over sin and righteousness. I believe and am able to prove from the Scripture that all men have sprung from the one man Adam and, as a consequence of their natural birth, have inherited from him the fall, the guilt and sin which, Adam, through the wiles of the devil, incurred in paradise, and that therefore we are always born, live and die in sin, together with him, and would deserve everlasting death if Jesus Christ had not come to our rescue, and, like an innocent lamb, taken this sin and guilt upon Himself, redeemed us by His sufferings, and still daily intercedes for us as a true, merciful Mediator, Saviour, and only priest and bishop of our souls.

Herewith I reject and condemn, as unmitigated error, all teachings that extol our free will, because they are utterly opposed to such help and grace of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Apart from Christ sin and death are our masters, and the devil is our god and ruler, and there can be no power nor might, no wit nor understanding by which we might seek after or attain to righteousness and life, but we would have to remain blind and imprisoned, the property of sin and the devil, bound to think and do what pleases him and what is contrary to the commandments of God. Likewise I condemn both the new and old Pelagians, who will not admit that original sin is truly sin, but regard it as only a weakness or imperfection. However, since death has passed on all men, original sin cannot be a mere weakness but must be an exceedingly great sin, as St. Paul says, "The wages of sin is death," and again, "The sting of death is sin." Likewise David says, Ps. 51, "Behold, I was conceived in sin and in sin did my mother bear me." He does not say, my mother hath conceived me with sin, but, I, I, I was conceived in sin and with

sin did my mother bear me, that is I have grown in my mother's womb from sinful seed, as the Hebrew text shows.

Next I reject and condemn, as diabolical error and sectarianism, all the orders, rules, monestaries, and chapters, with all their vows and obligations, and whatever else has been invented and instituted beyond Scripture and in addition to it, even though many great saints have lived among them, who, as God's elect, though for a time deceived, yet finally escaped and were saved through faith in Jesus Christ. For although men have lived in such orders, religious foundations and sects, because of the opinion that in this way and by such means they might and would be saved, and escape sin and death, nevertheless it is an open, abominable blasphemy and a denial of the exclusive help and grace of our only Saviour and Mediator, Jesus Christ. For there is none other name given us whereby we may be saved than that of Jesus Christ, and it is impossible that there should be more saviours, or ways and methods of being saved, than alone through the righteousness which is possessed by Him, which He has given us and which He has established before God as our only mercy seat. Rom. 3.

It would be very praiseworthy if cloisters and religious foundations were regarded as places in which young people should be taught God's Word and the Scriptures and be given a Christian education so that apt and competent men be thus prepared to be bishops, pastors and other ministers of the Church, and also to provide competent, educated men for worldly affairs, as well as educated women who afterwards could rear children and conduct a Christian household. But to seek salvation in them is the devil's faith and teaching. 1 Tim. 4, etc.

But the true holy orders and pious foundations established by God are these three: the priestly office, the family and the civil government. All those who are engaged in the pastoral office or the ministry of the Word, are in a good, honest, holy order and station, that is well pleasing to God, as they preach, administer the Sacraments, preside over the poor funds and direct the sextons and other servants who assist in such labors, etc. These are all holy works in God's sight. Likewise those who are fathers or mothers, who rule their households well and who beget children for the service of God are also in a truly holy estate, doing a holy work, and members of a holy order. In the same way when children or servants are obedient to their parents or masters, this also is true holiness and those liv-

ing in such estate are true saints on earth. Similarly princes and overlords, judges, officials and chancellors, clerks, men servants and maids, and all other retainers, as well as all who render the service that is their due, are all in a state of holiness and are living holy lives before God, because these three estates or orders are all included in God's Word and commandment. Whatever is included in God's order must be holy, for God's Word is holy and hallows all it touches and all it includes.

Above these three estates and orders is the common order of Christian love, by which we minister not only to those of these three orders but in general to everyone who is in need, as when we feed the hungry and give drink to the thirsty, etc., forgive enemies, pray for all men on earth, suffer all kinds of evil in our earthly life, etc. Lo, these are all truly good and holy works, but, even though they are such, these relations are not a way to salvation, for there is only one way, above all these, namely faith in Jesus Christ, because it is a very different thing to be holy and to be saved. We are saved alone through Christ, but we become holy both through such faith and through such divine institutions and orders. Even the ungodly may do holy things but they are not on that account saved. God would have us do such works to His honor and glory, and all those who are saved by such faith in Christ will do these works and observe such order. What has been said concerning the married estate must also be understood of the state of widowhood and of virginity, for these also belong to the household and its conduct, etc. So then if these orders and divine institutions do not save us how much less can the devil's institutions and cloisters do so, which have arisen without God's Word and which contend and rage against the only way of faith?

Thirdly, I believe in the Holy Ghost, Who with the Father and the Son is truly God and Who proceedeth from the Father and the Son eternally; separate in the one Divine Essence and Nature. Through Him, as a living eternal, divine gift and donation, all believers are adorned with faith and other spiritual gifts, are awakened from death, freed from sin, and are made joyful and confident, free and secure in their consciences. For this is our boldness, that we have in our hearts the witness that God is our Father, that our sins are forgiven and that eternal life is granted us.

These are the three Persons and the one God, Who has given Himself to us wholly with all that He is and all that He has. The

Father gives Himself to us, with heaven and earth and all created things, that they may be profitable and of service to us. But this gift was obscured and made fruitless by Adam's fall, and the Son also gave Himself to us, bestowed on us all His works, sufferings, wisdom and righteousness, and reconciled us to the Father, so that, once more alive and righteous, we perceive and possess the Father and His gifts. But such grace would profit no one if it were to remain a hidden secret and could not be imparted to us. So the Holy Ghost also comes and gives Himself completely to us, teaches us the bounty of Christ, makes us perceive and understand it, helps us to receive and keep it, to use it profitably, to administer it and to increase and further its spread among men, and this He does both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly through faith and other spiritual gifts but outwardly through the Gospel, through Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, through which, as through means or instruments He comes to us, applies the sufferings of Christ to us and makes them profitable to salvation.

Therefore I know and maintain that just as there is not more than one Gospel and one Christ, so there is not more than one Baptism, and that it is a divine ordinance as well as the Gospel. Just as the Gospel is not false or erroneous because some misuse it, falsely teach it, or do not believe it, so Baptism is not false or a delusion because some receive it or administer it without faith, or otherwise misuse it. Therefore I utterly reject and condemn the teachings of the Anabaptists and Donatists and all those who rebaptize. In the same way I confess and teach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, that in it the true Body and Blood are orally eaten and drunk in the bread and wine, even if the priests who administer it or those who receive it do not believe or otherwise misuse it, because it does not depend on man's faith or unbelief, but on God's Word and institution. Unless, indeed, they first change God's Word and institution and misinterpret it, like the present day enemies of the Sacrament, who in truth have only bread and wine because they do not have the Word and instituted order of God, but have perverted and altered it according to their own fancies.

In the next place, I believe that there is one Holy Christian Church on earth, which is the communion and total number or congregation of all Christians in the whole world, the one bride of Christ and His spiritual body, over which He is the only head, while the bishops or pastors are neither heads nor lords nor bride-

grooms of the Church, but ministers, and, as is clearly indicated by the word bishop, overseers, stewards and guardians. And this Christendom is not found only under the Romish Church and the pope, but over all the earth as the prophets have predicted that Christ's Gospel should come into all the world. Ps. 2, Ps. 18, so that Christianity is scattered abroad, in a physical way, under the pope, Turks, Persians, Tartars and elsewhere, but it is spiritually gathered together in one Gospel and one faith, under one Head, Jesus Christ. The papacy is truly the real power and tyranny of Antichrist, which sits in the temple of God, ruling with the commandments of men, as was prophesied by Christ, Matt. 26 and by Paul, 11 Thess. 2. While the Turks and all heresies, wherever they are, also share in this abomination, of which it was predicted that it should stand in the holy place, they do not equal the papacy.

In this Christendom, wherever it exists, there is the forgiveness of sins, that is a kingdom of grace and of true indulgence, for in it is the Gospel, Baptism, the Sacrament of the Altar by which the forgiveness of sins is offered, and received, and also Christ and His Spirit and God are there. And outside this Christendom there is no salvation nor forgiveness of sins, but everlasting death and damnation, and even though there be an appearance of great holiness and many good works, it is all vanity. Such forgiveness of sins, however, is not to take place only once, like Baptism, as the Novatians teach, but as often as it is needed, even till the end of life.

On this account I esteem private confession very highly, because here God's word of forgiveness and the absolution is spoken privately and individually to each one, and, as often as he may desire it, each one can find in it such forgiveness, as well as consolation, counsel and guidance. It is very precious and useful for the soul in so far as it is not forced on anyone with laws and commands but is left free so that each one, according to his needs, may use it when and where he wishes, just as he is free to seek counsel and comfort, information and instruction, when and where his need or will requires it. Furthermore there should be no compulsory enumeration or recounting of sins, but only the mention of those which are most burdensome or which anyone wishes to mention, as I have written in my *Betbuechlein*.

The indulgences, however, which the papal church possesses and offers, are a disgraceful deception, not only because it invents and institutes a special forgiveness in place of the common forgiveness

which is given to all Christendom, through the Gospel and the Sacraments, and so dishonors and destroys this common forgiveness, but also because it institutes satisfactions for sin and thus bases it on human works and the merits of the saints, though Christ has made the only possible satisfaction for us and He alone can provide it.

As Scripture mentions nothing about the matter I do not regard it a sin to pray for the dead, as our devotion may direct, either as follows or in some similar fashion: Dear God, If the soul be in such a state that it may be helped, be gracious to it, etc. And when this has been done once or twice let that suffice. For the vigils and masses for souls and annual requiems are useless and the very devil's auction. Neither is there anything in Scripture concerning purgatory and it has been originated by the hobgoblins, so I hold that it is not necessary to believe anything concerning it, even though all things are possible to God and, if He wished, he could rack the souls after they have left the body, but as He has caused nothing to be told or written concerning it He does not wish to have it believed. I know indeed of another sort of purgatory but this is not a subject for teaching in the congregation, nor will pious endowments and vigils avail against it.

Others before me have attacked the invocation of saints and I approve it, and believe that Christ alone is to be invoked as our mediator because this is scriptural and certain. There is nothing in Scripture concerning the invocation of saints, therefore it is uncertain and not to be believed.

I would permit the anointing with oil if it be done according to the Gospel, Mark 6, and James 5, but to make a sacrament out of it is foolishness. Just as it is a good thing to substitute a sermon concerning death and eternal life for the vigils and requiem masses, and, in this spirit, to pray at a funeral, with our own end in mind (as men seem to have done in olden times), so it would be well to go to the sick with prayer and admonition. If, in addition, any desire to anoint them with oil, in God's name, let them be free to do so.

The mass, when it is proclaimed as an offering, or a good work, or when it is sold, I regard as the greatest of all abominations. On this foundation all the cloisters and religious endowments have been established, but, God willing, they shall soon be laid low. While I have been a great and shameful sinner and have wasted my youth miserably my greatest sin lay in the fact that for fifteen years I was such a holy monk and with many masses so abominably an-

gered, tormented and plagued my dear Lord. But thanks and praise be forever to His unspeakable grace that He has delivered me from such abomination and still daily preserves and strengthens me in the true faith.

Accordingly I have advised and still advise men to leave the various institutions and cloisters with all their vows and to enter into the true Christian order, so that they may escape the abomination of the masses and the disgraceful holiness of celibacy, poverty and obedience through which men attempt to become holy. As beautiful as it was to keep a state of virginity, in the early days of Christianity, so abominable has it now become, when it is used as a means of eliciting Christ's help and grace. It is possible to live as a virgin, widow or celibate, without adding these abominations.

Pictures, bells, mass vestments, Altar lights and the like I regard as free. Whoever so desires may retain them. Pictures of scriptural subjects and of edifying histories I regard as useful, though free and unessential, for I disagree with the iconoclasts.

Finally, I believe in the resurrection of the dead, both the good and the evil, at the last day, when each shall receive in his body what he deserves; the righteous eternal life with Christ, and the wicked eternal death with the devil and his angels, for I do not agree with those who teach that finally even the devils will be saved.

This is my faith; so all true Christians believe, and thus we are taught by Holy Scripture. What I have omitted here will be found sufficiently discussed in my other books, especially those I have published during the past four or five years. I ask all devout hearts to be my witnesses and to pray for me that I may continue steadfast in this faith, and in it end my days. If ever (which God forbid) I should profess anything else, under the stress of temptation or in mortal danger, it would not be true and I here publicly declare that it would be false and the work of the devil.

In this steadfastness may my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who is blessed forever, preserve me. Amen.

3. THE IMPERIAL PROPOSITION AT THE DIET OF SPEYER, MARCH 15, 1529

a. *The Genuine Proposition*.³—This the reader will find at the end of the book.

b. *The Spurious Proposition*.⁴

1. Next, your aforesaid Imperial Majesty has not little grief and trouble due to the fact that in the German nation, during your reign, such evil, grave, perilous, and pernicious doctrines and errors in our holy faith have arisen, and are now daily increasing more and more. Not only (though this is the most serious result) are the Christian and laudable laws, customs, and usages of the Church, in consequence, brought into contempt and disgrace, to the reproach and dishonor of God our Maker; but also to that of your Imperial Majesty and the Empire. Worse still, the German nation, its estates, subjects, and allies are by these errors roused and inflamed to grievous and pitiful revolts, tumults, war, misery, and bloodshed; while your Majesty's edicts and mandates, together with the recesses of the Empire, are regarded so lightly, or rather, in so many ways treated with such bold opposition and contempt, that your Majesty is greatly displeased, and not minded (as becomes the Head of Christendom) to tolerate or permit them any longer. 2. Whereas in the Recess recently made at Regensburg [May 28, 1527] . . . it was held that to settle differences and discords . . . there was no better way open than to summon a General Council or, at least, a National Assembly . . . 3. And whereas the relations between your Imperial Majesty and his Holiness the Pope are, by the grace of Almighty God, in such good Christian harmony, that, as your Majesty has received assurance, His Holiness does not refuse to hold the General Council . . . it is your Majesty's gracious offer to urge his Holiness to allow the summoning of such a Council . . . 4. In the meanwhile, it is your Majesty's will, intention, and strict command to every Estate, spiritual and temporal, of higher or lower degree, by the duty which every one owes to your Imperial Majesty and the Holy Empire, at peril of losing his sovereignties, rights, freedoms, grants, and graces, and also of incurring such penalties as are contained in the published edicts, that, until the assembly and the holding of the Council, no one, whether of spiritual or temporal estate, shall, to the detriment of our true Christian faith, use force or violence against ancient usages and customs, or embrace any wrong or strange creed, or at-

tach himself to any new sect, as may until now have happened in some place . . . 7. And whereas an article was included in the Recess of the Diet of Speyer, in 1526 which states that "the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, and their ambassadors unanimously agreed and resolved, that while waiting for the Council, with our subjects, each one would so live, govern, and carry himself, in matters concerning the edict published by his Imperial Majesty at the Diet held at Worms, as he hopes and trusts to answer to God and his Imperial Majesty"; and whereas, from this article, as it has hitherto been understood, expounded, and explained according to their pleasure, by several of the Estates of the Holy Empire, great trouble and misunderstanding has arisen against our holy Christian faith, as also against the Magistrates through the disobedience of their subjects, and much other disadvantage, over which your Imperial Majesty is greatly astonished; and to the end that in the future, this article may not be interpreted by every man according to his pleasure, and that the consequences which in the past have proved so disastrous to our holy faith, may be averted, your Majesty hereby repeals, revokes, and annuls the article contained in the Recess mentioned above, now as then, and then as now, all out of your own Imperial absolute power . . .

4. THE RESOLUTION OF THE MAJORITY AT SPEYER, APRIL 7, 1529⁵

5. Whereas, moreover, the article in question has since by many been drawn and expounded under complete misapprehension, as though it excused all sorts of new doctrines and sects; therefore, in order to cut off such occasion and to avert any further falling away . . . the Electors, Princes, and other Estates have resolved that those who have hitherto held to the aforesaid Imperial Edict of Worms should continue to abide by it till the coming Council and hold their subjects to it. 6. That the other Estates, among whom the other doctrine originated and among whom, in a measure, it cannot be suppressed without considerable tumult, trouble, and danger, shall so far as is humanly possible prevent any further innovation. 7. That especially such doctrines and sects as deny the most worthy sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ's Body and Blood shall under no condition be tolerated by the holy Empire of the German Nation,

nor henceforth be permitted . . . to preach in public; nor shall the celebration of the holy Mass be abolished! nor shall any one, in places where the new doctrine has gained the upper hand, be forbidden to celebrate or to hear Mass, nor be hindered by force from doing so. 9. Furthermore, your Imperial Majesty bids and commands every Estate, spiritual and temporal, by the duty which every one owes to your Imperial Majesty, and on pain of losing every one of his sovereignties, fiefs, liberties, grants, and graces, that, until the assembly and holding of the aforesaid Council, no one, whether of spiritual or temporal Estate shall, by act or deed, in any way use force against another to deprive and despoil him of authority, goods, rents, dues, and customs; and whosoever, shall act contrary to this your Imperial Majesty's commandment, and undertake or attempt anything by force or deed, the same shall by so doing be liable to your Imperial Majesty's displeasure, ban and re-ban, in accordance with the foregoing declaration.

5. THE PROTEST OF THE EVANGELICAL MINORITY AT SPEYER, APRIL 19, 1529⁶

This document the reader will find at the end of the book.

6. THE SECRET AGREEMENT OF SPEYER, APRIL 22, 1529⁷

Articles of agreemeent discussed at a gracious and secret conference which was held today by the Elector of Saxony and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse and also the aforementioned three cities of Strassburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, for the purpose of arriving at a definite understanding. These articles are to be further discussed at a future conference and adopted, if it please God.

First, it is agreed that the right honorable Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse and also the aforementioned three cities shall send their representatives to Rotach, where on the Sunday after Erasmus, the sixth of June next ensuing, the articles here set forth are to be discussed and, so far as possible, adopted. If, however, on that day no definite conclusions can be agreed upon, a summary shall be prepared, copied, and sent to all the participants by a date to be named therein.

Furthermore, since matters everywhere and especially at the present Diet have taken such a turn that it has become highly doubtful

that peace and unity in the Empire will be furthered, therefore at the above mentioned meeting the problem shall be discussed how and in what form in case of emergency, which God may graciously prevent, the one shall offer help and assistance to any or all of the others if, on account of the divine Word, they should be attacked, violated, or molested; namely in the following two ways:

In the event that the opposing party suddenly and unexpectedly attacks or invades the territory of the Elector, or the Landgrave, or both, then the cities, at their own expense, shall furnish the Elector and the Landgrave with . . . armed soldiers who may be used for defensive purposes as is necessary in the judgment of the assembled councillors.

Similarly, if one or more of the above mentioned cities are attacked, then the said Elector and Landgrave shall, at their expense, furnish . . . mounted horsemen to be employed in the defense of the cities as noted above.

And if it should happen that because of some obstacle the horsemen or the soldiers are prevented from arriving at the place or the places where they are needed, then those who were in duty bound to offer military assistance, shall in lieu thereof send and supply part of the money needed to hire soldiers.

If, however, the opposing party, with all its forces, should attack the above mentioned Elector, Prince, and cities (whether one or more), then the others of our party who are not liable to invasion, shall march up with their own full strength, together with any others whom they might succeed in enlisting, for the purpose of relieving and defending their allies; or they may, if it seems the most expedient course of action, try to dissuade those who are at the point of taking part in a war against any of our allies.

Furthermore it is agreed that the Elector, the Landgrave, and the cities shall exercise continued care in observing the trend of affairs and inform one another without delay whenever they have made a pertinent discovery; they shall also, if need be, name a date and a place for a conference where further deliberations may be conducted to the end that, with the help of divine grace, all adverse events may be forestalled and our affairs take a favorable course.

The possibility is also to be considered that the opposing party might pretend that they are not engaging in war because of the Word of God but for some other reason (for instance, because of the expedition made last year by the above mentioned Elector and Prince

or possibly because of alleged disobedience); or that they adduce new causes for war while in reality it appears that these alleged causes are mere pretexts and that the real cause of war is their hostility against the Word of God; in such case, the parties here contracting shall send representatives to a conference where this problem may be further discussed and a definite decision made.

It was furthermore decided that if on account of the above mentioned expedition, or the inconsistent decree of this present Diet, or the like, an attack should be made upon any of our party by the League of Swabia, or by the Imperial Government, or by the Supreme Court, in such event the highly esteemed Elector and the Prince and also the cities shall adhere to this agreement and support the one attacked with counsel, help, and assistance.

It is furthermore agreed in the event that definite steps, aiming at the execution of the Imperial ban, should be taken by the Government or the Supreme Court against the above mentioned Elector, Prince, or cities on account of the said expedition or the inconsistent decree of this present Diet—and it is quite possible that our enemies who do not want to see peace established, will . . . commence to molest and attack the Elector or the Prince or the cities or all of them—if this should take place, the other signers of this agreement shall regard the matter as their very own; they shall no less resolutely proceed against those who attack any of our party and those who assist, aid, or abet our enemies than if they themselves were being attacked; in case of necessity they shall even organize expeditions scouring the countryside and punishing all such as give aid or comfort to the enemies; additional stipulations pertaining to this subject may be made at a future date.

It is further understood that no one joining this union shall be prohibited from enlisting the help of his esteemed friends and others. But if some one wishes to enter into this present secret union, it shall be necessary to discuss the details of such application at a future date so that the said Elector, Prince, and cities may be fully informed.

Saxony and Hesse, for numerous reasons, shall make diligent efforts to induce Margrave George of Brandenburg to enter this union and to send representatives to Rotach.

Although it is hoped that no emergency will arise between now and the day appointed, nevertheless, because the future is very uncertain, it is herewith agreed that if between now and the ap-

pointed date any members of our party should be molested or attacked, the members so attacked shall inform the other members of this union in the confident assurance of seeking and obtaining the same help and comfort from them which they themselves would offer if the case were reversed, in harmony with the spirit of this agreement.

It is likewise agreed that this Christian, secret union shall be in force for six years, beginning at the time of its definite acceptance, and that at the end of the fifth year a conference shall be held in reference to the further continued existence of this union. If, however, an action begun during the six-year period has not been settled before the expiration of this agreement, it is understood that the members of this union will continue to live up to the stipulations of this agreement regardless of its actual expiration until the matter has been settled.

If the Elector, the Landgrave, or any of the above mentioned cities should be prevented from sending representatives to the conference, and if therefore the date must be changed and postponed, notice shall be given to the authorities of Nuremberg, who in turn shall at once inform the others.

Finally, these present articles have, in good faith and mutual confidence, been put into writing in haste, in order that the esteemed Princes of Saxony and Hesse may have further time to consider these matters, and also in order that the representatives of the said three cities have the opportunity of presenting them to their friends at home, to the end that every one concerned may fully inform those whom he may intend to send to the conference at Rotach. If either the Elector, or the Landgrave, or any of the cities should in the meantime decide that this Christian and secret agreement should be supplemented by additional articles, or if they think that the one or the other article here adopted should be omitted or amended, they are herewith given the right to advocate such changes at the appointed meeting—everything to be done in good faith and without much ado.—Done, Thursday after Jubilate [April 22], 1529.

7. INSTRUCTION TO HANS VON MINCKWITZ FOR THE CONFERENCE AT ROTACH, JUNE, 1529^s

Our counselor and beloved faithful knight Hans von Minckwitz, when he has arrived at Rotach, shall pay special attention to any endeavors of the representatives of Nuremberg to speak to him, prior to the conference itself, concerning those matters for which the Rotach conference has been arranged; it may be that their authorities in the meantime have given more thought to these problems and that they have found it inopportune to enter into an alliance with those who accept Zwinglian views of the sacrament. If, on account of the divine Word and faith, they should have misgivings on this point, because in that case they would, contrary to their conscience, tacitly admit that the Zwinglian views were well-founded in the divine Word and in the faith, [he shall assure them] that they will receive aid and comfort, for numerous appropriate reasons as secretly set forth by some of our theologians and found in detail in Doctor Luther's writings.

If the Nuremberg representatives approach him in this manner, Hans shall diligently seek to discover what the ultimate purpose of Nuremberg is, and find out whether the representatives have been instructed not to ratify the agreement at all or whether they have been ordered to bargain for more convenient terms. In the event that Hans observes such apprehensions on their part, he may secretly inform them that we ourselves have had similar misgivings and doubts since the last Diet at Speyer. And inasmuch as the purpose of our action at Speyer was that we all might abide with God and His salutary Word and Gospel, therefore it is certainly not our intention or inclination that we, out of human fear or anxiety, in pretence, strike a bargain which might be contrary to God and our conscience. But he should try to influence them (because the other cities have sent delegations) so that the agreement may either be accepted now or postponed and quietly settled at a later date. Therefore, if the Nurembergers know more convenient ways of transacting this business, Hans shall willingly hear them and inform them of our own thoughts in the matter, and they may decide whether the representatives of the Landgrave should likewise be taken into confidence or not.

For we think it expedient, for many reasons, that at this time the matter be left in abeyance.

And inasmuch as the other cities have received no message of revocation and will therefore send delegates to Rotach in conformity with our agreement at Speyer, therefore we do not deem it advisable that we on our part urge them at Rotach further to discuss the provisional articles of the agreement made at Speyer, and that we at the same time indicate that we are not in favor of it; possibly the representatives of Nuremberg, who are best acquainted with the other cities as their friends, know a way of annulling the agreement.

And we should be pleased if, on the one hand, the articles of this equable agreement would be discussed there and a summary made showing how it is to be applied; and if, on the other hand, no definitely binding compact would be concluded and if the agreement would be made to refer the matter to the respective governments which will either accept or reject it between then and Batholomew's Day. This would be quite in harmony with the first article of the agreement of Speyer which declares that if no definite conclusions be formed at Rotach, a summary should be made and reported to the participants.

Among other reasons for this course of action the following may be mentioned. First, although we have written to our cousin, Duke Ernest of Luneburg, asking him to send representatives to this meeting, he has, on account of the shortness of time, been unable to do so; and for his sake final action should not as yet be taken.

Second, we have sent our chancellor and several other privy-councillors to enlist Margrave George in this cause, as was agreed at Speyer; but His Highness did not wish to enter definitely into our union. But we thought that His Highness could be persuaded more easily to join our cause if the articles were everywhere fully discussed before they are definitely and unalterably adopted, and if his highness were secretly informed as fully as necessary of the progress of our negotiations.

If the Margrave sends his representatives to the conference and if the question is raised whether the Zwinglians should be admitted to this union or not, Hans shall discuss the matter with the representatives of Nuremberg, and if it seems best not to speak about this matter to the representatives of the Margrave, he shall for the

sake of the Duke of Luneburg and for other reasons see to it that this matter be left in abeyance.

For if it pleases God that the theologians have a conference on St. James' Day [July 25] concerning the disputed doctrine and the Zwinglians permit themselves to be instructed, then the agreement will cause no inconvenience; but if not—and we hear that our theologians regard it as a futile undertaking—, then this whole agreement might easily be postponed and possibly canceled forever, something which now cannot be done so easily if the representatives of the cities arrive and the meeting has not been countermanded.

Likewise this agreement could afterward be discussed with our theologians as to whether we can, without troubling our consciences, enter such an agreement as is planned.

[If the above instructions are carried out it shall be agreed that the treaty becomes binding only (1) if a member of the union is attacked "on account of the faith and for those matters which pertain to, or may follow from, the articles to be adopted at a future council," (2) if such attack proceeds from someone who is not a superior, (3) that is to say, only in the case of defense. Every participant is expected to communicate to the others any information that may come to him. Hans shall take along the agreement of Magdeburg.]

8. SCHWABACH ARTICLES, SUMMER, 1529

Article I. It is positively and unanimously [with great consent] taught that there is but one only true God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth; so that in the one, true divine essence, there are three distinct persons, namely, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. That the Son begotten of the Father from eternity to eternity, is with the Father, truly and by nature God; and the Holy Ghost, both of the Father and Son, is, with the Father and Son, truly by nature God, as all this can be clearly and effectually proved by Scripture, as John 1:1, 2: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by Him." Matthew 28:19: "Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; and other similar passages, especially in the Gospel of John.

Article II. That God's only Son became true man, having

been conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the pure virgin Mary, complete in body and soul; and that not the Father or the Holy Ghost became man, as the Patripassian heretics have taught; also that the Son did not assume the body alone without the soul, as the Photinians have erroneously taught. For He Himself in the Gospel, very often speaks of His soul, as when He says: "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death" (Matthew 26:38). But that God the Son became man is manifest from John 1:14: "And the Word became flesh," etc., and Gal. 4:4: "When the fulness of the time was come," etc.

Article III. That this Son of God, true God and man, Jesus Christ, is one, indivisible person, who for us men suffered, was crucified, died, was buried, on the third day arose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God, Lord over all creatures. So that no man can or should believe or teach that Jesus Christ has suffered for us [only *Latin*] as man or in His human nature; but because God and man are not here two persons, but an indivisible person, we should hold and teach that God and man, or God's Son, truly suffered for us; as Paul says, Rom. 8:32: "God spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all." 1 Cor. 2:8: "Had they known it," etc., and more passages to the same effect.

ARTICLE IV. That original sin is properly and truly sin, and not only a weakness or defect, but such a sin as would condemn and eternally separate from God all men who come of Adam, if Jesus Christ had not interceded for us, and assumed this sin, together with all sins which proceed from it, and by His suffering made satisfaction for it, and thus entirely abolished and blotted it out in Himself; as in Ps. 50 and Rom. 5 it is clearly written concerning this sin.

Article V. Since, therefore, all men are sinners, subject to sin, and to death, besides to the devil, it is impossible that a man from his own strength, or by his good works, deliver himself thence, so that he may become again righteous or godly; yea, he cannot even prepare or dispose himself for righteousness, but the more he attempts to deliver himself, the worse it is for him. But that the only way to righteousness and to deliverance from sin and death is, if without all merits or works, we believe in the Son of God, who suffered for us, etc. As it is said, this faith is our righteousness; for God reckons and regards as righteous, godly and holy, and pre-

sents with the forgiveness of sin and life everlasting, all those who have this faith in His Son: that, for His Son's sake, they are received into grace, and are His children in His kingdom; as St. Paul and St. John in their writings richly teach us, Rom. 10:10: "With the heart man believeth," John 3:15: That all who believe in the Son, should not perish, but have eternal life."

Article VI. That this faith is not a human work, nor, of our own powers, possible, but it is a work and gift of God, which the Holy Ghost, given through Christ, works in us; and this faith, since it is not a spurious fancy or presumption of the heart, as the heterodox regard it, but an efficacious, new and living thing, produces much fruit, is always doing what is good; towards God, by praise, thanksgiving, prayer, preaching and teaching, and towards neighbors by love, serving, aiding, counselling, giving and lending and by suffering every sort of evil, even unto death, etc.

Article VII. To obtain this faith, or to bestow it upon us men. God has instituted the ministry, or the oral word, viz., the Gospel, by which He causes this faith and its power, use and fruit to be proclaimed, and through the same, as a means, bestows faith by His Holy Spirit, as and where He will; other than this there is no means, mode or way to receive faith. For thoughts outside of or before the oral word, however holy and good they appear, are nevertheless nothing but lies and error.

Article VIII. With and besides this oral word, God has also instituted external signs, which are called sacraments, viz., Baptism and the Eucharist, through which, besides the Word, God offers and gives also faith and His Spirit, and strengthens all who desire [Lat. fleeing to] Him.

Article IX. That Baptism, the first sign or sacrament, consists of two parts, namely water and the Word of God, or that men should be baptized with water, and God's Word be spoken. Nor is it mere ordinary water, or pouring (as the blasphemers of Baptism, at the present day, teach); but because God's Word is with it, and it is founded upon God's Word, it is a holy, living, efficacious thing, and as Paul says, Tit. 3:5 and Eph. 5:26, "a washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Ghost." etc., and that this Baptism should also be extended and administered to children. Moreover, God's words upon which it is founded, are these: "Go ye, baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," Matt.

28:19; and Mark 16:16: "He that believeth," etc. Hence men must believe.

Article X. The Eucharist or Sacrament of the Altar also consists of two parts, viz., that there is truly present in the bread and in the wine, the true Body and Blood of Christ, according to the sound of the words: "This is my body, this is my blood;" and that it is not only bread and wine, as even now the other side asserts. These words require and also convey faith, and also exercise it in all those who desire this sacrament, and do not act against it; just as Baptism also brings and gives faith, if it be desired.

Article XI. That Private Confession should not be enforced by laws, just as Baptism, the Sacrament, the Gospel should not be forced, but be free; nevertheless that we should know how very consolatory and salutary, useful and good it is to consciences distressed or in error, because therein absolution—i.e., God's Word and judgment—is pronounced, whereby the conscience is freed from its sorrow and pacified; also that it is not necessary to enumerate all sins; but those may be indicated which torment and agitate the heart.

Article XII. That there is no doubt that there is and remains upon earth until the end of the world a holy Christian church, as Christ declares, Matt. 28:20: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." This church is nothing else than believers in Christ, who hold, believe and teach the above-mentioned articles and parts, and for this suffer persecution and martyrdom in the world; for where the Gospel is preached and the Sacraments used aright, is the holy Christian church, and it is not bound by laws and outward pomp, to place and time, to persons and ceremonies.

Article XIII. That the Lord Jesus Christ will come at the last day to judge the quick and the dead, and to deliver those who believe in Him from all evil, and bring them to everlasting life; and to punish the unbelieving and godless, and to condemn them eternally, with the devil, in Hell.

Article XIV. That in the meantime, until the Lord come to judgment, and will do away with all power and rule, we should honor worldly magistrates and rulers, and be obedient to them, as to an estate ordained by God to defend the godly, and restrain the wicked. That a Christian who is regularly called thereto undoubtedly may administer such an estate, or attend upon it without injury and peril to his faith and his soul's salvation, Rom. 13; 1 Pet. 2.

Article XV. From all this it follows that the doctrine which prohibits marriage and ordinary food and drink to priests, together with monastic life and vows of every kind (because thereby grace and the salvation of the soul are sought for and intended and not left free), are nothing but damnable doctrines of devils, as St. Paul 1 Tim. 4:2, 3 calls them, since Christ alone is the only way to grace and the salvation of the soul.

Article XVI. That before all abominations, the mass, which has hitherto been regarded an offering or good work, by which grace was to be obtained by one for another, is abolished; but instead of this mass, the divine ordinance should be observed, to distribute the holy sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ in both forms to every one for his faith, and according to his own necessity.

Article XVII. That the ceremonies of the Church, which conflict with God's Word, are also abolished, but the rest are left free to be used or not, according to love, in order that offence may not without cause and thoughtlessly be given, or the common peace be unnecessarily disturbed, etc.

9. LUTHER'S STAND AT MÄRBURG, OCTOBER, 1529

a. *Luther's Declaration on the Evening of October 3, 1529.*¹⁰ According to Oecolampadius' report Luther said: "We confess that by virtue of the words, 'This is my body. This is my blood,' the body and the blood of Christ are truly, (*hoc est*) *substantive et essentialiter, non autem quantitative vel qualitative vel localiter*, present and distributed in the holy supper. Now inasmuch as until now we were of the opinion that our dear sirs and brethren, Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, and their adherents totally rejected the true presence of the body and the blood, but in this friendly colloquy have found it to be otherwise, therefore we herewith declare and state that the *argumenta* and reasons found in our books concerning the sacrament are not directed against Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, and their adherents but against those who totally reject the presence of the body in the supper.

b. *The Marburg Articles, October 4, 1529.*¹¹ *First.* That we on both sides unanimously believe and hold that there is but one only true natural God, the Creator of all creatures, and this God is one in essence and nature, and triune in person, namely Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as it was decreed in the Council of

Nicaea, and is sung and read in the Nicene Creed by the entire Christian Church in the world.—*Secondly*, We believe that not the Father, nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son of God the Father, God by nature became man by the working of the Holy Ghost, without the agency of virile seed; being born bodily of the pure virgin Mary, complete in body and soul, as another man; without all sin.—*Thirdly*, That this Son of God and Mary, an indivisible person, Jesus Christ, for us was crucified, died, was buried, arose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God, Lord over all creatures, and will come to judge the quick and the dead.—*Fourthly*. We believe that original sin is innate and inherited from Adam, and is such a sin as to condemn all men; and if Jesus Christ had not come to our help by His death and life, we must on that account have died eternally, and could not have entered God's kingdom and salvation.—*Fifthly*. We believe that we are delivered from this sin, and all other sins, as well as from eternal death, if we believe in this Son of God, Jesus Christ, who died for us, and that without this faith we cannot be delivered from any sins by any works, station or order whatever.—*Sixthly*. That this faith is a gift of God which we can acquire by no preceding works or merit, nor obtain of our own powers, but the Holy Ghost gives and furnishes it as He will, to our hearts, when we hearken to the Gospel or word of Christ.—*Seventhly*. That this faith is our righteousness before God, since on account of this, God reckons and regards us righteous, godly and holy, without all works and merit, and thereby delivers us from sin, death, hell, receives us into grace and saves us, for the sake of His Son, in whom we accordingly believe, and thereby enjoy and partake of the righteousness, life and all possessions of His Son. Therefore all monastic life, and vows as necessary to salvation, are altogether condemned.—*Of the External Word. Eighthly*, That the Holy Ghost, to speak in proper order, gives this faith or His gift to no one, without preaching, or the oral word or the Gospel of Christ preceding, but, by and with this oral Word, works and furnishes faith, as and in whom He will, Rom. 10:17.—*Of Baptism. Ninthly*, That Holy Baptism is a sacrament, that has been instituted of God for this faith, and because God's command: "Go ye, baptize," Matt. 28:19, and God's promise: "He that believeth," Matt. 16:16, is therein, it is not a mere empty sign or symbol among Christians, but a sign and work of God, wherein our faith is required through which we are regener-

ated.—*Tenthly*, That by the efficacy of the Holy Ghost this faith, if we are thereby reckoned and become righteous and holy, exercises good works through us, namely, love towards one's neighbor, prayer to God, and suffering all persecution.—*Of Confession. Eleventhly*, That confession, or the seeking of counsel from one's pastor or neighbor, should indeed be unconstrained and free, but nevertheless is very useful to consciences distressed, troubled, or burdened with sins, or fallen into error, especially on account of the absolution, or consolation of the Gospel, which is the true absolution.—*Of the Magistracy. Twelfthly*. That all magistrates and worldly laws, courts and regulations, as they are, are a truly good estate, and are not forbidden, as some Papists and Anabaptists teach and hold. On the contrary, that a Christian who is called or born thereto, can certainly be saved through faith in Christ, just as in the estate of father and mother, husband and wife.—*Thirteenth*, That provided they do not conflict with God's Word, what are called traditions, or human regulations in spiritual or ecclesiastical matters, may be regarded or left free, according to the people with whom we have to do, in order in every way to avoid unnecessary offence, and to promote peace. Also that the doctrine which prohibits the marriage of priests is a doctrine of the devil, 1 Tim. 4:1, 2.—*Fourteenth*, That the baptism of children is right, and that they are thereby received into God's grace and Christendom.—*Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Fifteenth*. We all believe and hold concerning the Supper of our dear Lord Jesus Christ. that both forms should be used according to the institution; also that the mass is not a work, whereby one obtains grace for another, dead and living; also that the sacrament of the altar is a sacrament of the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and that the spiritual partaking of this Body and Blood is specially necessary to every true Christian. In like manner, as to the use of the sacrament, that like the Word of God Almighty, it has been given and ordained, in order that weak consciences might be excited by the Holy Ghost to faith and love.

And although we are not at this time agreed, as to whether the true Body and Blood of Christ are bodily present in the bread and wine, nevertheless the one party should show to the other Christian love, so far as conscience can permit, and both should fervently pray God Almighty, that, by His Spirit, He would confirm us in the true understanding.

Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Andrew Osiander, John Brentius, Stephan Agricola, John Oecolampadius, Ulric Zwingli, Martin Bucer, Caspar Hedio.

10. THE RECESS OF SCHWABACH, OCTOBER 16, 1529¹²

WHEREAS the counsellors of the worshipful and most worshipful, highborn, gracious and most gracious Princes and Lords, John, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, etc., George, Margrave of Brandenburg, etc., and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, etc., and the representatives of the city councils of the honorable, free and imperial cities of Strassburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm have convened here at Schwabach for the purpose of taking further and final action with reference to a secret agreement and alliance concerning which a preliminary understanding was reached at the Rotach conference; and WHEREAS only two of the above mentioned gracious and most gracious Lords, namely the Elector of Saxony and Margrave George of Brandenburg—in the conviction that said agreement pertains only to the question of how they may assist, succor, and help one another in keeping the one and only saving Word of God and a genuine, truly Christian faith and all that this implies in case one or more of the above mentioned Elector, Princes, or Estates should on account of the Word of God, the holy Gospel, our faith, or anything that is connected therewith, be unlawfully attacked, invaded, violated, or molested—have ordered their counsellors to formulate and present at this conference several articles of our holy religion which the members of this alliance should confess both individually and collectively, with the intention of arriving at an agreement on these points with the other above mentioned Estates, to the end that in the future all errors concerning the Word of God and our holy religion may be avoided; but WHEREAS the representatives of said honorable, free and imperial cities of Strassburg and Ulm (whose magistrates had not been informed of said summary of our religion) did not have instructions concerning the same and felt unauthorized to agree to these articles without their magistrates' and friends' knowledge and without orders from the same:

Therefore the counsellors of said Elector and Princes and the representatives of the honorable, free, and imperial cities, in view of the fact that the above mentioned alliance should rest solely on the

agreement in our holy faith and in view of the imperative necessity of properly accepting these articles, have, for the time being, taken the following friendly and secret RECESS, to wit, THAT all representatives report to their respective superiors (without binding them as yet) what they have heard in regard to this matter; and, THAT all superiors send their counsellors and representatives to convene at Smalcald on the evening of December 15 next, that is the Wednesday after Lucia's Day, where, God willing, further profitable and necessary negotiations concerning the controversial articles and any others shall be conducted with a view toward establishing the proposed secret alliance.—Furthermore, like at the recent Rotach conference, the above mentioned counsellors and representatives have unanimously deemed it salutary and necessary that in case between today and the proposed date of meeting one or more of the Estates here represented should be attacked, violated, or molested on account of those matters which are mentioned in the agreement of Rotach, the party or parties so attacked shall inform the other members of this alliance and seek their comfort, counsel, and assistance in the firm assurance (for that is the purpose of our action) of obtaining from their faithful and sincere allies the same help that they themselves would offer if the case were reversed.

WHEREAS, moreover, it seems necessary and salutary from every point of view to keep this matter, especially the fact that no definite action has been taken and that no union has been formed as yet, positively secret in order that our adversaries may not hear of it and attempt to divide these Christian Estates or employ other tactics in trying to frustrate our union or at least rejoice because of the delay:—Therefore this transaction and this recess shall be kept most secret, and every party to this agreement shall in every way act as though the above mentioned Elector, Princes, and Estates were in all matters most perfectly, definitely, and absolutely united.

In witness whereof, this recess, made in six copies, has been signed by all representatives, one of each party receiving one copy. Done at Schwabach, Tuesday after St. Luke's Day, 1529.—Hans von Minckwitz, Knight, Georg Vogler, Chancellor, Wolf Christoph von Wiesentau, Sigmund von Boynebrockh, Mathis Pfarnier, Christoph Fress, Ber Bessrer.

11. BUCER'S CRITIQUE OF THE SCHWABACH ARTICLES, NOVEMBER, 1529¹³

Since our faith must rest solely on the one trustworthy Word of God, which human reason can never sufficiently comprehend nor expound, it will be urgently necessary if permanent unity in the true faith in Christ is desired, that it be accomplished on the basis of and by means of the true divine Scripture and not by means of man-made laws. For wherever the latter has been attempted in times past, it has resulted in great dissension because the one party would suspect that the other was seeking to further its own selfish ends instead of the glory of God. But whenever all parties clung to the pure Word of the Bible which, as Paul says, profitably teaches all things whereby the man of God may be made wise unto salvation and perfect, then true and God-pleasing peace has been established.

Therefore, although some of these articles if properly understood might be accepted, yet, since we are to have faith in God and since human changeableness is very fertile soil for evil, it would be advisable wherever possible to clothe the articles in biblical words and to set them forth in the clearest and most concise manner. This would be markedly conducive to genuine heartfelt unity; everyone could plainly see that he is truly and solely united with the one Christ, and no windows would be open for errors to creep in. For he who will not be governed by the Word of God, will be governed still less by human words, for we see every day that there is nothing built so solidly as to prevent one from digging a hole through it.

I personally could accept all these articles as they stand, and would even be able to defend myself with their very words in all the points where we disagree with those men themselves who framed the articles. But in matters of religion we should act with clarity, simplicity, and singlemindedness. Therefore I am of the opinion that the articles should be formulated as follows:

The First Article. First, concerning the one eternal God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost it is believed, preached, and taught exactly as the divine Scriptures declare, which diversely speak now of God, His Word, and His Spirit, and now of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or Paraclete, that is, defender, leader, and guide of the church, but at the same time plainly and clearly testify that our God is one, Deut. 6; John 1; Matt. [4 ?]. Doctor Luther thinks that the word "*trinitas*" should not be used; others may object to the word "*persona*"

because the ordinary man—to the offense of the Jews and all others who have not yet joined our religion—uses the word “person” in the ordinary sense and speaks of the three Persons as though they were three separate beings (an error which is suggested also by the word, “trinity”). It is also known how many quarrels have arisen over the “*processionibus*” and “*notionibus*” [or “*racionibus*”?] which are not mentioned in the Scriptures at all. Now it would be proper to speak of such a high and incomprehensible mystery in the clearest, that is, most scriptural manner; this would also be the best way of preventing godless quarrels.

The Second Article. Second, it is believed and taught that the eternal Word of God has truly become man, that is, true God and true man, so that our only Lord Jesus Christ is true God and man; but that the divine and human natures are unmixed, for God cannot come to nor of [men?]; also without all sin for which reason His worthy mother Mary had to conceive not of man but of the Holy Ghost, John 1, Matthew 1. It would be better in such simple manner to set forth the truth according to the Scriptures than to mention again all kinds of errors and heresies which are more or less unknown. We see that the devil can raise a quarrel where nobody ever thought of it.

The Third Article. Third, it is believed and taught that our Lord Jesus who has suffered and died for us, is true God and man, and ever since His incarnation has remained and will remain true God and man. But as St. Paul writes to the Romans concerning Christ, “Who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh,” so one should also say that He has **suffered according to the flesh** that is, His humanity and not according to His divinity. Thus the faithful have at all times spoken and written of this mystery. If one accepts this meaning and no other, then no one needs to be restrained from using the expressions, “Christ has suffered as man”, or “The human nature has suffered,” for the saints have used the same terms without falling into error. Our faith holds that the two natures were so united in the one person that they were never separated after the incarnation of Christ; nevertheless the divine nature has its properties and the human nature has its properties, just as body and soul constitute the one person of a man.

D. Luther has written the following on this matter in [his sermon on] the epistle for the high mass of Christmas Day: *Verba Lutheri in postilla*. “Returning now to Christ, it must be firmly believed that

Christ is true God and true man. Sometimes the Bible, and He Himself, speaks [of Him] as though He were a mere man, sometimes as though He were only God; for instance, when He says, John 8, "Before Abraham was, I am," this is a statement concerning the divinity; but when He says, Matthew 22 [should be 20], to James and John, "It is not mine to give you to sit on my right hand or on my left," this statement is made concerning His humanity; just as His human nature could not help itself on the cross—notwithstanding all the dexterous endeavors put forth by some teachers to meet the heretics by means of their obscure interpretations of this text. Thus also it is the man Christ of whom He says, "The Father is greater than I." John 4; likewise Matthew 23, "How often would I have gathered thy children even as a hen gathereth her children under her wings, etc."; also Mark 13, "Of that day knoweth no man, not the angels neither the Son but the Father alone;" the interpretation, "The Son does not know it, that is to say, He will not tell it," is entirely gratuitous. The human nature of Christ, like any other saintly natural man, did not at all times think, speak, will, cause all things, as is the opinion of some who make Him a sort of omnipotent man and foolishly mix the two natures and their works. Just as He has not at all times seen, heard, felt all things, so He has not in His heart seen them at all times but only as God led Him and provided for Him. He was full of grace and truth so that He could discern and interpret all that happened to Him because the divine nature, which alone sees and knows all things, was personally present in Him. Finally, everything that is said of Christ's humiliation and exaltation must be attributed to His human nature, for the divine nature can be neither humiliated nor exalted."

To return to our own opinion. As D. Luther now in this article condemns the mode of treating of this matter which he himself formerly employed, which he, moreover, employed in the book that he calls his very best—although he has not changed his opinion and still confesses that much is attributed to Christ according to His human nature which could not be attributed to Him according to His divine nature, yet at the present time he thinks that by putting a stop to such expressions he can vanquish those errorists who really do not exist at all but who in his opinion would separate the divinity and the humanity in Christ from their personal unity, and he acts wickedly in attempting to throw the suspicion of such a terrible error upon his adversaries—so at a later time another supposed or real error might

be committed on account of which he might condemn his present treatment of the matter. Under such circumstances, how could this matter ever be properly be settled? Obviously the safest way is to use only scriptural words as long as it is desired to establish such an important union.

The Fourth Article. Fourth, it is believed and taught that all men are conceived and born in sin and are therefore from their birth under the wrath of God to such a degree that no man who has not been freed and purified by the Spirit of Christ, can be fore-ordained from eternity. Hence this inherited sin should be called defect, blemish, and debility, for no man can be saved who is lacking or wanting in any respect or who fails to live a right life. So formulated the article would sound more kindly, for, in the proposed form, it attempts to cast upon Zwingli the suspicion as though—when he declares that original sin is a defect rather than a sin, and that *peccatum*, or sin, properly speaking, is an act voluntarily committed or omitted contrary to God's law, and when he expresses the belief that all who have not themselves committed sin and have entered into the congregation of God, as the children of the Christians, are not condemned—he wanted to teach that original sin does not condemn whereas he has diligently in many instances expressed the opposite view and [declared that one may] only for the sake of the blood of Christ hope that all children of Christians who die in their childhood will be saved. To prove this view he adduces this [word] of Paul, that through Christ all those things are restored which through Adam were corrupted; this is clearly set forth in his book which he has written *ad Urbanum Regium* about this subject! If it is desired to establish peace and unity, slander and backbiting of Christians should be avoided. Moreover, many holy *patres* call original sin “*morbus*.” Why should one now condemn an expression which is correct and inoffensive? We have reliable information that Osiander and others claim that Zwingli has retracted his erroneous views *de peccato originali* and four other points, errors which he never did entertain, and that they employ this fiction as proof of their contention that all our views are wrong. Such human and foolish tactics should certainly not be used in a Christian transaction.

The Fifth Article. This article is Christian throughout with the one exception that from the terminology one might conclude that God reckons us, if we believe, as godly and holy, but that we need not become such godly persons. Although this is not, as we know and

as the following article shows, the opinion of those who set forth this article, yet in order to meet those who ascribe such a view to us, an addition should be made to this article, as follows: Paul, in Romans 8, writes in this manner, "To them He also gives His Spirit who forever strives against the flesh and would conform them to the image of the first born, our Lord Jesus, and who does not cease until He has made their minds and lives to correspond wholly to the divine law (from which neither jot nor tittle shall pass away), just as this same Spirit will revive their bodies and conform them to the glorified body of Christ"—this may be added to the fifth article where the sign is placed. [The sign, a cross, is found in the Ulm copy of the Schwabach Articles after the words, "the worse it is for him," in Article Five.] And at the end [add] Romans 8, "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His; and if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin but the spirit is life because of righteousness, etc." Also, "Whom He did foreknow He also did foreordain to be conformed to the image of His son." Also, Galatians 5, "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace."

The Sixth Article. In the sixth article it is unscriptural to say that we are doing good towards God by praise, thanksgiving, prayer, preaching etc. To do good, according to the Scriptures, means to be helpful to men, and that is done by teaching, preaching, giving spiritual counsel, and then especially also by offering help in bodily need. Giving thanks and praise is not doing good as D. Luther himself teaches in many places. Therefore we should write as follows: If our faith is true and living, it brings forth love of God and of the neighbor, which in turn produces everything pertaining to a godly life, thanksgiving, praise, etc.

The Seventh Article. It is believed and taught that, to bring men to such faith and to preserve them therein, God has instituted the office and work of preaching or teaching, in which He would use us as His co-workers, but in this manner that neither he that planteth nor he that watereth is any thing but God that giveth the increase, as Paul writes, "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing," 2 Cor. 3. And this is the common, ordinary way of attaining to faith and every good thing; and he who despises this, will not receive the Spirit of God. But this does not mean that the omnipotence of God is restricted in any way; God can teach His own without the external word as offered by men; as He did in the case of Abraham, Moses, and many saints and will do, we sincerely hope, in the case of

little children who depart this life before they have been taught by men. This would be scriptural teaching. To say that God bestows faith by the means of the external word, sounds as though the grace of God and the Spirit were bound to external things. And though such expressions if properly understood may be tolerated, it is safer to exercise the most acute discrimination in order that we seek faith, the Spirit, and all that is good alone from God. That is the reason why Paul, having written that the Corinthians had come to faith through him and Apollos, at once explains the statement by writing, "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth any thing neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase," 1 Cor. 3. He says the same in 2 Cor. 3. Experience teaches that it is easy to ascribe undue credit to ourselves; nor is it necessary in this or in similar manner to safeguard the office and work of the ministry over against the Anabaptists and others. For he who is not led by God's ordinance in those things which are praised by Paul, will be persuaded still less by this manner of speech; yea, he would therein find occasion to defend his quarrelsomeness because too much importance is ascribed to the external word. If, furthermore, the article states, "Other than this there is no means, mode, or way to confess [should be, receive] faith," this is an encroachment on the power of God and the opposite of what appears from [the lives of] many saints. Therefore also what follows, viz., "For thoughts outside of or before the oral word, however holy and good they appear, are nevertheless nothing but lies and error," should be more moderately expressed, viz., "For all thoughts outside of the oral word, unless specially inspired by the Holy Spirit, are nothing but lies and error; and everything that claims to have been given by the Spirit is to be judged according to the Scriptures and to be rejected if found incongruous."

The Eighth Article. Eighth, it shall be taught and held that God for the furtherance of faith and Christian living has instituted two sacraments, viz., Baptism and the Eucharist, for by and in them the redemption of Christ is being represented and announced, according to the word used in both of them. For by asserting that God through such sacraments offers and gives His Spirit and strengthens [our faith], too much significance is attached to such works; many are baptized and fed with the bread of Christ who neither believe nor ever receive the Spirit. For whoever comes to Baptism and the Supper without having received the Spirit and faith—no one can be-

lieve without the Spirit of God—he receives both sacraments to his own death.

The Ninth Article. Ninth, it shall be believed and taught that the Baptism of Christ is not merely water, but a bath of regeneration; it does not consist in an external washing but in the covenant of a good conscience toward God, as Peter writes; it is not the work of the minister who performs the external Baptism, but of the Spirit of Christ who commences His work before or after Baptism whenever it pleases Him. And we must bring children to Him, for “of such is the kingdom of heaven,” that is to say, “such belong into my church,” which He ordinarily calls the kingdom of heaven. This would be speaking in the terms of the Scriptures; hence what they have set forth in this article is certainly impossible; but because the Word of God is used and Baptism is founded on it, therefore it is a blessed, living, powerful thing, etc. For although we baptize both young and old with the Word of God and upon His command, yet many “goats” are baptized who never receive salvation, life, or the power of God. All the most learned writers have said the same, especially Augustine with many words in the sixth book against Donatus *de baptismo* [should be, I, 1].

The Tenth Article. Tenth, it shall be held and believed that our Lord Jesus has instituted His Holy Supper for His followers and therein feeds them with His true body and His blood unto eternal life if they attend with true faith. For if true remembrance and thanksgiving for the Lord's surpassing kindness in giving His body and blood for our sake into death be present, then it is inevitable that we receive spiritual food and guidance toward right Christian living and eternal life. But when they insist on holding that the true body and the true blood are in the bread and the wine, they have no scriptural ground for it. For the words read, “This is my body,” and not, “In this is my body;” from these words no more may be deduced than that the Lord gave His disciples and those who would receive the remission of sins and the new covenant, His body and His blood and called them bread and wine. Now if one has and eats these through faith, as taught in John 6, he has and eats them in truth (not as the absent wife may be present to her husband when he thinks of her, but) in such manner that the spirit is thereby fed and nourished unto eternal life. Nor is it possible for them to defend their opinion by referring to 1 Cor. 10, “The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body and blood of Christ?” for there is

also communion of the body and blood of Christ when, in the breaking of the bread, we receive Him spiritually. Again while he who misuses this sacrament or receives it unworthily, is truly guilty of the body and blood of Christ, it does not follow that the body and the blood of Christ are physically in the wine and the bread. We prefer to cling to the simple words, "This is my body." And since D. Luther himself admits that the text does not mean that the bread is the body of Christ itself—for the bread and the body of Christ have each remained what they were by nature—therefore we give up the transsubstantiation of the papists; and since it is not stated, "In this or with this is my body," we cannot accept the opinion of D. Luther either, but confess that the Lord has said these words in order to show us that He truly bestows on us His body and blood and that these words [sic] are bread and wine, that is food and drink unto eternal life. In the same manner He says, Receive the Holy Spirit, while He breathed on them; and the external Baptism is called a washing away of sins; and yet the Spirit of Christ must not necessarily have been substantially present in the breath of Christ nor the remission of sins in the water. There are many texts in the Scriptures where signs and types are given the names of the things whose signs and types they are, for instance, when circumcision is called covenant, Gen. 17, and when the type of Jerusalem is called Jerusalem, Ezek. 4.

Therefore, since no one should be forced to believe something that cannot be proved from clear Scripture texts—for God has not failed to supply us in this respect—and since the spiritual eating brings with it eternal life and all that the believer may need, we do not wish to be urged any further in this matter. Nor is there ground for the fear that persecution might sooner arise on account of this matter than on account of others. Those who hitherto have raised persecution on account of this article and still threaten to do so, are desirous of reestablishing the whole papal system; hence they threaten all those who do not obey the pope, and they have never gone so far as to allow even the slightest departure from the papal system. Moreover, even if our opinion might be erroneous—as a matter of fact it will never be found to be so, and we have not taught otherwise on the point . . . [the copyist has left a blank here, probably because he could not decipher the Strassburg original] than according to the Word of God, and have done this with such assurance that many of us have suffered for this cause, and we believe all the words of the Lord; and we regard Him as our only Saviour and would gladly prove it by means

of works so far as we may be enabled by His grace; and doubtless there are as many good works found among our churches, God be praised, as among those who are of a different opinion, and far more of our party have suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake than of their party. These things being true we deserve the protection of true Christians even though we may be attacked because of this single point, for only enemies of Christ would so treat us. We do not doubt that the notion of the corporeal presence of Christ's body in the wine and the bread is a perilous error that leads to the idea that faith in Christ is insufficient and to a denial of Christ's true incarnation; yet, when we observe that someone studies this problem and thinks that the words may mean this and if he is in other respects of a truly Christian mind, we regard such a one as a dear brother and bear with his error until God will instruct him more fully. Thus Paul has taught us, Romans 14, where he teaches that one should not despise those who have not been taught that Christ has freed us from the law and who therefore misunderstood and misinterpreted many parts of Scripture, and where he states that there should not be much disputing and quarreling. Thus also Augustine teaches, *contra Donat.*, book 12 [should be I and VI], and thereby exculpates Cyprian whose views on Baptism were false but whom he nevertheless did not condemn because he did not on account of his views separate from the church.—Furthermore, the opponents have said in this article that this sacrament brings and gives faith as does Baptism. Now it is God alone who gives and strengthens faith, and he who would come without faith to the Table of the Lord would eat death to himself. But this sacrament, like Baptism in its own measure, as a sacrament and admonition strengthens faith when the Lord works in the heart of man, as everyone confesses who knows the Scriptures. But the Scripture has no one [should be, "no place where it is said"] that in the Supper of Christ one may strengthen or obtain faith.

The Eleventh Article. In the eleventh article these words, "absolution" and "judgment, freed" are suspicious. It would be sufficient to say, "Such message and counsel and seeking of comfort are salutary to all grieved consciences because of the special message and comfort which are dispensed to them from the Word of God when they do [confess to] a brother well versed in the divine Word.

The remaining articles we regard as scriptural.—In conclusion, we repeat: This matter is of very great importance. Therefore all things must be well explained in the presence of God, before such powerful

governments form a union on their basis as on Christian doctrine. Let the faith be carefully preserved and never reduced to servitude. But at Marburg they did not wish to discuss these articles except the one on the Eucharist although at the beginning they declared that it was necessary. The most expedient thing to do would be to unite simply on the Word of God as found in the Old and New Testaments, and to ignore the articles altogether, provided that they will not later call some to account because of their erroneous views of the sacrament or because of other views for which no scriptural foundation is supposed to exist, and that they will not back out when the battle really begins, for no danger looms from these matters but only from the enemies of our common faith.

12. INSTRUCTION FOR THE BRANDENBURG DELEGATES TO THE MEETING AT SCHMALKALDEN, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER,

1529¹⁴

We, George, by the grace of God, Margrave of Brandenburg, give the following instructions to the counselors whom we have appointed to represent us at the meeting to be held on the Sunday after St. Catherine's Day at Schmalkalden.

First, they shall announce their presence to the honorable Prince, our kind and dear uncle and brother, the Elector of Saxony; they shall assure him of our good-will and best wishes and in presenting their credentials excuse our absence, informing him for what reason, viz., because of our illness, we cannot in person attend the meeting at Schmalkalden. They shall also at once inform His Honor that we are willing to adhere to our mutual agreement, in accordance with the instruction and resolution recently adopted at Schleitz, provided that the amount of assistance which we are expected to offer is made commensurate with our resources. Also, that Nuremberg and the others enter into this agreement and abide thereby. If, then, our proposition comes up for discussion and if it is asked how much we are able and willing to do, our counselors shall declare that everyone knows how our parents and we—through the discharge of our numerous obligations and burdensome service to the Roman Emperors and Kings, through various leagues and wars, and through the duty of providing for our many brothers' and sisters' sustenance—have incurred so

many debts and liabilities that we cannot under any circumstances offer assistance as stipulated in the previous agreement; and they may, in proof of this contention, point out that the Imperial Government has graciously, though inadequately, reduced our assessments. Accordingly, we are unable and unwilling to offer more assistance than the sixth or fifth part of what our uncle and brother, the Elector of Saxony, will offer, in this wise, that when he gives six pence we give one, and when he furnishes six horsemen or infantry men, we furnish one man, although His Honor by the grace of God is not merely six times but probably ten times as rich and opulent as we and our young cousin. Nevertheless, we are willing to bear the sixth part, as said above, and in this instance do more than our just share.—But we are unwilling to incur larger and higher obligations than we are able to meet, and to promise more assistance than we are capable of rendering; we will assume only those obligations which by the help and grace of God we may be able to discharge. If now the Nurembergers are unwilling to enter into this agreement, it would be difficult, yes impracticable for us to enter into it, in view of the fact that all the other parties of the agreement are too far removed from us, and that we are surrounded on all sides by enemies so that we could easily be put to flight by them before our distant allies could save us.

Second, in reference to His Imperial Majesty, we deem it to be Christian, proper, necessary, and expedient that in the case of His Imperial Majesty an exception be made, although to no further degree than we are, before God and the common law, obliged to do, that is to say, [we will obey him] as long as His Imperial Majesty does not by overt acts, contrary to God and His Word and in violation of our consciences, attempt to deprive us of our faith as confessed in several articles. If, however, His Imperial Majesty should dare, by actual violence, to deprive us of our faith, as stated above, and if he should seek to capture or destroy our possessions and subjects, then it behooves us to respect, fear, and obey God more than all men, as the Scriptures testify; and in such case we will with God's help protect our subjects against eternal and temporal injuries. In this event His Imperial Majesty would no more be our superior magistrate than is the Turk, for His Majesty would then be doing and attempting precisely what the Turk endeavors to do, and we believe that we will at all times be able to sustain ourselves with the help of God and a good conscience.—In other, temporal things, however, His Imperial

Majesty shall be absolutely exempted. But, provided that the above mentioned points are properly accepted, our counselors shall seek an understanding in this respect with the Elector of Saxony and the other estates.

Third, in reference to our negotiations with His Imperial Majesty and in reference to what happened to the messengers of the protesting estates, we deem it necessary and expedient—in view of the fact that His Imperial Majesty, led astray by our enemies, assumes so ungracious and hostile an attitude as to oppress our souls and consciences in his decision at the recent Diet of Speyer, although His Imperial Majesty has released our messengers—,

First, that a report be heard of our messengers, their actions and their experiences; also that thereupon the problem be carefully studied how—perhaps through the mediation of the King of Hungary and Bohemia, or in other ways—His Imperial Majesty may be prevailed upon to change his ungracious and hostile attitude;—Furthermore that, in case his Imperial Majesty should be unyielding in this respect, the problem of offering Christian and proper resistance be carefully considered.

And in all these things our counselors shall consult with the Elector and the other estates, whether His Royal Majesty shall send his message to His Imperial Majesty and we likewise at the same time shall send our message to His Imperial Majesty and once more inform him of our action. Besides this, our counselors have full information concerning our attitude in this matter so that they are able to give their opinions and advice and thus in all ways act in our stead for whatever is best. This service we shall gratefully recognize.— Given at Ontzbach, Tuesday after the Presentation of Mary [November 23], anno 1529.

13. BRUECK'S REASONS AGAINST UNION WITH THE ZWINGLIAN ESTATES, NOVEMBER- DECEMBER, 1529¹⁵

Reasons for a union with the Zwinglians notwithstanding our disagreement on the article concerning the sacrament.

Those who are weak in the faith should not be cast away but received; for since they have come to an agreement at Marburg with our theologians on the other articles it may be hoped that God, in His own season, will also deliver them from their error concerning the

Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, especially if we acknowledge them as our brethren and do not repel them.—Again, we might unite even with the heathen without jeopardizing our faith; how much more with the Zwinglians, who are agreed with us in all articles but one?—Furthermore, we are in league with those who have been regarded as heretics, for instance, the crown of Bohemia.—Again, we have an alliance with the papists and notorious persecutors of the Word, for instance, several Princes of the Empire. It would be far more reasonable for us to form an alliance with these people.—Again, already at Speyer, we have permitted them to join us in the protest, also in our appeal. Likewise we have together with them sent a common message to his Imperial Majesty. How could we now dispute and question whether or not we may with a good conscience draw them into this union?—Again, God forbids us to tempt Him and commands us to make use of human counsel and assistance when we are in trouble, instead of waiting for a miracle from heaven. Now since the Emperor together with his allies has, humanly speaking, acquired overwhelming power, we are in duty bound not to reject this great help which the Zwinglians offer, whose number is said to be about two hundred thousand, nor to rely on our limited strength in the battle against such conspicuous powers in the hope that God may help us. That would be tempting God, a sin which He forbids.—Again, our gracious and most gracious lords owe it to God to defend their God-fearing subjects, who pay them rent and taxes, against every form of injustice and violence; and since the Emperor now plans to act unjustly he is to be regarded simply as an ordinary enemy.—Again, in the cities which have Zwinglian preachers, there are without doubt many true Christians who do not accept the erroneous view of the sacrament, and to say the least we ought to consider their welfare.—Again, at the recent meeting at Schwabach the Nurembergers declared that for the time being they did not wish to separate from the others on account of this difference of opinion. It is to be feared that in case we insist on this point as a prerequisite of the alliance, Nuremberg and the other cities which do not accept the erroneous view of the sacrament may also forsake us and thus still further diminish our ranks.—Again, we would be compelled to separate from these cities in all matters pertaining to our appeal and the protestation, and similar common actions. And henceforth, if a reply is to be given to the Emperor's severe verdict, we would be compelled to act alone by ourselves. If now the Emperor observes our division, he and our

other adversaries will be moved to still more drastic action and we, through our own presumptuousness, will be exposed to grave danger.—Again, it is to be feared if the Emperor's severity and his stern answer become known as they inevitably must become known, that the papists will try to alienate from our ranks also those cities which have wholly accepted the pure Christian doctrine and agree with us in all things, and that they will succeed in their endeavor because the cities are afraid of the Emperor and devoid of any assurance of courageous help and comfort. We would then have to bear the responsibility for such dire results, etc.—Again, it might at least be possible to find some means of stating explicitly in the articles of alliance that we do not endorse or defend their error, etc.

Therefore, this alliance should not be refused and the Zwinglians should not be prevented from entering it.

* * *

But stronger reasons, including the refutation of the above mentioned arguments in favor of an alliance, show why our gracious and most gracious lords may not, without violating their allegiance to God and their consciences, unite with them nor have any communion with them, namely:

St. Paul says to Titus in the third chapter and God the Holy Spirit clearly commands through the apostle that we avoid a heretic or apostate when he has been admonished once and again, knowing that such a one is corrupt and sinful, having condemned himself. Now it is evident and the words of Christ prove that the Zwinglians' doctrine concerning the holy Sacrament is contrary to the clear and lucid Word of God as recorded by three evangelists and St. Paul (Take, eat, this is my body, etc.; take, drink, this is my blood, etc.). Our shepherds and ministers teach that it is a horrible [? radical; greulicher, or grundlicher?] error so to teach of the sacrament as the Zwinglians do, moreover so horrible an error that all those who are allied with them must be accounted as errorists and as men who are condemned by their own consciences because over against the plain word by which to fortify and guide their consciences. Luther and other preachers in agreement with him and us have publicly and repeatedly so expressed themselves in their writings and this is preached every-day throughout the domains of our gracious and most gracious lords. — Therefore, since we believe the plain words of Christ (as we are bound to do in view of the eternal condemnation of unbelief) and since we believe that our pastors and shepherds teach the truth,

we cannot and dare not say or think that the adversaries' opinion is a small and insignificant error. That would be wavering and halting between two opinions; on which account the prophet condemns the king in the Book of Kings. Christ said, He that gathereth not with me scattereth; likewise, in different words, He that is not against us is with us. Hence he who is against Him and His Word, is not with Him. Again, all the subterfuges that have been used by Zwingli and Oecolampadius have been exposed by Luther and the others, and the latter properly quote the saying of James, He who transgresses one commandment is guilty of the whole law. It is therefore evident that those who hold and adhere to this error, whether they be shepherds or sheep, are apostates and heretics. And when they have been admonished the first time and the second time, it is our duty, according to the command and order of the Holy Spirit given through St. Paul, to shun them under pain of damnation.

But that Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and the others who cling to this error have been admonished once and again and many more times by our shepherds and preachers; and that this has been done so publicly that the whole world knows it and that the sheep to whom they preach are without excuse, it is obvious and may be seen from the writings which have been issued two or three times, and from the admonitions which Doctor Prencius [Brenz] and other Swabian preachers, who belong to our party, including Osiander of Nuremberg, have addressed to them in printer form. — Again, over and above all this, at the recent Marburg conference they have been persuaded and admonished in all brotherliness so that neither their shepherds nor their sheep may plead weakness and ask for patience until God give them more grace, etc. For from the Marburg affair it appears plainly that they are stiffnecked and hardened errorists and refuse to be instructed. But the Scriptures do not call "weak" a person who defends his error and rejects all instruction and all admonitions and certainly not those who for a long time cling to their error in spite of all instruction. And Zwingli and his adherents do not say that they are weak, but claim in their writings, which they have not retracted to-date, that their opinion is correct. — Moreover, that they are in error and that they condemn themselves has been set forth and demonstrated in unambiguous terms in the official opinion given by the pastors of Nuremberg to their city council.—Therefore what has been said above about patiently bearing with the weak is not applicable in this case, for the Zwinglians are not to be regarded as

weak and are so stubborn in their views on this article that they would not want to be classified as weak members etc.

It is also quite inappropriate to declare that, inasmuch as at the recent Marburg meeting they proved themselves to be open to conviction in several other matters, we ought to exercise patience with them in reference to this one article. As long as they defend their views on the sacrament which are contrary to their better knowledge and the words of Christ, their assent to the other articles does not absolve them from apostasy; to the present day they are apostates in this one article, and according to the words of Paul quoted above they are to be shunned as apostates, especially because they do not retract their bombastic writings on this point or confess their own weakness in this matter.

The assertion that perhaps there may be many Christians among them who on this point do not accept their doctrine but ours, is equally as irrelevant. In the first place, this is something which is not definitely known, and therefore does not offer our gracious and most gracious lords any security for their conscience. Second, it is more probable that people living under the rule of magistrates who permit such errors to be taught and preached in their churches, will eventually have the same erroneous opinion than that someone should be found there who holds our views; for no one who has a different faith would care to live long at such a place inasmuch as he like us is bound to shun apostates. Third, we are to form an alliance with the cities, that is to say with the heads and magistrates governing these cities; but since these same rulers allow the public dissemination of error in their churches, we cannot, on account of St. Paul's above mentioned words, without violating our conscience receive them into our alliance and union.

And although by the command of God a government must protect its subjects, and in case of adversity seek the assistance of human agencies (though never putting its trust in them but only in God), yet it is necessary to discriminate carefully and never to use forbidden means of assistance but only such as are permitted and expedient. Every time the kings of the Jews sought to protect themselves and their subjects by uniting with the Egyptians and other infidels, God punished them, and thereby shows that He does not wish believers to seek help from unbelievers or apostates; and for the same reason God has forbidden us to seek the advice or help of sorcerers ("teufels kunstern") even though they might occasionally be capable of offering

some help. And since in shunning apostates we do what God commands, it cannot be said that we are tempting God by rejecting the help of the apostates and by trusting that (if it be His will) we will be sustained by His almighty help over against greatly superior might. For, when we consider that the Jewish nation was but small in comparison to the whole world that opposed it, and that nevertheless God forbade it to safeguard its own welfare by uniting with the infidels, and that God punished it whenever it did enter such alliances, then it is plain that they were not tempting God when they trusted in God and with a small army resisted overwhelmingly large armies of their enemies; and they were victorious as long as they obeyed the commandments of God. It behooves us to do the same and we like them will have to say, *parum est domino vincere in multis vel paucis*, etc.

If, because of the fear of men, we unite with unbelievers, we may expect to receive our divine punishment at their very hands. For through our present anxiety and distress God would test us as to whether we trust Him alone and whether we rather seek His help than that of men. If we unite with them, contrary to God's command, we condemn our consciences and must admit that we disobey God, that we disregard His commandment because of the fear of men, and that we do not seek His help but the help of men, and we are in conscience bound to confess that we did not trust in God but in man although God would surely save and help us if we cling to His commandments and although by sending this affliction—no doubt it serves to the glorification of His name in order that the whole world may see and know that He has true Christians who for the sake of His command are willing to live or to die, as obedient children, according to His pleasure—He would make manifest that we are approved, for St. Paul says, that there must be sects in order that they which are approved may be made manifest etc. For the same reason we need not concern ourselves with bringing the Zwinglians back to the truth by means of this union. This matter must be committed to the Almighty, for the Spirit has declared that there must be sects.

All the remaining arguments in favor of a union have already been refuted. For although in other matters we may unite with unbelievers provided that our faith is not violated, in the present instance our affliction and distress concern our faith and nothing else. As long as they or we render all due obedience to the Emperor, he would not

think of harming us if we were now to forsake our faith. The Emperors very answer assures us that we should be released from all burdens in case we return to the former usages. Now, inasmuch as this union involves the harmful article of the Zwinglians, we ourselves would also become guilty of it by helping them and we would join those with whom the Holy Spirit, according to Paul's word, forbids us to have fellowship; therefore our faith cannot remain free from injury if we receive them into this union.

In fact it is less injurious to form a union with pagans than with apostates in matters which do not involve the faith. For the latter call themselves brethren and claim to have accepted the true Word of God and the Gospel and nevertheless are apostates. But the former do not consider themselves as our brethren in the faith. For this reason it is less vexatious to form a union in matters not affecting or injuring the faith with the heathen Christians [sic] who regard the true Gospel as the devil's doctrine and persecute it, as St. Paul proves when he says to the Corinthians, "*Si quis inter vos frater nominatur, etc. quid enim mihi de his qui foris sunt etc.*" [Cor. 5: 11. 12].

That we acted jointly with them at Speyer was due to an opinion written on a slip of paper which did not clearly set forth whether or not they agreed with us concerning the Sacrament.—Again, on account of their offers and promises that union might be established at a conference of theologians, a meeting was held recently at Marburg, as stated above. And even if at that time we had in error received them we should now be compelled to separate from them because we recognize that we did wrong. — Again, if we should now admit them to this union we would be putting a mouse into our pocket by appealing and prosecuting this matter with them and by going so far as to defend them before a free, general, Christian council. For if their errors concerning the Sacrament are to be discussed they would give us our reward and most rudely and acrimoniously attack us; and we would experience the truth of the poet's saying, "*Mus in pera, serpens in sinu, etc. male remunerant suos hospites*"; and our consciences would condemn us for confirming in their error the enemies of God who strive against His plain Word. — Moreover, since our union with them might create the impression as though this error were considered among us as quite insignificant, many well meaning people might be led astray; we would be guilty of their condemnation if they accept the Zwinglian error which does not require so much

faith and is more easily comprehended by human reason than the above quoted plain words of Christ; our consciences would assail and condemn us as contributing to their condemnation by means of this union; we would also share the guilt of the sins of others and receive due punishment therefor. As St. Paul says to the Romans, "*Quoniam qui talia agunt digni sunt morte, non solum qui ea faciunt sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus.*" And to Timothy he says, "We must not be partakers of other men's sins."

The rest of the arguments are purely human machinations which cannot apply here because Christians are bound by their faith and their consciences to do what pleases God, and to rely solely on His Word; and if to human reason their course seems to be fraught with danger, they must commit all to God who will deal with us according to His good pleasure. It is of no concern to us that other cities may be frightened away from our cause. We on our part are ready to assist them to the best of our ability and expect them to do whatever they are able to do. If they fall away because of the fear of men, we at least have the assurance of having done our duty. But we dare not merely for their sake do more than our allegiance to God allows, for the faith is of more significance and must be more carefully guarded than the love of the neighbor. And even if some one would still question that it is wrong for us to unite with the Zwinglians in an alliance and the execution of our appeal, yet what has been said suffices to show that this is more certain: The prince or magistrate who unites with them will be told by his conscience rather that he disobeys God and does wrong, than that he does right, and his conscience will not find a definite command or word of God by which to refute the above mentioned reasons and facts and on which to base his action as is proper for Christians. Therefore without doubt, it is far better and more expedient to do nothing as long as they so tenaciously cling to their error than to unite with them in an alliance or a similar civil or legal defense of the cause.

14. THE RECESS OF SCHMALKALDEN, DECEMBER, 1529¹⁶

WHEREAS, Their serene and most serene Highnesses, Princes and Lords, John, Duke of Saxony, archmarshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, the brothers Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, in person, and

His serene Highness, Margrave George of Brandenburg's counselors George Vogler, chancellor, and Wolff Christoph of Wiesentau, and the commissioners of the honorable free and imperial cities of Strassburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Lindau, and Kempten, have convened here at Schmalkalden on the first Sunday after St. Catherine's Day for the purpose of considering the treatment accorded by His Imperial Roman Majesty to the delegates sent by Their electoral and princely Highnesses and Honors with reference to the protestation and appeal at the recent Diet at Speyer in matters of religion, and for the purpose of determining the nature of further negotiations on this subject with His highly respected Imperial Majesty; and WHEREAS the above mentioned delegates to His Imperial Majesty have arrived here on that day and have presented both oral and written reports, copies of which have been made by the above mentioned Elector, Princes, and Estates; but WHEREAS some dissension has arisen concerning the articles of our holy faith which were recently presented at the meeting at Schwabach, and the above mentioned Elector and Princes of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, and the Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg for many weighty reasons and motives are not inclined and willing to co-operate in this or any similar action with any one who does not accept the aforementioned articles of faith and does not agree with them concerning the faith and the Sacrament,

Therefore, Their Electoral and Princely Highnesses are giving to the commissioners of the cities, especially those who prior to the present meeting have had no information relative to the articles of our Holy Faith and therefore had not been empowered to act. this recess: That they present these articles to their own magistrates; and, That on another day, namely the coming Day of the Three Holy Kings, a meeting be held at Nuremberg; and, That those cities which agree with the aforementioned Elector and Princes in regard to these articles of our holy faith and are determined to cling to them with the help of God, shall send their authorized commissioners to meet with the Electoral and Princely Highnesses' commissioners at Nuremberg on the day specified and to inform them of such decision, whereupon the question shall be discussed whether a delegation is to be sent to His Imperial Majesty or what should be done to bring about a mitigation or revocation of His Imperial Majesty's unfavorable decree, and a course of action shall be determined, as should have been done at the present meeting; but That those cities which are

not inclined to join the above mentioned Elector and Princes in accepting these articles and in abiding by them, with the help of God, must not send a delegation to the meeting at Nuremberg; and That whether the cities send any commissioners to meet with the counselors of Their Electoral and Princely Highness or whether they send none, Their Electoral and Princely Highnesses are nevertheless willing, at the appointed place, with the help of God, through their counselors to resume deliberations with the Counts and others who agree with Their Highnesses in confessing these articles of our Holy faith, and to form definite resolutions. — Given at Schmalkalden, on the Saturday after St. Andrew's Day, Anno Domini 1529.

15. THE IMPERIAL SUMMONS TO THE DIET OF AUGSBURG, JANUARY 21, 1530¹⁷

To the most noble John, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire, our dear uncle and Elector, Charles, by the grace of God, Roman Emperor, *semper Augustus*, etc.

Noble, dear Uncle and Elector! [The Emperor professes the greatest interest in the affairs of the Empire, explains his prolonged absence from Germany, asserts that he has concluded a somewhat unsatisfactory peace with his enemies, and states that he has consulted the Pope in the interest of securing peace and unity in the Holy German Empire. He then goes on:]

Soon after our arrival in Italy we received reports that the Turk, the traditional enemy of our holy Christian name and religion, with a large army had invaded the Christian Kingdom of Hungary and our fatherland the Archduchy of Austria, and was slaughtering and burning everything; and it was evident that the Holy Empire of the German Nation was in the greatest peril unless we should come to its assistance. So we changed our plans and decided to leave Italy, including our Kingdom of Naples (although it was greatly endangered by insurrection), and to avert, in person and with all our armies, this terrible calamity threatening the German Nation. We also petitioned His Holiness the Pope to confer with us at this city of Bologna on the pacification of the Italian countries. on the unity of the Holy Roman Empire, and on the welfare of all Christendom in general, because the present need requires not only that the Turk be repulsed with the greatest possible force, but also that these

numerous varied and weighty opinions be judged with the greatest care and wisdom. When His Holiness learned of our intentions, he did not only very kindly grant us our petition but also travelled so fast that he arrived here at Bologna before we did. He received us with favor and kindness; and we found in him far more love and eagerness to settle the affairs of the Holy Empire of the worthy German Nation, to bring about peace and general agreement, and to restore right and order in matters pertaining to the Christian religion than we had dared to hope. When we had learned these things and when we had received our Imperial crown, we intended to carry out our original plan of continuing our journey to Germany; but just at that time we were informed that the Turk had retreated so that it was no longer so urgently necessary to travel with haste to Germany; we therefore decided that it was more expedient to carry out our original purpose of first establishing order in these Italian regions and to keep them firmly and faithfully aligned with the Holy Empire. We hope to complete this task shortly and leave nothing undone that promises to be of help in the speedy adjustment of these difficulties.

In the meantime, however, we have not ignored the affairs of the Holy Empire of the German Nation, especially since we learned that the arrival of the troops which you, Well-beloved, and other Estates of the Holy Empire, according to the recess of the Diet of Speyer, resolved to send for the protection of the greatly exposed Christian country of Hungary against the powerful advance of the Turk, was delayed on account of another conference held at Ratisbon to such an extent that it was impossible to stop the formidable Turkish army and navy from crossing the Hungarian boundary lines and from invading the kingdoms, duchies, and domains of the highborn Prince Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduke of Austria, our dearly beloved brother and personal representative in the Holy Empire. As a result, His Highness was unfortunately compelled inactively to witness the capture of almost the entire Christian kingdom of Hungary by the Turk, who at once proceeded to attack our Archduchy of Austria and grievously harassed, besieged, and distressed its capital Vienna. And although the Turk, through the grace of the Almighty and the dauntless and courageous resistance and defense of the Christian army, had to give up his brutal designs, he has nevertheless made so many forays, ravages, and inroads throughout said duchy especially round about Vienna, as far as the river Enns,

and even into the Duchy of Styria, and shed so much innocent blood and caused such devastations by slaughtering many Christians and carrying them away and by burning their houses—as you, Well-beloved, undoubtedly know—that every Christian must be deeply grieved and moved to sincere sympathy with those who are so heavily afflicted. And since the Turk consistently and assiduously pursues all his aims, especially when he is victorious, as appears from his expedition against Hungary and more recently from his hundred-mile invasion of Austria where he devastated many fertile fields with fire, and since, even though he had to give up his plan temporarily, we may expect that he will seriously resume his brutal attacks upon all Christendom with still larger armies so as to carry out his intentions,

Therefore, We, as Roman Emperor and head of Christendom, who have always been solicitous of the welfare of the Holy Empire and have always been desirous of averting danger and defeat, have resolved, for the purpose of opposing, resisting, and repelling, the Turk, so far as it is humanly possible, and also for the purpose of settling in salutary and expedient manner other matters affecting the Holy Empire, to convoke a general diet and assembly, and, on the eighth day of April next ensuing, to hold the same in our Imperial City of Augsburg, by which time we hope that we shall have settled affairs in Italy so as to be present in person on that day, as we have been finally resolved to do. This day, then, we hereby announce to you, our Well-beloved, commanding you by the authority of our Roman Empire and by the duty wherewith you are bound to us and to the Empire, solemnly enjoining and ordering you to appear that day in person at Augsburg, and together with us and our other Imperial Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Empire, whom we have summoned in like manner, to assist in undertaking, debating, resolving, and concluding how the proper provision may be made for the removal of the grievous burden and invasion into Christendom of the aforesaid Turk, with good deliverance, defence, and steady help according to need, in addition to the measure formerly taken in that behalf; and further, how in the matter of errors and divisions concerning the holy faith and the Christian religion we may and should deal and resolve, and so bring it about, in better and sounder fashion, that divisions may be allayed, antipathies set aside, all past errors left to the judgment of our Saviour, and every care taken to give a charitable hearing to every man's opinion, thoughts, and no-

tions, to understand them, to weigh them, to bring and reconcile men to a unity in Christian truth, to dispose of everything that has not been rightly explained or treated of on the one side or the other, to see to it that one single, true religion may be accepted and held by us all, and that we all live in one common Church and in unity, just as we all live and battle under the one Christ, and finally to resolve, arrange, establish, and preserve good unity and peace throughout the Empire; also to decide on questions pertaining to coinage and the public order and welfare of the Holy Empire

**16. INSTRUCTION TO HANS VON DOLZIG FOR THE
COUNTS OF NASSAU AND NEUENAH, R,
MARCH 16, 1530¹⁸**

The matters on which we should like to have urgent petitions addressed to His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, are the following.

We have commanded our beloved and faithful counselor Hans von Dolzig to give the following detailed report to the Counts of Nassau and of Neuenahr, our beloved uncles and advisors; to assure them of our friendly disposition and unwavering confidence and to entreat them to take particular pains in sponsoring our cause and that of our dear cousin, Duke John Frederick, as they have kindly and courteously offered to do. For although we are not sending an instruction to His Imperial Majesty, we have nevertheless desired to state these matters somewhat more explicitly, though in the form of a brief report, because we are mindful of the request made by them at Arnstadt that the representative sent by us should be equipped with a summary report. But the exact manner in which these matters are to be managed, is left to their own discretion and judgment. For that reason we set forth in this report which Hans von Dolzig shall present to them, these our matters which they will sponsor at the proper place in a manner which according to their judgment is most opportune.

[Then follows information on the subjects involved. We learn so far as the investiture with the electoral dignity is concerned that the Elector has discussed the one-year postponement of its bestowal with the Propst of Waldkirch "when he visited us at Weimar." But even before the Diet the Elector wishes to be assured just how the words "and secularity" are to be understood which were added in the

imperial indult (Dolzig has taken a copy of the document along). If the Emperor promises to invest him "in the same complete measure" as Frederick the Wise and the other predecessors, his apprehensions would be allayed; in that case it would be inexpedient to speak to the Emperor about this matter at all because it might induce him to view this phase as subject to controversy. In reference to the second point, viz., the Juelich-Cleve marriage contract for which Christoph Gross, instructed by both the Duke of Juelich and the Elector, had sought imperial confirmation in Spain, the Elector seeks to extenuate the argument advanced in the Emperor's dilatory reply (viz., that there was a full-blooded Juelich heir; Dolzig also had a copy of this document) as well as the motive which probably caused the Emperor's action, namely deference to previous promises to the dukes of Saxony — by referring (1) to the fact that five or six years previously, at the time of the dissolution of the marriage contract between the Emperor's sister and the electoral prince the Emperor had definitely promised Frederick the Wise and himself to promote other plans of marriage of the prince, (2) by referring to promises made by the Emperor at Worms which had really caused the marriage contract between Juelich and Saxony to take form, and (3) by referring to the fact that this contract could harm neither the heir of Juelich nor his own cousin George of Saxony and by suggesting that this fact might be positively raised above all suspicion through the addition of the clause, "everyone to be left inviolate in his own rights."

In regard to the other matters, the Gotha market, the debt which the Emperor owed to the Elector, and the Margrave's safe-conduct — matters which Gross had been ordered a year previously to "present to the Emperor through the kindly assistance of Margrave Henry" and which actually were presented "at Barcelona when His Imperial Majesty was at the point of sailing to Italy"—Dolzig is in possession of Gross' instruction and the Emperor's reply and is in a position to inform the counts.]

We do not doubt that it will be possible to discover from His Imperial Majesty and His Majesty's entourage whether these matters, in whole or in part, have been reported to His Majesty and whether His Majesty has assumed an unfavorable attitude toward us on their account.

It may be that His Majesty has heard a report or rumor as though we were implicated in the forcible attempt at reinstating Duke Ulrich as Duke of Wuerttemberg or as though we had joined a con-

spiracy for the purpose of preventing His Majesty's coming to Germany, or similar unfounded rumors. In view of such possibilities we have given Hans von Dolzig the information which was recently conveyed to us by our cousin, Duke George of Saxony, in reference to this accusation that has been raised against us and several other Princes and Estates of the Holy Empire in a number of letters and missives which have also come to the attention of His Royal Majesty, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, the brother of His Imperial Majesty, and our dearly beloved lord and uncle; we have also informed Dolzig of our irrefutable reply to our cousin, likewise of the reply which our counselors whom we recently sent to Prague to His above mentioned Royal Majesty and who by this time have not as yet returned, were ordered to carry to His Royal Majesty. Dolzig shall show this report to the Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr, whom we herewith kindly and graciously ask to hear without grumbling the report as given by Dolzig and then to use their influence with His Imperial Majesty and all others before whom we have been unjustly accused, in our favor and to exonerate us from these unfounded and invented accusations.

In regard to the negotiations which for two years have been carried on between our beloved uncles and friends, the Bishop of Mayence, Wuerzburg, and Bamberg, and ourselves—in case His Imperial Majesty has received aggravating reports on this matter and is inclined to disapprove our conduct, Dolzig has the copy of a letter which we have written in this connection to His Imperial Majesty and which will show the Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr, if it is necessary, that we are without blame.

If it is found or said that we have been accused before His Imperial Majesty of doing, or permitting, many unseemly things throughout our duchy and domain in regard to religion and related matters—for inasmuch as we cannot escape such unfounded and fictitious accusations here in the Empire of the German Nation and not even among our nearest neighbors and friends, it is easily understood that we have been spared still less in the presence of His Imperial Majesty who has been absent from the German Empire for some time; perhaps it is being said that we have done away with all the good rules of the church, as fasting, praying, confessing, partaking of communion and others, or that we have unfairly dealt with the monasteries and their possessions, or permitted monks, nuns, and preachers to marry, or torn down churches and convents, and the

like.—We will not leave our uncles, the Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr, uninformed (in case this point is raised for the purpose of denying our other above mentioned requests) that we deem it advisable that the following defense be made, the precise form to be decided according to their judgment: His Imperial Majesty has summoned a Diet to convene at Augsburg for the discussion of the divisions concerning our Christian religion; with the help of the Almighty, we, Duke of Saxony, shall attend this Diet as His Imperial Majesty's obedient Elector, unless God's power prevent us from so doing; and when, as the Imperial summons in Christian manner and extensively indicates, at that place each one's opinion and thoughts concerning the division have been heard with charitableness and thereupon a discussion aiming at Christian unity has been opened, which God Almighty will bless with success and good fortune, we shall without doubt give a report concerning each and every article as required in the Imperial summons and state exhaustively what we have done and what we are having taught and preached in our duchy, also what ceremonies and the like are being observed so that our defense will clearly show whether we have acted in a Christian or in an un-Christian manner when making these changes. -

Again, if His Imperial Majesty should be displeased because we together with several Estates, some of whom are cities accepting an erroneous view of the Sacrament of the true Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, protested against the recess of the recent Diet of Speyer and appealed to His Imperial Majesty and to a free, general, Christian council and because we consented to this appeal—in that case His Imperial Majesty, if it please God, will hear (in addition to previous information given to His Imperial Majesty) at the impending diet when everyone's opinions and thoughts are to be recited, also well-founded and firm reasons why his electoral grace and the associated Estates could not, and can not, without the greatest pain of conscience, submit to said recess as long as it is considered to have binding obligation. Thus we and our associates could see no way to avoid the signing of the protestation and making an appeal to His Imperial Majesty and to a council, as His Imperial Majesty will graciously recognize. Moreover, our intention, will, and purpose in this matter was nothing else but to seek from His Imperial Majesty as our true secular lord and superior, most gracious and legally appropriate protection and defense until these matters could be discussed properly and more

adequately than at the recent Diet at Speyer; our intention and that of our associates was certainly not to bring about iniquitous disruption or the like.

And if now, according to God's will, several cities which are said to accept the above mentioned error concerning the Holy Sacrament, are found to have joined said appeal and to have taken part in sending the humble deputation to His Imperial Majesty during the last summer, this was done by no means because we or our associates wish to defend said error or to accept it but rather because we hoped and trusted that they might renounce said error at a meeting of the ministers and after a Christian discussion of the matter. But when the meeting was held and it was found that our hopes were not realized and when they persisted in their opinion, we and other signers of the appeal took such an attitude toward them which unquestionably will not displease His Imperial Majesty. Moreover, it is known throughout the Empire what our representatives have said concerning this article before the executive committee of the recent Diet at Speyer and it is clear that we have always protected this article against injury. We may even, without praising ourselves, declare that this error is nowhere more quickly and rigorously opposed in writing and in preaching than within our domain and duchy.

If His Imperial Majesty has heard unfair accusations against us in reference to monasteries, nuns, and monks, His Imperial Majesty shall hear our humble opinion concerning vows and related subjects when we give an account of other religious matters at the coming Diet. And inasmuch as most monasteries within our duchy have been founded and generously endowed by our ancestors, we humbly trust that His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, will not feel any displeasure when these monasteries and their proceeds are used for the welfare of our country and the assistance of the poor. If, however, this arrangement should, contrary to our hopes, prove disagreeable to His Imperial Majesty, we are over and above all this, ready in all submissiveness to accept without reservations the decree of the coming Diet in reference to all the monasteries and their proceeds throughout the Empire.

If, furthermore, we have been accused before His Imperial Majesty of permitting in our duchy the teaching and preaching of articles which are totally contrary to the Christian religion and faith, and of exchanging the old customs for new and improper ones, Hans von Dolzig has with him a summary of the articles pertaining to

the faith and also, in print, a summary of the manner in which ceremonies are observed in our duchy. He shall let the Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr read these statements at the proper time. If they suggest or advise that these articles and printed copy be presented to His Imperial Majesty prior to the Diet, so that His Imperial Majesty may be more fully informed about the teaching and preaching done in our country and also about the way in which we observe the ceremonies so that he can decide whether it is Christian or un-Christian, let this be left to their pleasure and discretion.

If His Imperial Majesty through these and similar accusations has been moved to disfavor toward us, we ask that he would change this attitude and that he would not give credence to such accusations as long as he has heard no defense from us, but rather be our most gracious lord and Emperor (as His Imperial Majesty formerly was and will be in the future, we humbly trust) and graciously expect us—just as our dear sainted brother Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and we ourselves have ever and always been most eager (more so, we may say without glorying, than others) and heartily glad to offer His Imperial Majesty our most humble obedience and to assist the house of Austria with friendly and undivided service—now to offer no less humble and ready obedience to His Imperial Majesty in all those things which pertain to our body, country, subjects, and possessions, just as we have been taught to acknowledge through the divine Word and the holy Gospel.

And it is our kindly and friendly request and petition to the said two Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr that they will take the best care of these matters as they offered to do with friendliness and goodwill, which we very greatly and sincerely acknowledge; and we have the firm confidence and do not doubt in the least that they will try their best to bring these matters, either all of them or at least a part of them (as their discretion will suggest), to a successful conclusion; and we commit the entire matter to their discrimination without setting any limits, and we offer to return their gracious and kind favor and service at any time they may desire if it be possible.

17. ARCHDUKE FERDINAND I OF AUSTRIA TO
DUKE GEORGE OF SAXONY, JANUARY
22, 1529¹⁹

We, Ferdinand, by the grace of God King of Hungary and Bohemia, Prince of Spain, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, etc., representative of His Roman Imperial Majesty in the Holy Empire, assure the highborn Prince, our dear uncle, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, of our love and friendship.

Highborn Prince, dear Uncle. Your Honor knows that in recent years Martin Luther and other sectarians have not only stirred up again a number of condemned ancient heresies and errors, but also infected the common people with many additional grievous and vexatious errors; that they have disparaged the sacraments, falsified the Holy Scriptures, and set up many detestable doctrines and customs; that they have vilified, reviled, and abolished all spiritual and secular magistrates and superiors and thereby aroused many dreadful insurrections and disturbances and incited the people to disobedience and opposition against their superiors and magistrates. Now inasmuch as we deem it positively necessary that these heresies and divisions and this apostasy from our holy religion be discussed at the coming Diet for the benefit of our religion and for the improvement of conditions, therefore we believe it to be salutary and necessary that the theologians and other experts prepare a plain summary of the teachings of Luther and other new heretics on basis of their writings. We would therefore kindly ask that your Honor order your theologians, especially those of the University of Leipzig, carefully to study the books, writings, and articles of Luther and other sectarians which have appeared within the past twelve years; to prepare without delay as quickly as possible a complete list of all the new and old heresies that are contained therein, also of the innovations pertaining to the sacraments and Christian customs, and of seditions and treasonable doctrines and statements; to indicate in what year, by whom, and in what books or tracts these heresies and damnable invectives were issued, and to transmit such summary to your Honor in Latin or German (which ever seems most advisable) so that at the coming Diet your Honor will have this list and summary at hand. We will have our own theologians perform the same service for us. By doing this your Honor will not only

be justly entitled to divine reward, but also do us a friendly favor which we shall be glad to return in similar instances.—Given in our Capital Budweis, January 22, in the year 1530, the fourth of our reign.—Ferdinand.

**18. DUKES WILLIAM IV AND LOUIS X OF BAVARIA
TO THE THEOLOGICAL FACULTY OF INGOL-
STADT UNIVERSITY, FEBRUARY 13, 1530²⁰**

By the grace of God, William and Louis, brothers, Dukes of Upper and Lower Bavaria, etc.—Greeting: Worthy, learned and devout, dear, faithful Ones! Since our most gracious lord and cousin, His Imperial Roman Majesty may upon his arrival in Germany be confidently expected to summon a general Diet at which the matters of our Christian religion and faith will be discussed first of all; and in order that this matter (as is proper) may be given the most thorough and careful treatment, and in order that the doctrines which Martin Luther and other new teachers during the past twelve years have set up in opposition to our Christian faith may be clearly shown to be erroneous and worthy of repudiation, therefore we order you at once to make a complete summary and catalogue of all such heresies, wrong doctrines, and slanderous statements, and to indicate how these views may be refuted so that we may obtain the list from you when we need it. This is our solemn order and command; and we will graciously acknowledge this service which you are bound to perform by virtue of your official position.

Given at Munich, Saturday, February 13, 1530.—Khoelner.

To the worthy, learned, dear, devout, and faithful dean and members of the theological faculty of our University at Ingolstadt.

19. THE TORGAU ARTICLES, MARCH, 1530²¹

Since some accuse my lord, although unjustly, that his Electoral Grace is dispensing with all divine service, and is introducing a heathenish, dissolute mode of life and insubordination, from which the distraction of all Christendom results, it is necessary for my lord first to show that his Electoral Grace, with the greatest earnestness, desires to introduce and promote the true, real divine service, and such as is pleasing to God, and that, to God's praise and glory, he is incurring danger, expense and trouble, which he would not

do, if he did not think that he was thereby serving God. For it is well known how his Electoral Grace has always conducted his life, so that, thank God, he has always been inclined to peace, and has thus far, in these matters, often helped to maintain and make peace.

To this effect it is well to place first a long and rhetorical preface.

Secondly, this is also manifest and clear, viz., that with the greatest earnestness, my lord is making provision that, in the territory of his Electoral Grace, the Holy Gospel be preached with all diligence, and that ceremonies be performed in accordance with it; and every one, even among the adversaries, must acknowledge that this doctrine, which is taught, and written, and treated is Christian and comforting, and that in it there is no error, although it be upbraided with being an innovation, without agreement with the councils. Because the adversaries themselves now confess that the doctrine is in itself right, my lord cannot be justly accused of dispensing with divine service, and tolerating unchristian doctrine or matters, etc. But his Electoral Grace knows and does not doubt that this is true, real divine service, and also, that the doctrine which your Electoral Grace has allowed in your lands, is Christian, and consolatory to all men, who fear God, and is salutary.

The present dissension now is especially concerning some abuses, which have been introduced by human doctrine and statutes, of which we will report in order, and indicate for what reasons, my lord is induced to cause certain abuses to be abated.

Of the Doctrines and Ordinances of Men. First. Although divine service does not consist in the doctrines of men, yet my lord, in the territories of his Electoral Grace, has caused the customary church ordinances, which are not contrary to the Holy Gospel, to be observed, and has caused it to be preached, and the people to be informed that such ordinances should be observed for the sake of peace; as is manifest and every one can see that, in the territory of his Electoral Grace, divine services are held with greater devotion, and earnestness, than with the adversaries.

Secondly. Moreover there are many human ordinances which cannot be observed without sin. To these my lord has neither wished, nor been said to have constrained any one by violence, contrary to God's command, for the reason that the Scriptures say, Acts 5:29: "We ought to obey God rather than men." This the canons also command, Dis. 8, viz., that every custom, however old it be, and however long it have continued, should yield to the Scriptures, and the truth, etc.

But since some, on the contrary, declare that no change should be made against the consent of the Church, or of the Pope; also that the sins which have originated from fictitious human doctrines are much more endurable, and less injurious than the schism which has now arisen by such alteration; also that as schismatics we are members cut off from the Church; and that with us the sacraments are invalid, etc.—charges that are made with great bitterness, etc.; It is therefore necessary to answer: “They may extol obedience as highly as they please, provided this declaration stand firm: “We ought to obey God rather than men.” Also in Galatians: “Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.” Hence it clearly follows that they are not accursed who abandon false doctrines and ordinances; but they are publicly condemned by St. Paul who observe false doctrines and ordinances, etc.

On that account, the unity of the Christian Church, consists not in external, human ordinances; and therefore we are not members cut off from the Church, if we observe dissimilar ordinances from one another; and, for this reason, the Holy Sacraments among us are not invalid. For dissimilarity in external human ordinances is not contrary to the unity of the Christian Church, as is clearly proved by the article which we confess in the Creed: “I believe the Holy Catholic Church.” For since we are here commanded to believe that there is a Catholic Church, that is, the Church in the entire world and not bound to one place, but that wherever God’s Word and ordinances are, there is a Church, and yet the external human ordinances are not alike, it follows that this dissimilarity is not contrary to the unity of the Church. Christ also says: “My sheep hear my voice” “And a stranger will they not follow; for they know not the voice of strangers.” And “The kingdom of God cometh not with observation.” “If any man shall say unto you, Lo here is Christ, or lo there.” And Paul: “The kingdom of God is not meat and drink,” etc. Augustine also writes expressly to Januarius that the unity of the Church does not consist in external human ordinances, and says that such ordinances should be free, and may or may not be observed. Also if it would be a schism to change external ordinances, they are more justly to be regarded as schismatics who, acting in opposition to the ordinances of all Christendom, and in opposition to the councils, make prohibitions, such as that of marriage, although the Council of Constantinople decreed that the priests should not be forbidden

marriage. Also those who have introduced new divine services contrary to the usage and practice of the ancient Church, have sold masses, although the ancient Church knew nothing whatever of such marketable masses. Besides if citations be made from the fathers, continue to be forbidden, still worse will happen; for the longer the them, and the like, the schismatics mentioned by them are not those who practice dissimilarity in regard to external human ordinances, but those who abandon God's Word in an article, as Augustine expressly writes Against Cresconius, and Jerome: "It is no schism unless they devise some heresy."

Moreover what the human ordinances are that cannot be observed without sin we will hereafter enumerate. For it is necessary first to speak also of those ordinances which were observed as means, and from which also many errors, before this time, were preached and taught in the Church; as for example, of fasts, differences of food and dress, especially the observance of fasts, chants, pilgrimages, and the like, under the impression that all these are works whereby grace and the forgiveness of sins are obtained. Now it is manifest this is a pernicious, damnable error, as is acknowledged also by many among the adversaries, who have received consolation from the doctrine which teaches, on the contrary, that forgiveness of sins and grace are truly presented us through Christ out of grace, and that it is alone through faith in Christ, that we receive it, that for Christ's sake, and through Christ's merits, without our own merit, our sins are forgiven. Therefore if it be taught that through the above mentioned human ordinances, we receive grace and the forgiveness of sins, it is certainly manifest blasphemy, and directly contrary to the Holy Gospel. For Paul expressly teaches that if we would be justified and acquire grace through our own works, Christ has died for us in vain. Gal. 2, Rom. 3: "Knowing that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Also Ephesians 2: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works." Therefore those who have taught that we obtain grace through our own self-chosen works, such as set fasts, or holidays or the like, have done Christ great dishonor, in ascribing the praise that belongs to Christ to their own self-chosen works; they have also thereby prevented Christ and his grace from being acknowledged, and that too when no higher honor can be rendered God than that Christ be acknowledged and heard; as it is written: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased; hear him."

Also Christ says: "In vain do they worship me with the commandments of men." There it is most assuredly declared that God does not regard human church ordinances as meriting the forgiveness of sins. Christ has also forbidden that sin and righteousness should be placed in a difference of food, and wishes this to be left free, as St. Paul says: "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink." But now those who do observe a distinction of food are reproached as heretics; and yet Paul calls such distinction a doctrine of devils.

Therefore if the true Christian doctrine concerning such ordinances, as are observed as means, be admitted, they may indeed be observed; as at first the church ordinance of holidays or fasts was established, not thereby to obtain grace, but that the people could learn and know when to come together, or might otherwise have bodily exercise that they might thereby become the better qualified to hear and learn God's Word. But if such ordinance be required as though it were servicable to obtain grace, or as though, without such work, no one could be a Christian, such an error should be resisted by doctrine and by example, as Paul would not circumcise Titus, in order to attest that such work would be neither necessary nor useful to acquire grace.

For this cause also my lord has constrained no one to observe distinction of food or set fasts, but has permitted such traditions to fall into disuse; for it is manifest that they were observed as works, whereby forgiveness of sins is obtained. In order that such errors should not be established, these ordinances should not be pressed upon men. The adversaries also proclaim that those persons are heretics, who do not observe the distinction of food, and thus make of it a work without which no one can be a Christian. Yet Christ says: "Food maketh not unclean" ("Not that which goeth into the mouth, defileth the man," Math. 15:11).

The ancient canons indicate what should be held concerning such human ordinances. Dist. 4. It is forbidden that the fasts which have fallen into disuse be again established. Now if such ordinance may be abandoned by custom, it follows that it is not necessary to the Christian life. Thus the penitential canons have become obsolete by custom, and yet no one regards it a sin to discontinue them. Thus many other ordinances and many ancient canons have ceased to be in force, as for example, in the decrees, the fasts on Wednesdays and Fridays. Nor has any one observed the entire fasts, as they have been commanded. It is also said in Dist. 12:5: "The Roman

Church knows that it is not detrimental to the salvation of the soul to change other ordinances with respect to times and places. Jerome and Augustine also write that of such ordinances a necessary thing should not be made.

Of the Marriage of Priests. These are the ordinances which cannot be observed without sin. First they forbid the priests marriage. This is contrary to God. For Paul writes: "It is better to marry than to burn." This is God's command, and can be abolished by no man. So also it is known that the Church thus held for a long time; and that the councils ordered that marriage should not be forbidden the priests. Likewise that to the observance of this prohibition, the priesthood in Germany has been with difficulty coerced by violence, and a bishop of Metz was almost killed when he published the Papal prohibition. What good results therefrom is easily seen, and there is ground for apprehension that if marriage continue to be forbidden, still worse will happen; for the longer the world lasts, the weaker it is.

Of Both Forms. This custom of receiving only one form of the sacrament is also one that cannot be observed without sin. For Christ commanded: "Drink ye all of this." So too it is known that the Church for a long time administered both forms to the laity, as may be found in Cyprian, and in the canons. But how it was changed, and who forbade both forms to be administered, is not known.

Of the Mass. It has hitherto been taught that the mass is a work, whereby he who administers it acquires grace not only for himself, but also for others; yea that it obtains grace for others, even though the priest be not godly. For this reason, many masses were instituted for the dead and the living, whereby to obtain things of every sort; that the merchant may succeed in his business, the hunter, in the chase, etc. For this purpose, masses are appointed, bought and sold, and are observed alone for the sake of base gain; so that many godly men before the present time have complained of this.

And although, at the present time, some wish to palliate their affairs, the mass should be observed as a memorial, and not that thereby grace may be acquired for the dead or the living. They may color the matter as they will, their books and writings are public, wherein it is to be seen how they have taught that the mass is an offering which merits grace and removes the sins of the dead and the living.

Moreover that this is an error may be proved by Paul, who in all places teaches us that we obtain grace and have consolation alone through Christ, when we believe that, for Christ's sake, God is gracious to us, and wishes to receive and help us. If now forgiveness of sins must, therefore, be obtained through faith, it cannot be merited for another by the work of the priest; and it is a great error thus to point men from faith to a strange work; and yet so much depends upon this faith, for it is the chief article of the Christian life to have true confidence to God, for Christ's sake, that he confers grace and will help in all need. Of this faith, they who sell masses do not speak, but they boast alone in their work, and wish by their work to save others; although Christ has done this once and for all, as Paul writes: "By one offering, he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

Again, the words in the Holy Sacrament teach us the proper use: "This is the cup of the New Testament." Now the New Testament is not our work, but God's work, who offers and allots something, as is the custom in making a testament; and thus grace and the forgiveness of sins are offered and allotted. "If now this is promise," says Paul, "it must be received by faith." Therefore the mass is not a work that merits something for another, but he who uses it, to whom grace and the forgiveness of sins are here offered, receives them when he believes that he obtains this through Christ, and that it is determined that faith should be exercised and excited in those who use it. Nevertheless, the abuse is manifest that the majority of those who celebrate and say mass for the sake of base gain, do this with dislike and contempt of God. Therefore even though there were no other cause than the great excessive abuses, yet who would not change the present custom in all bishoprics? For Paul says: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord."

On this account my lord has a pastor to celebrate mass in such a way that thereby other persons who are fit also use the sacrament; and this is a proper custom. For Christ has instituted it that it should be celebrated with one another in the churches, by those who are fit for it, as Paul also teaches the Corinthians that they should tarry for one another, and use it together—those, namely, who first so find their hearts in such a state that they do not dishonor the Lord's Body and Blood. And in order that no dishonor be done the Sacrament,

the people should be often instructed why it should be used, and should be then admonished to use it.

The Zwinglian doctrine is also earnestly contended against, as the writings published concerning it in my lord's lands show; and the people are carefully instructed, that in the Supper the Body and Blood of Christ are present, and that they are given; for thereby faith is strengthened that consolation is received, that Christ wishes to be ours, to help, etc.

And my lord does not doubt that this mass is true and Christian divine service, especially since, even to the times of Jerome and Augustine, there were only such masses, and it is not known whence the mercenary masses came, or when private masses began.

Of Confession. Confession is not abolished; but is maintained with such great earnestness, that the pastors are enjoined not to communicate the Holy Sacrament to any one who has not previously been examined and sought absolution. For the absolution is very needful and consolatory, because we know that to forgive sins is Christ's command, and that he wishes this declaration of the priest, whereby sins are forgiven, to be regarded as though it were his voice and verdict from heaven. And men are taught with the greatest diligence concerning the efficacy of the absolution, and the faith that belongs thereto, so that they know how highly consolatory are confession and absolution. Yet previously the monks said nothing of faith and absolution. They only tortured poor consciences with the enumeration of sins, which, however, is possible to no man on earth. On this account, the people are not compelled to enumerate their sins; for the command to enumerate sins is not to be found in the Scriptures, which is also not possible, as the Psalmist says: "Who can understand his errors?"

Again, the command concerning confession, on this account, has been thus given, viz. that the priests are charged to communicate the Sacrament to no one who has not sought of them absolution. Otherwise no time and measure are prescribed to men, when they should confess; for such a command would produce a certain abuse of the Sacrament, as it occurred, in former times, that men who were unwilling to cease from sins, were forced to the Sacrament, whereby the Sacrament was greatly dishonored. For absolution is a consolation to alarmed consciences. This consolation is mocked at, if one should ask for it, who, nevertheless, does not desire it; besides if one should fix time and measure when men are to go to the Sacrament,

it would follow, contrary to the rule of St. Paul, that many would be compelled thereto, who would then receive unworthily the Body and Blood of Christ. Of such dishonor to the Sacrament do they become guilty who have compelled such persons to the Sacrament.

Besides, the people are earnestly admonished by God's Word, and it is held up to them, that he who wishes to be a Christian is in duty bound to use the Sacrament; he also who never uses it shows that he does not wish to be a Christian, as the canon made in the Council of Toledo, *Si qui intrans, Dis. 2, de Consecr.*, also declares.

Of Jurisdiction. Of the Jurisdiction and Sovereignty of Bishops. My Lord has taken no jurisdiction or sovereignty from the bishops, but since men would no longer seek the spiritual tribunal, and the clergy in many places abused their power and the ban, my lord, in his capacity as prince, has been compelled to harken to and to interest himself in the matters pertaining to his Electoral Grace; as the administration of ecclesiastical law is also entrusted to sovereigns, in dealing with such matters, if the clergy abuse their jurisdiction.—Secondly, it is the chief part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to reprove erroneous doctrines; for this is commanded the bishops in the Scriptures and the canons. Now before this time, they have never exercised this jurisdiction, but have allowed all sorts of errors to be preached. If they now wish, under the pretext of their jurisdiction, to suppress the true doctrine, their jurisdiction in this respect cannot be approved. For if the bishops would, in a regular and Christian way, have examined in time these matters, whence the present dissension has originated, much displeasure would have been avoided.—Thirdly, if my lord is not in duty bound to aid the bishops in seizing the priests who have been married, and in thereby maintaining allegiance to them, my lord could not then help them with a good conscience. Besides every patron is rather in duty bound, according to ecclesiastical law, to protect the ministers of his churches against the unjust power of ecclesiastical prelates, especially if the patron be not subject to the same prelates; for the patron has even the power to appoint a capable priest to a parish, against the will of a prelate who has made an unsuitable appointment. *C. Decernimus*, 16, 9. 7.—Fourthly, if, in regard to ecclesiastical tribunals, complaint is made, concerning many matters pertaining to marriage, that they necessarily require an appeal to other tribunals (and the cases are these, viz., that a secret marriage vow is confirmed, even

if a child be taken by theft from a reputable man; also that spiritual paternity breaks marriage vows; also, that after divorce, the innocent part is not to marry again, a point directly contrary to God's Word; nor is it needful to mention further the abuses that have occurred therefrom), for this reason, their sovereignty and jurisdiction cannot, in this respect, be conceded. It is also worthy of consideration that, even though one might wish to establish such sovereignty against the whole world, yet it is not possible; for men cannot be forced to seek such a tribunal with the burdens upon their conscience.

Of Ordination. Likewise because the bishops burden the priests with such oaths, as they cannot observe without sin, viz. not to preach this doctrine and not to be married, ordination cannot be sought from them; for such an oath is contrary to God, and we must obey God rather than men, as also the canons prescribe that the bishops are to be deserted who compel men to act contrary to God. Here there are many disputations which it is not needful to ponder, viz. whether the priests must be ordained by bishops, whether the office of priest be appointed for doctrine, or to make an offering for others, whereby grace is acquired for others.

Also concerning the ceremonies of ordination, the advice moreover is indeed given to yield somewhat, if there is unanimity concerning the chief article, so that the bishops acquiesce therein. For if they would make peace, we would do right in giving up everything that could be yielded, with a good conscience, for the sake of peace which is higher and more worthy of regard, than all the outward freedom that can be imagined. If indeed these matters pertained alone to our persons, and not to the government, country and people, we would, at our own peril, treat the adversaries for ourselves with still greater rigor. But this has been divulged, and much mischief has been practised by the populace in this rupture, and the government has been usurped by its aid; for what pernicious and horrible offences originate from such ruptures, can easily be conjectured. Besides what might occur in the future, is to be considered. It is to be apprehended that not many Dr. Martins will come after this time, who would control these important matters with such grace, and would avoid false doctrine and war. If now the discord continue, and indiscreet and wicked persons interfere still more in the future. O God, what will they prepare? God grant grace that the nobles may exercise their office for both sides, and besides may consider their most dear children, whom they can have instructed in nothing

better than the true religion and a good government. But that hitherto some indifferent ordinances have been abandoned, has occurred because they condemned the doctrine; if then the doctrine be allowed us and be cordially received, they might be recalled and would be regarded by us in no way otherwise than had we recalled them, and thus to please them we would observe certain customs, provided the doctrine would receive no injury.

Of Vows. Of Monastic Life. This subject of monastic life does not concern my lord, for his Electoral Grace has ordered the monks neither to go out of, nor to go into monasteries, but it is proper to ask of them themselves the reason why this has happened. It is a private matter, and does not pertain to the Church at large. Nevertheless the reasons are recounted why my lord has not again founded monasteries, and why his Electoral Grace has tolerated the persons who have abandoned them.

There are especially three reasons why the monastic life, as it has hitherto been conducted, is wrong and contrary to God. The first is, that this life is entered with the imagination that thereby satisfaction is made for sin, and grace is merited, as Thomas in express words held that monastic life is equal to baptism, and says that to become a monk takes away sin just as baptism. What else is this than to give human and self-devised works the honor of divine service, which belongs to Christ? Christ has purchased grace which we obtain through faith in his merit, Eph. 2. Therefore it is a great blasphemy to wish by means of monastic life, to merit grace, and settle for sins. Baptism has God's word and institution, and is God's work; and for this reason, removes sin. But monasticism has not God's word; for it rests upon mere human commands, of which Christ says: "In vain do they worship me with the commandments of men;" whence it is certain that monasticism cannot remove sins, and that the commands of men wherein monasticism is entirely comprised are a vain service. Since now the monastic vow is an ungodly vow, if any one imagine by such work to merit grace, it is in vain, and of no avail. — The second reason is, that it is also contrary to God's command to make a vow not to marry. To those who suffer from concupiscence, Paul says: "It is better to marry than to burn." Because also such a vow is contrary to creation and the nature of man, it is also impossible. Because now it is contrary to God's command, and besides impossible, it follows that it is not a vow, and that those who need married life, should and must leave the monasteries. On

this account the ancient canons permitted young persons to leave the monasteries, 20.41. Besides Augustine writes that even though they who leave the monasteries, and marry, sin, it is a true marriage, and should not be sundered. — The third reason is, that those who have hitherto been in monasteries, even though they would and could live in marriage, were nevertheless compelled to observe the abuse of the mass for the dead, and other unrighteous services, as the invocation of saints, etc. Therefore they have just cause to flee from such an unchristian mode of life, where, under God's name, base gain is served, and to avoid it as a sin against the Second Commandment.

Of the Worship of Saints. Touching the saints, it is taught that the example of their faith is useful to us; also that their good works are serviceable to us for instruction, to do the like, each one according to his calling. But to pray the saints for anything, and through their merit to procure anything, is an honor that belongs alone to God and our Lord Christ. Therefore the saints are not to be invoked as intercessors; for Christ has commanded us to adhere to him as the one intercessor and mediator. As Paul says: "To us Christ is Mediator"; and Christ says: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden." And to the illustration, that a good advocate at court is useful, it is easy to answer that such an advocate would do injury, if the prince had given an order that the petition was to be presented by the person himself.

Of German Singing. What in general is to be held concerning indifferent ceremonies, has been said above, viz. that if they are required not for doctrine, but that, by these works, sins might be removed, such service is wrong and is contrary to the Gospel. Since now ceremonies ought to be of service for doctrine, some have adopted German singing, that by this practice men might learn something, as Paul also teaches, 1 Cor. 14, that in the Church nothing unintelligible should be spoken or sung. Yet no command to that effect is made, and Latin also is always sung for the practice of the young. The things thus far stated are concerning external ordinances and customs.

If in addition there should be a desire to know what else my lord causes to be preached, articles may be given in answer wherein the entire Christian doctrine is set forth in order, that it may be seen that my Lord has allowed no heretical doctrine, but has had the Holy Gospel of our Lord Christ preached in the purest way; for

even many of the adversaries must acknowledge that they have been better instructed, concerning many sublime and important subjects, by this doctrine which is preached in my lord's lands, than they previously were taught by the sententiarists and summists; as for example, concerning obtaining the forgiveness of sins through faith; also, how to use the sacraments; concerning the distinction between the civil magistracy, and the office of bishop; also, worldly human Church ordinances are to be regarded, whereof there is no end in the summists.

20. THE FIRST DRAFT OF MELANCHTHON'S PREFACE TO THE CONFESSION, APRIL, 1530²²

Whereas the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, in the recent summons of Your Majesty to this appointed general Reichstag has graciously offered to the Electors, Princes and other Estates of the Empire, to hear, in gracious affection, their individual judgments, opinions, and beliefs concerning the Christian religion, in each other's presence may Your Majesty graciously hear and give audience to the obedient report concerning the doctrine, and church usages that are observed and maintained in the lands of the Elector of Saxony and also the circumstances in general which are the reason for the aforementioned doctrine and church usages.

For thus, in ancient times, preceding Roman Emperors, like Constantine, Theodosius, Charlemagne and Henry II, have acted in similar matters relating to religion and the Christian faith, and on all occasions have graciously heard the transactions and agreements, as far as was necessary, so that in such matters, concerning the soul and conscience they might not strive against God.

So likewise the Holy Ghost, in the Second Psalm, admonishes the Kings, Princes, Potentates and Rulers of the earth, and directs them all to Christ the only supreme King, and to the hearing of the Gospel, and such admonition, which will be clearly manifested at the Last Day, should be accepted with genuine seriousness, for the Psalm speaketh thus: Be wise now therefore, O ye kings; be instructed ye judges of the earth that ye hearken to Christ, to the Gospel, etc. Furthermore, the Forty-seventh Psalm says: The princes of the nations are gathered together, even the people of the God of Abraham, when the shields of the earth turn unto God. Thus the prophet indicates that the real honor of God, and the real and genuine service of God would be increased and preserved

when kings and princes piously maintain true and pure Christian doctrine in the Church. Therefore they are called the shields of the earth because God has laid on them the responsibility of faithfully protecting the pious and godly.

Now as the Imperial Majesty is one of the most mighty among the emperors that has ever ruled the Roman Empire, and is of most noble imperial excellence, of laudable name and reputation, not less renowned than Constantine, Theodosius, Charlemagne and Henry II, Your Majesty will act in a very praiseworthy, Christian, and imperial manner if you will endeavor kindly and graciously to promote unity in such matters pertaining to the Christian religion, according to the terms of your summons.

So that all matters of religion may be deduced and investigated according to the divine Scriptures, and the truths of the Christian Religion may be derived therefrom, and not from human propositions, ancient traditions, usages or customs, which though they may have legal validity in worldly business, temporal possessions and the like, may not be advanced nor maintained in matters of faith, as the words of Augustine and Gregory, quoted in Decretum VIII diss. in c. *veritate manifestata* and c. s. *consuetudinem*, likewise indicate. There they testify that in such matters of faith, when the truth has been revealed, all usages that might conflict with it must be relinquished, no matter how ancient or how long their duration, and Gregory proves this by the saying in John XIV; when He says, I am the way, the truth, and the life, He does not (says Gregory) state, I am a custom, but the truth. So it is quite evident, from their statements, that in the days of these fathers abuses contrary to the Scriptures had taken root in the Church. For if such customs and ancient prerogatives against which they desired to quote these words had not been rooted in the Church they would not have dared to argue against them or attack them with such words and similar statements. And since the enemy of the truth, from the very earliest days, did not rest, but sowed such seed of abuses as the statement of the above mentioned fathers, and especially that of the most excellent and learned bishop and martyr Cyprian, whom Gregory also quotes in this passage, proves, how much more is it to be considered that he did not rest nor refrain from sowing such evil seed of abuses in these latter perilous days, in which St. Paul the holy Apostle clearly predicted perverse men would arise, who put their trust in so many and such varied orders, sects and schisms. Afterwards St. Bernard, in his day, as he surveyed

the character and customs of the Church, deplored and complained, warned and was apprehensive least finally out of these abuses would come the abomination Christ predicted.

So, likewise, Pope Innocent the third, ordered the prelates that they should not allow the people who frequented their churches to be betrayed with many fictions, fabrications and false teachings, as (he says) was being done in many places for profit or gain, from which testimony of Pope Innocent it is clearly evident with what deception and false teaching the devil operated in those days and how he ventured to introduce them into worship and teaching.

In addition the Imperial Majesty will graciously recall how numerous and varied were the abuses that by Your Majesty's gracious permission were recounted and presented at the first Reichstag held by Your Majesty at Worms.

Likewise Pope Hadrian recently, through a legate, at the previous Reichstag at Nurnberg (1522-1523) acknowledged such abuses and promised, with the help of God to change and amend them.

These things are humbly brought to the recollection of the Imperial Majesty so that Your Majesty might not be persuaded or influenced by any one (as you doubtless would not be) to believe that there are no abuses contrary to God and the Scriptures in the teachings and ceremonies of the Church.

And though it would be possible to indicate and enumerate to the Imperial Majesty such abuses one after the other, nevertheless we contemplate passing them by, so that the Imperial Majesty may afterwards specifically perceive and see what is taught and preached in the Electorate of Saxony and also the usages that are observed in ceremonies and sacraments. From these Your Imperial Majesty, and each and every one to whose attention these transactions may come, can easily understand what opposite abuses have been removed and omitted.

However, that the Imperial Majesty may be informed concerning the origin of the teaching that is held in the lands of the Elector of Saxony, and how the removal of ceremonial abuses necessarily followed, we recall, what is a matter of common knowledge, particularly in the German nation, that almost everywhere little was preached or taught concerning the chief articles of the Christian faith, and that many harmful and unnecessary teachings were propounded to the people in place of God's Word. This was especially true in the matter of the indulgences, concerning which the Questors, who were

appointed for that purpose, spoke to the people in such exceedingly ungodly and unbecoming ways, that occasion was given to exhort and dispute concerning these and similar false teachings which were being inculcated for the deception of the people. For, among other impudent assertions, some ventured to declare openly and proclaim from the pulpits that when the money dropped into the basin, the soul for which the money was given immediately flew up to heaven. Therefore it was fitting that the people should be given Christian instruction in such matters, for if the deception of the simple people had been allowed to continue in silence any longer such open blasphemies would of necessity have brought the true Christian religion itself into contempt, had not God in His grace and compassion restored the true and genuine doctrine. But when certain persons, under the compulsion of their conscience, set themselves against unbecoming and blasphemous preaching and proclaiming of indulgences, the opponents and their adherents who promoted such an unfounded and blasphemous teaching concerning indulgences as has been described above attempted, as is known to everyone in the empire, most violently to justify and defend these teachings, both by their writings and with tirades from the pulpits and ventured to add still more unfounded declarations to their previous impudent assertions, so that on our part it became an unavoidable necessity to publish the Christian teaching opposed to such false teaching and to instruct the people against it by proofs drawn solely from the divine Holy Scriptures, show them how grace and the forgiveness of sins are to be obtained and consciences consoled by faith in Christ, as it is most needful for all Christians to know. From this had to follow, because it was necessary to speak of the basis of their unseemly teaching, through the demonstration of established truth, that one abuse after the other had to be abolished, and as one was removed for an indisputable reason another and still another, involved with it, had to be removed, just as in a building whose foundation is not solid nor firm. The prelates allowed these loutish sermons and writings to go on unchecked and did not perceive, as they should properly have done, how the matter was being carried so far, in various publications, that many honest and learned persons, who had read and weighed the controversial writings published by both parties, had to approve our party and its teaching, regarding and judging it good and Christian, especially perceiving that in the part which relates how grace and the forgiveness of sins is to be obtained, we have taught rightly, and

that our opponents have made assertions that are unfounded and untrue, yea, that were fabricated in contradiction to the clear divine Scriptures. So the Imperial Majesty may also graciously consider that it would not have been fitting for those to whom God has given grace to understand divine Scripture to keep silence continuously, to have allowed Christian people to be deceived continually by such fictions and offensive teachings and to have concealed or kept silent the testimony of acknowledged truth. For as St. Chrysostom says (XI. q. IIIC) the word, *nolite timere*, may be summed up: No one shall refrain from openly confessing the truth because of the fear of men. For not only is he a false witness who speaks lies in the place of the truth but likewise the one who does not openly confess the truth or does not defend it is a false witness. This is proved by the statement of St. Paul to the Romans. With the heart man believeth unto righteousness and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. In addition no offence has appeared or been manifest of such nature that on its account the truth should not openly be spoken against manifest falsehood. For the Imperial Majesty knows that in matters of faith it is more profitable to allow offences to arise and increase, than to keep silent or suppress the truth for the sake of avoiding the offence.

Since the opponents desire to make this teaching and its preachers responsible for the supposed destruction and abolition of all good order, ceremonies, pious and useful Church usages, just as they presume to say, without the possibility of proof, that it forbids good works, so the Imperial Majesty will perceive, from the following accounts, exactly how the Church usages, ceremonies and other matters are conducted in the lands of the Elector of Saxony and also what is there everywhere taught, likewise whether or not upright Christian works and order, or anything that is godly, is omitted, rejected or destroyed, and that what is published by our antagonists is an unnecessary, unprovable and unjust accusation, for our teaching is not directed in any way to such an end.

21. CHANGES OF AND SUPPLEMENTS TO THE FIRST DRAFT, APRIL, 1530²³

It is widely known that many great and destructive abuses affecting Christian doctrine and other spiritual matters have existed in the Church for a long time. Many eminent persons and those of high rank have

complained about this condition in previous times as the Imperial Majesty will graciously recall that in Worms at the Reichstag held by Your Majesty many such abuses were enumerated and were presented to Your Majesty by the Estates. Subsequently Pope Hadrian through a legate acknowledged the same to the Estates of the Empire at Nurnberg and assured them that the specified abuses would be changed and amended as far as possible.

And among other abuses the most conspicuous was this that in almost all the schools, cloisters, and churches little was preached or taught concerning the chief articles of the Christian faith, while much harmful teaching concerning the false service of God was presented, by which consciences were heavily burdened and human institutions, orders, devotions to saints, pilgrimages, indulgences and other unnecessary and useless matters were more frequently and zealously considered, to the destruction of souls, than what the Gospel teaches for the consolation of consciences. In addition new abuses were daily devised for the sake of gain, new institutions, new misuses of the mass, new saints and other fictions,* while the monks practiced such tyranny that not only the common people but even the bishops and other prelates had to remain silent, and for this reason great indignation was aroused among large numbers, particularly against the monks. It is well known how the affair of the indulgences began, which gave occasion to speak of all kinds of abuses, for when such unchristian assertions are made as this, that "when the money drops into the basin the soul flies up to heaven," and many other unseemly statements which are not only contrary to the divine Word but even to papal law, it became the duty of pastors and preachers to instruct the people in these matters, for, if there had been no further Christian instruction such manifest lies would have been exposed and the true Christian religion itself would have been brought into contempt if God had not provided true and certain teaching as a defense against them. When Luther, as was his duty, attacked these unseemly sermons and proclamations concerning indulgences in a short Latin sermon, throughout which he carefully spared the papal authority, the opponents attacked him so fiercely in Latin and German libelous writings that he was compelled to state the basis and reason for his opinion. He then gave such statements of many great and weighty matters, particularly of how consciences were to be consoled by faith in Christ that many

* Melancthon wrote on the margin but later crossed out: so that the Christian religion, with such a multitude of saints, divinities and belly gods, hardly differed from heathen religion.

learned and honest persons were convinced that his teaching was both Christian and necessary, and that much false and erroneous doctrine had previously been preached and written on this point as to how grace and forgiveness might be attained, although the grace of Christ should be the chief subject of preaching and teaching in all Christendom. At first, indeed, Luther did not refer to any other abuses but was only concerned about the chief article of faith, which it is most necessary for all Christians to know. But the opponents did not cease and continued to attack Luther again and again with citations, banns and unseemly writings, and created many more abuses and through their own improprieties aroused such dissent that changes followed in many places. In these situations Luther strenuously opposed harmful teachings and unnecessary changes. Before Luther's time others attacked not only the lives of the clergy, but also many doctrines, from which far greater discontent would have resulted if Luther had not averted it.

22. DR. ECK'S 404 ARTICLES, MARCH, 1530²⁴

a. *The unpublished Dedication of the Book to the Emperor:* To our glorious Lord and Imperial Majesty, Charles V., Emperor of Rome, Catholic King of Spain, Germany, Naples, and Sicily, the God-fearing, happy, and renowned victor and conqueror: prosperity and victory over the enemies of the faith!

All Catholics believe that, in the midst of these numerous tumults of wars and afflictions of Christianity, you, most worshipful Emperor, are the divinely appointed, chosen, and consecrated instrument for stopping the decline of the Catholic faith, for helping the afflicted Church and the oppressed ecclesiastics, for saving the Christian empire from Soliman the Turk, the bloodthirsty tyrant; in short, they believe that the Lord would work the salvation of the Christian world through your hand. But Martin Luther, the Church's enemy within the Church, has refused to heed the high admonitions addressed to him by your Majesty and hurled himself into a veritable whirlpool of godlessness: he calls the Pope of Rome the "anti-Christ", the Church a "harlot", the bishops "worms and idols", the schools of theology (*studia generalia*) "synagogues of Satan"; monasteries he calls "brothels", theologians "bats" (*vespertiliones*), secular princes "louse's eggs, fools, insane drunkards worse than the Turks"; moreover, he does not even refrain from injuring your majesty's sacred shoulders and holy arm but attacks the Anointed of God, and defiles the imperial orders with his filthy, derisive, and contemptuous glosses. He has fallen into a deep pit of despair; he

blasphemes God; he has no reverence for saints or sacraments and no respect for ecclesiastical or secular magistrates; he is contumelious and rebellious; he slanders all good men but extols and praises only the heretics and schismatics; he kindles the fires of sedition throughout the empire; he is making ardent preparations for a deluge of Christian blood; he is arming the hands of the Germans in order that they may bathe in the blood of Pope and Cardinals. Thus he has produced a vast offspring, much worse than himself, bringing forth broods of vipers. We must acknowledge as Luther's sons the iconoclasts, the sacramentarians, the Capernaïtes, the neo-Hussites and their descendants, the anabaptists, the neo-Epicureans who declare the soul to be mortal, the enthusiasts, also the neo-Cerinthians who deny the deity of Christ. Above all, they lacerate our most pitiable German land with these ugly and terrible things; they destroy the churches, demolish the altars, and trample upon the most holy Eucharist; they burn the images of Christ and the saints, extinguish the worship of God, cast the relics of the saints into the dirt; they steal the church's treasures, gold and silver; they rob the churches and monasteries of their rents and revenues; they invalidate the testaments, bequests, and last wills of the dead. In short, in their insane rage against everything pertaining to the Christian religion they even go so far as to use persuasion, intimidation, threats, and violence so as to drive out of the monasteries the virgins who have been consecrated to God. Nevertheless most of them now have the audacity openly to glory in all their dreadfully execrable crimes and to fling out the boast that they can shield themselves behind the recess of the Diet of Speyer and that they can defend their actions before God and your most venerable Majesty; they allege, as it were, that the most worshipful and venerable ruler of the world is the defender of their ungodliness, slander, thievery, sacrilege, and sedition; and they hope that the Emperor's extreme justice will vindicate their own extreme injustice. While they are not unaware of the fact that it is forbidden under pain of punishment to recommence disputation concerning matters which have once been properly adjudged and settled by a council, they actually revive ancient heresies condemned a thousand or more years ago; they follow teachers who have been burned at the stake and other men held in wretched remembrance, and they deceive the plain people by posing as adherents to the gospel, the Bible, and the Word of God.

For the purpose of stamping out their deceitful vaunts, I present myself before your most worshipful Majesty, ready to perform the

same service that I performed at Leipzig against Luther and at Baden against Oecolampadius, namely to defend all the ordinances, usages, doctrines, and ceremonies of our Catholic religion and faith and to attack the arguments of the antagonists. Let them come on, these enemies of the church, these instruments of godlessness, these advocates of heresies, and vessels of iniquity; let them fulfill the proud and insolent boasts which they have broadcast among the people, and let them give an account concerning the faith before the power which is of God, before the servant of God, the defender of the church, the protector of the faith! Farewell, father of our land, most worshipful conqueror! May our blessed and mighty God protect and guide you; may He grant you victories over the Turks and the enemies of the faith, and may He still further increase and extend your dominion! Ingolstadt, Bavaria, March 14, in the year of grace 1530.—Your most worshipful and Catholic Majesty's obedient servant John Eck.

b. *The Title and the Preface of the Printed Edition.* The title: Sub Domini JESV et MARIAE patrocinio articulos 404, partim at disputationes Lipsicam, Badensem et Bernensem attinentes, partim vero ex scriptis pacem ecclesiae perturbantium extractos, coram divo Caesare Carolo V., Romanorum imperatore semper augusto, ac proceribus imperii Ioannes Eckius, minimus ecclesiae minister, offert se disputaturum Augustae Vindelicorum die et hora consensu Caesaris posterius publicandis.—*The preface:* Inasmuch as for a number of years false prophets have been rising up and attempting to tear away the people from the unity of the Catholic Faith, corrupting all Germany with errors, impieties, and blasphemies, so that what was formerly regarded most Christian has now become the cesspool of all errors, in behalf of the faith and for the Church I have hastily gathered these few out of their infinite errors. And since the enemies of the faith are making a parade of their writings and are offering in secret to dispute concerning them before the people, I offer, according to the judgment and disposition of our Most Glorious Prince and Lord, Charles V., perpetual Emperor of Spain, Germany, Sicily, a Catholic King, and our most clement Master, and of that of all the Princes of the Roman Empire, especially of our Most Serene Prince and Lord, Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bavaria, and Archduke of Austria, and of our Most Illustrious Princes of the renowned House of Bavaria, to discuss in public the points below noted against any assailant of the Catholic truth; so as to establish our dogmas and overthrow the false dogmas of the adversaries, to the praise of God, the increase of faith and the strengthening of the weak. To God alone the glory.

c. The 404 Articles of Luther and Others.

First Eck gives 41 articles of Luther condemned by the papal bull, June 15, 1520; then the *conclusiones Eckii Lipsiae* 42-54; then the *conclusiones Eckii* in Baden [in Switzerland, May 26, 1526], 55-61; finally the *conclusiones Eckii* in Bern [Jan. 6, 1528], 62-65. Now under the heading *Errores novi et veteres iam ventilati* the new part of Eck's book begins, 66-404.

New and Old Errors now Stirred Up

Concerning Christ: 66. Christ experienced terrors of soul even to despair (Bugenhausen, Psalmorum 34).—67. Christ in despair cried out, My God, why hast Thou forsaken me (Praemonstratensis, in the disputation at Magdeburg).—68. The greatest cause of the fear of Christ was the sense of desertion and of divine wrath, by which Christ wavered between hell and life. In this fear, there was a desolation of the divine gifts in Christ; for in this affliction and anguish, there was a despoliation of love, because the divinity withdrawing itself, love did not glow (Melanchthon, Super Matth. 5).—69. After the death of Christ, his soul ought to suffer in hell, and in martyrdom be attacked by demons (Antonius Zimmermann, in proprio libello).—70. Christ complained that he was deserted of God, i. e., that he was bereft of life and blessedness and all good (Idem).—71. Christ is finite according to his humanity; therefore, he truly grew in wisdom and grace (Zwingli, Bernae, 153).—72. Christ as a man, is the adoptive Son of God (Bugenhausen, Ad Ephes. 4).—73. Christ merited nothing for himself, but for us (Luther, In maligno iudicio, 155).—74. Christ rose not from a closed sepulchre, neither did he enter into the company of his disciples, while the doors were shut (Bucer, Bernae, fol. 160).—75. Christ is not Head of the Church according to his human nature (Haller, Bernae, fol. 64).—76. Christ no longer prays to God for us (Zwingli, Bernae, fol. 206).—77. Christ did not appear personally to St. Paul, but only through angels (Zwingli, Bernae, fol. 164).—78. In Christ, the two natures, human and divine, are mixed (Burgauer, Bernae, 119. Eutyces).—79. Christ did not have an intellectual soul, but in place of his soul had divinity (Lutheranus, in libro *Der einfaltig Glaub*, fol. 3, Spelt. Apollinaris).—80. Christ Jesus, according to his divine nature, is, properly speaking, the essence of all things (Zwingli, Bernae, 66. Almaricus).—81. The humanity of Christ is not to be adored; hence, the Eucharist is not to be adored (Zwingli, De eucharistia comment. 278).—82. My soul hates the word "homooousion," i. e., the Father and the Son are of the same essence (Luther, Contra Latomum. Arius).—*Against the Holy Spirit:* 83. Since the death of Christ, the Holy Spirit is his Vicar (Bucer, Bernae, 8. Macedonius).—84. Reason pretends to give Christ honor by reflecting and meditating upon his death, but this is nothing to Christ

(Melanchthon, Super Ioan. 142).—*Against the Sepulchre of Christ*: 85. The sepulchre of Christ's body, which the Saracens hold is no more a matter of care to God, than, according to the teaching of Paul, oxen are (Luther, De abroganda missa, 41.—*Against God*: 86. The opinion is certain that all things are done by God, both good and evil, not only permissively but properly, as the adultery of David, etc. Accordingly the betrayal of Judas no less than the call of Paul is His proper work, i. e., God wills sin (Melanchthon, Super epistola ad Rom. 29. 31. Floriani).—87. God wanted himself regarded foolish by means of folly; a spiritual man by means of folly recognizes God (Melanchthon, 1 Cor. 3).—*Against the Cross of Christ*: 88. It would be much better were the Cross lost than found, humbled than exalted. And it is an abuse for churches to be built and founded in honor of the wood, upon which God hung (Luther, In sermon 36 de cruce et passione hominis Christiani, Erphurdiae, in fine, et in sermone 24 de reliquiis et ornamentis, sanctae crucis exaltatione).—89. It is a silly play and an idolatrous error to inclose a portion of the Cross in gold, carry it about the church, and offer it to the people to be kissed; hence were I to own a portion of the Cross, I would burn it to ashes. In the world there are so many pieces of the wood of the Cross, that a house could be built out of them. Would that no crown of thorns, yea, no holy cross had ever come to light (Luther, ibidem).—90. It was a singular and horrible festival that was instituted in honor of the tunic of Christ at Treves (Luther, ibidem).

Against Mary: 91. Christ said to Mary: "What have I to do with thee!" meaning: Because you are my mother you think that some special favor will be shown you by me on the ground of a merit of prerogative. Understand, however, that you have no more influence with me than the woman who was a sinner, or the Syrophenician (Melanchthon, Super Ioan. 28).—92. Christ permitted Mary to err. And Joseph wanted to desert her under the suspicion of adultery (Luther, Tomo 4. Dominica post Epiphaniae).—93. When Christ preached, the centurion had greater faith than Mary; for while Christ gave his mother great faith at the conception and nativity, afterwards it was not, or only rarely, so great, and meanwhile he permitted it to waver (Luther, In postilla, dominica 3. post Epiphaniae).—94. The contradictory of the statements that the Blessed Virgin was conceived without original sin has not been censured (Luther....).—95. We certainly are just as holy as Mary. On this account, we are unwilling to have her as an advocate (Luther, Sermo 12 de nativitate Mariae, art. 149 and 162).—96. That on the day of the nativity of Mary we use the Epistle concerning

the wisdom of God, and the Gospel concerning the nativity of Christ, is a falsehood and blasphemy (Luther, *ibidem*, art. 145; the first printed edition adds: Nuernbergenses).—97. The “salve regina,” “regina coeli” are improper, and do a wrong to Christ, since they ascribe to a creature what belongs to God (Luther, *ibidem*, art. 157; Heyden, in libello; Freissleben, [pastor] at Weiden).—98. Thy prayer, says Luther, is just as precious as that of Mary, because thou canst aid me just as much as she (Luther, *ibidem*, artic. 160).—99. Christ was unwilling to comply with the curiosity of Mary, when she asked for a miracle when the wine failed (Zwingli, Bernae, 209; Luther, In postilla).—100. *Claustra virginittatis Mariae in partu fuerunt aperta et dimota* (Luther, In postilla dominica post Epiphaniae prima).—101. I hate no festival more than that of the Conception of Mary, and that of Corpus Christi (Luther, In sermone de festo corporis Christi, art. 427).—*Against the Apostles*: 102. The Council of the Apostles erred in commanding those converted from the Gentiles to abstain from blood and from what was strangled, and, accordingly they were corrected by Paul to the Colossians: “Let no man judge you, etc.” (Quidam [Erasmus] in suo consilio: meminit Schatzger contra Schwartzenbergium).—103. In the time of the Apostles the Gospel was not preached as clearly and purely as by me. Hence I was one whom they call Elias, Daniel, and a Man of God (Luther).—104. The Apostles were not believers when they were baptized. For this reason, Christ willed that the Apostles should first baptize men, and then teach what should be done and left undone (Nuremberg preachers).—*Against St. Paul*: 105. Paul wanted to be damned for his brethren (Melanchthon). So Moses was willing to be led to the devil and to be condemned in soul and body for the people (Melanchthon, Ad Rom. 30; Luther, Sermo 10: nisi abundaverit, art. 112).—106. Many, with much probability, have asserted that this epistle was not written by the apostle James, and that it is not worthy of an apostolic spirit (Luther, In captivitate Babylonica, 40).—*Against the Gospels*: 107. The Evangelists wrote contradictions. This is so evident in many passages, that they cannot be harmonized. Moreover we believe that all the Apostles could err (Brunfels, In libro de evangeliorum ratione).—108. The opinion ought to be abrogated that there are only four Gospels and four Evangelists (Idem).—109. We are compelled to assert that there is no Scripture that can be proved to be such, except the Old Testament (Idem).—110. Unless the Apostles had explained the Gospel in their Epistles, we would have nothing but trifles, and stupid and lifeless narration. To the Apostles, Peter, Paul, James, and John, and not to the Evangelists, is due the credit of handing down whatever we have that is

pure with respect to the use and form of the Gospel (Idem).—111. The New Testament has lost its power as well as the Old. Accordingly, we are to adhere to no Scripture, but only to the Spirit, according to the Eternal Gospel (Pneumatici and other Zwickauer according to Emser).—*Against the Saints*: 112. That those worshipping the Saints for temporal advantages, are little better than those who for money make a covenant with the devil (Luther, De decem praeceptis 167).—113. Prayers to the Saints for avoiding any temporal evil are to be shunned, since they cannot aid us (Melanchthon, Super Exod. 3).—114. Only through Christ, do we have access to God; accordingly confidence in the Saints falls (Luther, In sermone de nativitate Joannis baptistae art. 204 et ubique).—115. Christ alone, and not the Saints, has been given as an example of a holy life (Zwingli, In actis primis 21).—116. The worship of Saints has reached such a pass that it were better that there were no festivals of Saints and that their names were unknown (Luther, De decem praeceptis, 174).—117. The resorting of men to the churches of Saints is a work of the devil (Luther, ibidem 176 et sermo 18: De fide et operibus, art. 243).—118. God cannot suffer that any one should say: St. Peter is my Apostle (Luther, In sermone 3: Sic Deus dilexit mundum, art. 29).—119. One cannot tell whether it be St. James or a dead dog or horse that is buried at Compostella or Toulouse (Luther, In sermone in die Jacobi, art. 78).—120. The first Christopher who is portrayed as such was not a Saint. A ridiculous story! Every learned man laughs (Pillicanus, Noerdlingensis, in libello de S. Christophero).—121. Everything is a matter of suspicion that the church of priests reads today concerning Christopher, and not concerning him alone but also concerning Gregory and others [Margareta] (Idem).—122. The Saints are to be honored more on account of their doctrine than on account of their life (Luther, In sermone 16 in die S. Johannis, art. 197).—123. Since the ascension of Christ no one has gone to heaven or will go until the end of the world (Luther, In sermone de divite epulone, art. 300).—124. Through Christ I have the same access to the Father as Peter and Paul (Luther, In sermone de S. Johanne baptista, art. 202).—125. Great idolatry has resulted from the worship of Saints (Luther, Zileysen [Glaib] Stifelin, and [Lonicerus] in libello, art. 205).—126. I would not give a farthing for the merits of St. Peter, so far as aiding me is concerned. He cannot help himself. Any beggar will be more useful to me than St. Peter, for what can St. Peter have more than you and I? (Luther, In sermone dominica X post

octavam pentecostes, 457).—127. The names of the Saints ought not to be placed in the Canon of the Mass, but only devils, since they are also devils (Luther). He also calls the Church of All Saints, the church of devils; and St. Benno he calls the devil of Meissen.*—*Against Relics*: 128. The Relics of the Saints are nothing but an imposition on the people; on this account, they should be entirely buried in the ground (Luther).—129. The Blessed are no members of the Body of Christ (Zwingli).—*Against Miracles*: 130. Miracles do not prove that Saints are to be invoked; the devil assumes masks (Oecolampadius, Zwingli).—131. Miracles have not been given to confirm faith (Zwingli).—*Against Jerome*: 132. The Commentaries of Jerome and Origen are mere trifles and foolishness, if compared with those of Melanchthon. They teach their own rather than Pauline and Christian doctrine; but Melanchthon is next to Paul (Luther).—133. Jerome superstitiously extols virginity in opposition to Jovinian. There are in Jerome many such things, superstitious rather than godly (Melanchthon).—134. Jerome did not write in a proper way against Jovinian. He seeks to prevail by assertion rather than by erudition. He also does violence to passages of Scripture, not to say corrupts them. Who knows whether Jerome may not have been one of those of whom it is said by Ezekiel that when a prophet has erred and spoken a falsehood, "I the Lord have deceived that prophet!"—135. If a book of Vigilantes were extant concerning the Relics of Saints, as there is one of Jerome, I think that the former would have written in a far more Christian way than the latter (Luther). For he is a singular, immodest, vain caviller (Zwingli).—136. Books should be edited by Christians having the sense of Christ. It is on account of this defect that many interpreters of Scripture, even Jerome, have erred in many passages (Luther). Holy Scripture does not admit of several meanings, as they dream of a literal, an allegorical, etc. But there is one most simple meaning of Scripture (Luther).—*Against Gregory*: 137. Jerome and Gregory erred when they took from us the right to judge concerning every doctrine (Luther).—138. Jerome erred when he forbade circumcision (Melanchthon). And he is a hundred thousand miles off from the opinion of St. Paul (Luther).—*Against Augustine*: 139. Augustine thinks that man is the image of God, because there are in the soul intelligence, memory, and will; but this figment has been

* For lack of space we omit the particulars about the books from which Eck took his citations in what follows, and refer to Gussniann's edition.

fabricated not only without the authority of Holy Scripture, but even without reason (Melanchthon).—*Against St. Thomas*: 140. A dove is painted at the ear of St. Thomas; I think it should have been a young devil in order that he might be adored (Luther).—*Against St. Francis*: 141. St. Francis erred stupidly and fell, and included himself and his brethren in his poverty; and thus drew the Gospel into the external sphere, into temporal poverty, against Christ (Luther).—*Against Bernard*: 142. Bernard, Francis, Dominic remained in great errors with the goddess; for in their ignorance, they worshipped the Pope, believing that all that pertains to him is of God and right, which is directly contrary to the Gospel (Luther).—143. Francis, in founding his order, erred as a man. What if all the Fathers erred when they made vows? (Luther). For it was with a pious error that they fell when they vowed; and God tolerated that folly in his elect (Luther).—*Against Benedict*: 144. Benedict boasts with impious hypocrisy and perverse emulation of men (Luther).—*Against the Council of Nice*: 145. In the Council of Nice certain forms of penance were appointed. I do not declare in what spirit the decree was made by the Fathers. A good part of the Gospel, I see, yea, the true sense of the Gospel was obscured by this tradition (Melanchthon).—146. In the Holy Council of Nice, faith and the Gospel were lacking, and human traditions gained the upper hand (Luther).—*Against Noah*: 147. Although Noah was subject to judgment, and hearing the Word of God and sentence of condemnation would be judged, nevertheless he was taken away by the mercy of God (Melanchthon). 148. Noah's flood is the same as that concerning which the heathen have written as the flood of Deucalion (Zwingli).—*Against the Limbus Patrum*: 149. Christ descended ad inferos, not to a *limbus patrum*, a term unknown in Holy Scripture, but truly to hell, in order to see all places full of despair. On this account Christ praises God, that He has freed him from the hell, in whose chains he would have been eternally lost, unless the hand of the Lord had been present (Bugenhausen).—150. That the Fathers in the Old Testament descended into the "limbus" is fictitious (Haller). 151. Abraham's bosom is nothing but the Word of God (Luther).

Against the Old Testament: 152. I wish the Mosaic Law would be adopted in place of the foolish and Gentile laws, i.e., in place of the Civil Law (Melanchthon).—153. The part of the Law which has the Decalogue or Moral Precepts, has been antiquated in the New Testament (Melanchthon). Of the Decalogue, Luther makes eight

and Zwingli eleven commandments.—154. The Old Testament may be observed or omitted today. Hence Jerome erred asserting that it was abrogated (Luther).—155. They do not sin who are circumcised, or who omit circumcision (Melanchthon).—156. The reason why the Mosaic Law was abrogated is that it was impossible for it to be kept (Melanchthon).—157. Christ, by his death, confirmed the Old Testament (Weidensee).—158. The Old Testament is not a covenant, but a type of covenant (Melanchthon).—*Against the New Testament*: 159. The New Testament is nothing else than a promise of all good things without law, no respect being had to our righteousness, because good things are promised us without condition, since nothing is required in return from us (Melanchthon).—160. Whatever is done under constraint of the Law is sin; hence in the New Testament there are not precepts that force, but only exhortations and entreaties (Luther).—161. Christ did not come to make a people or to impose a law (Melanchthon).—*Against the Gospel*: 162. The Gospel commands nothing whatever (Melanchthon), neither does it prohibit (Luther).—163. The testament of Christ is confirmed by faith by which we believe his death (Eberhard Weidensee).—164. Christ bore every penalty in the New Testament, and only permitted his Word to act (Luther).—165. The Gospel is nothing else but the message of the resurrection of Christ, because here all works are eliminated (Luther): —166. Scripture does not distinguish Law and Gospel, so that you would think only that to be Gospel which Matthew, Mark, Luke and John wrote, and the books of Moses to be nothing but law, but the doctrine of the Gospel is scattered through the books of the Old and New Testament (Melanchthon).—167. Just as circumcision is nothing, so also baptism and the partaking of the Lord's Supper (Melanchthon).—*Against Angels*: 168. The wicked do not have angels of their own appointed for their guardianship; this pertains only to the elect (Bugsen).—

Against the Church: 169. Only the predestinated are in the Church, but the wicked or reprobate are not of the Church (Bucer).—170. Whoever is in the Church cannot be damned (Zwingli).—*In Regard to Contingency*: 171. All things that occur, occur according to divine predestination; hence our will has no freedom. For according to His predestination all things occur to all creatures necessarily (Melanchthon).—172. All things occur by absolute necessity (Luther).—*In Regard to Evangelical Counsels*: 173. Between the Commandments and the Evangelical Counsels, there is no distinction (Melanchthon).

—174. There is but one Evangelical Counsel viz., virginity; although this is not praised in Scripture (Luther).—175. It is impossible for an Evangelical Counsel to become a commandment (Luther).—*Against the Commandments*: 176. The commandments of God are impossible (Melanchthon). You are doing very wrong in denying that our Saviour commanded impossibilities (Luther).—*Against the Lord's Day*: 177. The Sabbath does not signify the religion of the seventh day; and since the abrogation of the Law, all days are equal (Melanchthon).—178. There are some who think that the Sabbath ought still to be observed, since we have Scripture for this, and not for the Lord's Day (Balthaser Hubmaier).—179. The Lord's Day was instituted only that men might meet to hear the Word of God, not that they might rest from work (Glaib; Carlstadt, Bucer und Zwingli).—*Against Sin*: 180. The "fomes" is truly actual sin, and actual privation of that which ought to be present, a thing that is alive and that daily excites to sin (Luther, Rieger [= Urbanus Rhegius]).—181. Every sin is ignorance (Melanchthon). And invincible ignorance does not excuse sin (Luther).—182. The distinction made today between venial and mortal sin is wrong, since every affection of concupiscence is mortal sin (Melanchthon). Every sin according to its nature, is mortal, but it is venial to those who are in Christ (Lutheranus, Der einfaeltig Glaub).—183. Original Sin is no sin, but a natural defect, like stammering (Zwingli).—184. Original Sin is an actual wicked desire; hence Scripture does not distinguish between Actual and Original Sin (Melanchthon).—185. Original Sin always remains (Luther).—*Against Faith*: 186. Faith alone justifies, not works, because faith and works directly antagonize; hence works cannot be taught without injuring faith (Luther). 187. An error in faith does not hurt, provided only one believe that Christ, our Lord, has saved and redeemed us (Bucer).—188. There are no works so wicked as to be able to accuse and condemn believers in Christ; where there is faith, no sin injures (Luther).—189. He who has once believed that Jesus Christ has redeemed him, has the seal of the Holy Spirit, and can never sin unto death (Bucer). 190. Christ has ordained that there should be no sin but unbelief, and no righteousness but faith (Luther).—191. It is necessary to elevate faith above all virtues; but it is extinguished by any crime (Idem).—192. We have no doubt whatever that we are saved when we are baptized; since the promise there made is not mutable with respect to any sins. Hence one baptized, even though

he so will, cannot lose salvation, because no sin but unbelief can condemn him. All others are swallowed up by faith in a moment (Luther).—193. Faith alone is necessary; all other things are most free, neither commanded nor prohibited (Luther). 194. Love does not justify, but faith which is preferred to love. Moreover, it justifies with respect to no works, whether good or bad (Melanchthon).—195. Only unbelievers are wicked (Zwingli), because it is with God, not with men that they deal by means of works.—196. Faith never respects past, but only future things (Luther).—197. Acquired “fides informis” is a dream, a matter unknown to Holy Scripture, taught by the prostitutes of the Pope (Luther); an insanity (Melanchthon).—*Against Works*: 198. All the works of man, however praiseworthy in appearance, are altogether vicious and are sins worthy of death (Melanchthon).—199. Wicked deeds do not make a wicked man (Luther).—200. The commandments are necessarily fulfilled prior to all works (Luther).—201. We are, we have been, we always remain equals before God (Luther).—202. God cares not for our works; or if they be anything before Him, nevertheless all are equal as to merit.—*Against Merits*: 203. Paul dissipates the dreams of theologians who have invented “meritum congrui et digni” to obtain grace (Luther; Rieger).—204. To say that our works are meritorious is to detract from the honor and merit of Christ (Haller), because there is no merit in man whatsoever (Zwingli).—205. The grace of God is not a quality in us (Melanchthon). He who believes, loves (Nuremberg provosts).—*Against Love*: 206. All the commandments of God are to be observed in love; for one not killing, sins, if this be not in love (Luther). So one in sin giving alms or doing any other good work, sins (Luther).—207. Love does not abide in the eternal home (Zwingli). 208. The Christian is on his guard lest he ever be uncertain as to whether he be in the grace of God, or whether his works please God; for he who doubts as to this, sins, and loses all his works (Luther). 209. The statement is most certain, that we are always most certain of the remission of sin. The saints know that they are in grace, and their sins are forgiven (Melanchthon).—210. Acts of hope and of faith are not distinguished in Scripture (ib).—211. I regard it a human fancy that a habit is one thing, and an act, another. Faith, accordingly, is nothing but a movement of the heart and means “to believe” (Luther).—212. The freedom of the Gospel consists in the fact that all power of accusing has been wrested from

the law, as well as of condemning us; i. e., if you have sinned, you cannot be damned (Melanchthon).

Against the Sacraments: 213. The invention of sacraments is a recent thing (Luther), and there are only three Sacraments, viz., Baptism, Penance, and the Holy Supper (Luther); elsewhere he states but two (Luther; Glaib).—214. The Sacraments of the New do not differ from those of the Old Testament, so far as efficacy or significance is concerned (Luther, Bucer).—*Against Baptism:* 215. Baptism neither justifies nor profits any one, but it is only faith in the word of promise, to which Baptism is added, that accomplishes this (Luther, Melanchthon).—216. Baptism, even so far as the sign is concerned, is not a momentary, but a permanent matter (Luther).—217. To baptize is incomparably greater than to consecrate bread and wine (Luther).—218. For this reason Baptism cannot be administered except by a priest (Luther).—219. Baptism pertains no less to the second than to the first forgiveness (Melanchthon).—220. Penitence has no other sacramental sign than Baptism (Melanchthon).—221. It is pernicious to believe that so far as a son of light is concerned, the force of Baptism is lost by sin (Luther).—222. Baptism has respect to the entire course of our life (Luther).—223. The Baptism of Christ and that of John is the same. Accordingly, John the Baptist preached the Gospel before Christ (Zwingli).—224. The form of Baptism is not "in the Name of the Father," but "I baptize thee in the Names of the Father and of the Son," etc. (Zwingli).—225. The water of Baptism is not to be blessed, neither is exorcism to precede Baptism; but, all ceremonies being excluded, we are to use Baptism in the most simple way, as Christ instituted it (Jo. Landtsperger).—226. Infants are not to be baptized; but when those baptized have attained the use of reason, they are to be rebaptized (Balthasar [Hubmaier] and all the Anabaptists).—227. Baptism does not profit an infant, unless it have a faith of its own (Luther, Rieger, Weidensee, Landtsperger). But infused faith is a fictitious thing (Osvaldus, Glaib).—228. It is not the laver of Baptism, but only the Blood of Christ, that removes Original Sin (Luther).—*Infants:* 229. Infants of Christians, who die before Baptism, I believe are not condemned (Zwingli).—230. A child must not be hurried to Baptism; for even God cannot give faith to it, when baptized, and it is lost; and he can give faith to an unbaptized child, who is to be saved (Weidensee).—231. It is not certain, then, that a child departing after Baptism, is saved (Weidensee). One, then, is ignorant concerning a child departing without Baptism (Landtsperger).—232. If one would bring up hundred children, and know that all are eternally lost, he should not be

grieved on this account nor once lament (Weidensee).—*Against the "Character"*: 233. The "character" impressed in Baptism or in Ordination, is a fictitious matter, and without Scriptural authority (Luther, Melancthon, Rieger, Zwingli).—*Against Confirmation*: 234. Confirmation and Extreme Unction are not sacraments instituted by Christ (Luther and all others. The Albigenſes, the Heracleantae).—*Against the Eucharist*: 235. In the Eucharist, the substance of bread and wine remains; because transubstantiation is a figment of sophists and Romanists (Pirkheimer, Melancthon, Luther).—236. I firmly believe not only that the Body of Christ is in the bread, but also that the bread is the Body of Christ (Luther, Wicleff).—237. As the Body of Christ is in the bread, where there is neither blood nor soul, so the Blood of Christ in the wine is without body and soul (Luther).—238. In the Eucharist, the true Body of Christ is not really, but figuratively only and as in a sign (Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Capito, Keller, Rottenacker, Bucer, Blarer).—239. I do not know whether is was a greater abomination to worship the golden calf in Dan, or that bread (Zwingli).—240. The Eucharist is the idol of Moazim, which, according to Daniel, we have worshipped in the Holy Place, and is true idolatry (Zwingli).—241. The Body of Christ can be only in one place; hence if it is to be received by us, it must leave the Right Hand of the Father (Zwingli).—242. The miracles wrought in the Eucharist have Satan as their author and are from the father of lies (Oecolampadius).—243. There is much danger in the adoration of the Eucharist; for this reason, it would be better not to adore it, for such was the practice of the Apostles. Neither is Christ there in order to be adored (Luther).—*Against Processions*: 245. Where the Eucharist enclosed in gold and silver is carried about with pomp and external adoration in a procession, this is nothing else than to make sport of God (Pirkheimer, Lang, Strauss, Luther).—245. Therefore that the Eucharist should be made a show of or be carried about, or be laid aside in an ark, are abuses of the Eucharist; but that it should be imprisoned is a sport of demons (Pirkheimer, Glaiß, Balthasar [Hubmaier]).—*Against Communion*: 246. That no one should receive the Eucharist except fasting, is a madness madder than any madness; so it is ridiculous that a layman should not handle the Eucharist, the Cup, since he can communicate himself (Luther). Afterwards, however, he [Luther] prohibited this.—247. They only commune worthily whose consciences are afflicted, confused, and erroneous, and burdened with sins (Luther).—248. The greatest sins are committed at Easter on account of the impious requirement of the Pope requiring men to commune, even more than at the Carnival (Luther).—249. It is my faithful

advice that a Christian in Lent and at Easter, should neither confess nor come to the communion, and that he should think: For this very reason I will not do what that man, the Pope, here commands, but I would do it if he had not commanded it (Luther).—*Both Kinds*: 250. To deny both kinds to the laity is godless and tyrannical, and bishops sin, who give one kind alone (Luther, Osiander).—251. The Greeks and others are not to be accounted heretics or schismatics on account of both kinds, but the Romans are rather to be so accounted (Luther).—252. It would be better to receive neither part than one alone, since it is a snare most harmful to souls to commune once a year under one form (Luther, Zwingli).—253. A layman, without the desire to receive the other form, is godless and denies Christ (Luther).—*Against Confessions*: 254. Confession made into the ear, cannot be approved by divine law, neither was this done originally, but then it was public (Luther, Zwingli, Oecolampadius).—255. That secret sins pertain to sacramental confession can be proved in no way, by reason or from the Scriptures; I suspect that this was an invention either of the avaricious or the curious or the tyrants of souls (Luther, Oecolampadius, Rieger, Strauss).—256. A priest ought to absolve a penitent from punishment and guilt, or he sins; a superior likewise sins in reserving cases to himself (Luther).—257. Circumstances are to be entirely disregarded; the observance of places, times, persons, is of no account, and should it be made it is another superstitious assumption (Luther, Carlstadt).—*Penitence*: 258. Penitence lacks any sign divinely instituted; accordingly, it is not properly a sacrament, but a way and return to baptism (Luther, Melanchthon).—259. If St. John had taught that fear is the beginning of penitence, it, nevertheless, would not follow that penitence begins in fear (Luther).—260. It is false and dangerous to think that penance is "the second raft after shipwreck" (Luther, Carlstadt, Melanchthon).—*Against the Keys*: 261. The keys are not given except to one who is righteous and holy in spirit (Luther, Oecolampadius, Bucer).—262. To bind and to loose is nothing else than to preach the Gospel (Luther, Zwingli).—263. The laws concerning Satisfaction, by which we are taught to blot out sins by our works, are impious. Here we see that the whole Canonical Law and the Kingdom of the Pope, being contrary to Christ, is condemned (Luther).—*Satisfaction*: 264. No satisfaction is required for sins, except the death of Christ (Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Zwingli).—265. The Sacrament of Penance has been abolished by prelates in the Church (Luther, Melanchthon).—266. Any one can absolve any one; accordingly the freest authority of hearing confessions is to be conceded to all brethren and sisters (Luther).—*Ordina-*

tion: 267. The Church of Christ ignores the sacrament of Ordination (Luther). But it is a figment invented by men (Zwingli, Rieger, Ams-terodamus).—268. As many of us as have been baptized are all equally priests; and any layman can consecrate churches, confirm children, etc. (Luther and all others).—*The Mass*: 269. The Gospel does not allow the Mass as a sacrifice, because to retain the use of masses under the name of sacrifices is to deny Christ (Luther, Rieger).—270. At any hour and as often as one wishes, one can celebrate Mass (Luther). None can offer for another as he can drink for him (Zwingli).—271. They lie who say that the Mass of a wicked priest is useful *ex opere operato* (Luther). Although the name "Mass" is here improperly applied (Luther, Zwingli, Rieger).—272. The office of the Mass is not satisfactory, as offered for the dead, the troubled, or as applied for another (Luther, Rieger).—273. The Mass has been changed into a sacrifice of Satan, and that by a common error; but this is the very worst idolatry and a more than a heathen infidelity (Luther, Rieger).—274. We condemn and despise the Canon of the Mass, by the authority of the Gospel (Luther); because it is false and has nothing solid in it (Zwingli and Melhofer [the Nuremberg preachers]).—275. Today the celebrants of the Mass are idolaters, and commit idolatry as often as they sacrifice (Luther, Oecolampadius).—276. All private masses are to be abrogated; but on every Lord's Day, and then only, the Eucharist alone is to be consecrated (Luther).—277. Nay, all masses, both public and private, are to be abrogated (Zwingli, Bucer, Capito and all the others [Haller, Blarer, Rottenacker]).—278. Water is not to be put into the Cup in the Mass; because it is a wicked and unfavorable sign (Luther, Zwingli and others [Carlstadt]).—*Canonical Hours*: 279. I believe that they sin more who read the hours coldly, than they who omit them; for they are hypocrites. There is scarcely greater sin than this laborious worship of God which is rendered by crying out through those Canonical Hours (Luther). Accordingly the provosts at Nuremberg have dispensed with Matins and Completorium.

Matrimony: 280. Matrimony is not a sacrament divinely instituted, but one invented by men in the Church (Luther).—281. The conjugal debt is a sin, and according to Ps. 50, altogether mad (Luther). Yea, it is never paid without sin (ib).—282. Priests ought to ratify all marriages that have no other impediment than that of the Papal, but not of the Divine Law. Every priest, yea every brother, or any one can make a dispensation for himself with regard to impediments decreed by the Church (Luther, Zwingli).—283. It is lawful to marry the daughter of one's sister, or

niece; likewise the children of two brothers or sisters may marry; or one may marry the sister of his wife or connection by marriage; also no spiritual relationship hinders matrimony (Luther, Zwingli).—284. Marriages of children contracted against the will of their parents are invalid; hence the title “De Clandestina Desponsione” is from Satan (Luther).—285. If those contracting marriage have not completed nineteen years, the marriage is invalid (Consistory of Zurich).—286. If any one violate a virgin, he will not be obliged to give her anything except a pair of shoes. A new Zurich law that fell from heaven.* (Turicensis in edicto. Similiter Nerobergenses [Nurenborgenses, or Neuenburgenses?]).—*Divorce*: 287. When a man is impotent, let the wife seek a divorce; but if he be unwilling, let her, with the consent of her husband, have intercourse with another, or the brother of her husband in secret marriage, and let the offspring be accounted those of the reputed father. The woman is safe in a state of safety (Luther).—288. For I prefer bigamy to divorce, (as the Lutheran monks have shown effectually) (Luther).—289. If a wife do not obey her husband when he asks for the conjugal debt, let him call in a servant girl. Yea, on this account, he can ask for a divorce (Luther).—290. Divorce occurs not only on account of adultery, but for other more grave reasons. Suppose a husband be under sentence of death, a madman, quarrelsome, withdrawing from his wife without her consent and long absent. (Zuricher statute, Luther).—291. When the divorce has been decreed it is allowable for the innocent party to marry; only the guilty party should be hindered (Luther, Melanchthon).—292. It is an error to assume that the marriage is broken if, before it has been consummated, one of the couple enter a monastery or convent (Luther).—293. Former betrothals are not broken if one have afterwards known a second spouse (Luther).—*Celibacy*: 295. Ordination does not hinder marriage or break the contract, but celibacy has been introduced by the devil (Luther, Bugenhagen).—295. By virtue of the words of Paul, I absolve all priests from celibacy; for between a priest and a true wife, there is a true and inseparable marriage, approved by the commandments of God. This the godless forbid from pure tyranny (Luther, Zwingli, [Zell], Blarer, Stoerer).—296. The Nicene Council concedes marriage to priests (Zwingli, Spengler [of Nuremberg], Rieger).—297. In the time of Augustine, no one opposed the marriage of priests (Zwingli [in] *Ad Sacerdotes Suiceros*).—298. It is allowable for a priest, for a bishop not only to marry, but to marry the second, third, and fourth time, whether

*Compare Gussmann, 180. The statutes speak of married men who beside the recompense mentioned were to be punished as adulterers.

bride be a virgin or one who has been corrupted (Luther).—*Vows*: 299. Would that I were able to persuade all persons either to abolish altogether or avoid all vows (Luther, Lambertus Avinionensis).—300. If a vow be dispensable, any brother can make such dispensation for his neighbor, or he can dispense himself; if a neighbor cannot so dispense, there is then no law by which the Pope can do it (Luther, Jonas, Carlstadt [Eberlein]).—301. The mode of life proceeding from a vow is without a precedent in the Scriptures (Luther, Blarer [Kettenbach], Lambertus).—302. Parents have the right to remove children from monasteries, who have entered without their consent. If the Pope say the contrary, he lies (Luther).—303. Religious vows conflict directly with the Gospel of Christ [and Baptism] and are opposed to faith and the Word of God (Luther, Lambertus).—304. To become a monk is to apostatize from the faith, to deny Christ, and to become a Jew; their vows, accordingly, are worthless (Luther).—305. For a man to be continent is an impossibility; but just as it is necessary for man to eat and drink, and to sleep, so also is it to have sexual intercourse. Hence no man can be without a woman, nor any woman without a man (Luther).—306. The state of virginity is beneath the marriage estate, than which there is none better on earth (Luther). If Jerome had known that marriage would be one of the seven sacraments of the Church, he would have praised virginity less, and would have spoken more reverently concerning marriage (Luther).—307. All vows are temporary and mutable (Luther [Lambert]).—308. No monk or priest can be a Christian (Luther [Zwingli]).—309. Castigations voluntarily assumed by men, like voluntary fastings, are repudiated by Paul (Bucer).—310. We properly think that all monasteries and cathedral churches and like abominations, should be entirely abolished (Luther to the Duke of Savoy).—311. I discourage all from entering any religious order, unless they know that the works of the members of these orders however arduous and holy, in God's eyes are no better than the works of farmers laboring in the fields (Luther).—312. Whatever is promised men in secular matters is to be fulfilled, but in matters of conscience, if anything be promised God, it is not to be kept (Zwingli).—313. No saint became a saint through Monasticism (Luther).—*Poverty*: 314. Evangelical poverty is exacted of men by divine right, accordingly no vow should be made (Melanchthon).—315. To establish a mode of life for begging likewise conflicts with the Gospel (Melanchthon, Luther).—316. Monasticism is of the devil (Zwingli, Lambert).—317. Would that all monks and nuns would flee from the cloisters, and that all cloisters throughout the whole world were to be abolished (Luther).—318. All Carthusians,

all monks and nuns depart from that which has been ordained by God and from liberty, when they imagine that they are polluted by eating meat (Luther, Lambert).—319. Put before your eyes the infinite crowd of priests and nuns, with their masses, sacrifices, laws, doctrines, and all their works; and you will see nothing but a theater of Satan, godless people of perdition, reserved for the wrath of God forever (Luther).—320. Church ceremonies always obscure liberty and the force of the Gospel; hence it is profitable to disregard them (Melanchthon, Nuremberg preachers).—321. Unctions, tonsures, ceremonial vestments, benedictions of water, salt, palms, candles, herbs, consecrations of churches, altars, vases, men, etc., are human inventions (Zwingli, Luther, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, Balthasar, Glaib, [Lambert, Bucer, preachers of Nuremberg]).—*Against Purgatory*: 322. There is no purgatory after this life (Capito, Zwingli, Osiander, Haller, Oecolampadius, Rieger, [Bucer, Lambertus, Rottenacker]).—323. It would be safer to deny all purgatory than to believe Gregory in his Dialogues (Luther).—324. Here sink anniversaries, vigils for the dead, depositions, the seventh, the thirtieth, fraternities, oblations, and other inventions of man (Zwingli). Chanting, organs, candles, ornaments, vestments, chrism disappear (Luther, Zwingli, [Lambertus, Balthasar]).—325. We have no command to pray for the dead; you may, therefore, pray once or twice or thrice for a dead person, but afterwards cease lest you tempt God or distrust Him (Luther).—326. Moreover, that perpetual masses are founded upon this, and that, every year, the cry ascends as though God had not heard before that year, is death and the devil, unbelief, makes sport of God, and such prayer is mere blasphemy (Luther).—327. The office for the dead is of about as much service to deceased Christians as it is to dead cattle (The unhappy provost of Nuremberg).—328. No Christian implicates himself in masses and prayers for the dead, unless he be willing to deny Christ, to repudiate Baptism, and to act in opposition to the whole Bible (The provosts of Nuremberg).—329. If you have in your house a spirit who when adjured seeks for aid by means of masses and prayers, account him without any hesitation as the devil; because from the beginning of the world until now no soul has appeared, neither does God so permit (Luther).—*Contra imagines*: 330. No images are to be kept in the church, but rather to be destroyed and burned; nay, neither publicly nor privately are they to be retained, or to be painted or carved; for they are relics of the old idolatry contrary to the Second Commandment (Zwingli, Haller, Bucer, Carlstadt).—*In liberum arbitrium*: 331. It is under the tutelage of Satan that the term "Free Will" has entered, and that, with the purpose of seducing men from the way

of right; for it is a mere figment, since the will contributes nothing towards its own willing, and that it has any activity in good works is erroneous (Luther, Carlstadt, Rieger).

Contra obedientiam et principes: 332. The name fraternity forbids one from being superior to another, and, especially in spiritual things from having more right and inheritance than his brother (Luther).—333. We Christians are free, exempt from all the laws of men, liberated through Baptism (Luther).—334. No laws can be imposed with any right upon Christians, whether by men or by angels, unless so far as they be willing (Luther).—335. Subjects neither can, nor will, nor ought to endure your tyranny any longer (Luther to the Princes).—336. The Emperor and the Princes deal in manifest falsehoods and publish contradictory commandments (Luther).—337. That the Pope has transferred the power from the Greeks to the Germans is the chief or greatest and most deceptive mark of Antichrist (Luther).—338. I regret that I submitted to the Emperor at Worms and let them be judges of my doctrine for it is of no account with tyrants (Luther).—339. There is no more excellent secular law than that of the Turk, as he has no canonical and civil law (Luther).—340. The secular Princes are stupid, and according to their stupid brain they want to lead the Holy Spirit into the schools and publish directions, and if the Emperor would give a command, they want to appear as though they were seriously doing what was commanded (Luther).—341. The madness of foolish men is directed to the extinction of the faith, because they want to force men to believe (Luther).—*Seditiosa:* 342. God has delivered the Princes up to a reprobate mind, and he wants to put an end to them just as to ecclesiastical houses (Luther).—343. The secular government is at just as low a stage as that of the ecclesiastical tyrants, so that the one will not perish without the other (Luther).—344. Princes prohibiting Luther's New Testament act like murderers of Christ, such as Herod; but these tyrants act as the secular Princes are accustomed to do, in order to satisfy their titles (Luther).—345. Ever since the beginning of the world, a wise prince has been a most rare bird; for generally they are either the greatest fools or the very worst rascals; for they are God's policemen and executioners (Luther).—346. The common people have now become intelligent and wise; a blow to Princes is clearly impending from the side of the people and rabble. I fear that it cannot be prevented (Luther).—347. The Turk is ten times as wise and just as our Princes; how then could such fools be prospered against the Turk (Luther).—348. In the halls of Princes, the devil sits in the highest place, and has there his

chief throne (Luther).—*In regem Franciae*: 349. The kingdom of France, from its impious service to Antichrist, on account of the blood it has shed, has been impiously called most Christian (Luther). He also has treated the Most Noble King of England with the greatest insults, wrongs and reproaches (Luther).—*In nobiles*: 350. The sin of robbery is now an honor and title of the nobility (Luther).—351. If the peasants prevail, the devil is abbot; if the Princes prevail, his mother will be an abbess (Luther).—*In papam*: 352. The kingdom of the Pope is nothing but tyranny, the realm of Antichrist with his faces (Luther). Yea, he is Antichrist himself, the son of perdition (Luther [Lambertus]).—353. The name of Pope is recent, unheard of in the time of [Pope] Nicholas [I.], or of Augustine (Zwingli, Balthasar).—*Contra ecclesiasticos*: 354. Bishops ought to be grave men, married, laymen, advanced in years (Luther and all).—355. It is not allowable for a bishop to do aught except to teach the Word of God. Preaching the Gospel is so peculiarly the prerogative of a bishop, that it is not proper to substitute another for him, to teach in his place. If, therefore, he do not teach, he is not a bishop (Melanchthon).—356. There is no ecclesiastical authority over men (Bucer). Hence the bishops have usurped the jurisdiction which belongs to the secular princes (Bucer, Luther, Zwingli, Blarer, Rieger).—357. Ecclesiastical power is not of God (Luther).—358. Christ subjected himself and his Church to secular power (Haller). This immunity of churches and freedom of the clergy have ceased (Haller, Luther).—359. The civil, but not the ecclesiastical power, has the authority to make and ordain laws (Melanchthon).—360. To impose law upon Christians is to tempt the devil (Zwingli).—*Constitution*: 361. Neither the Constitution of the Church nor the Ordinances of the Apostles put the conscience under any obligation (Bucer).—362. We are, therefore, under no obligation to celebrate the festivals of the saints, to fast in Lent and on other days, to abstain from flesh on six festival days, or to obey other human precepts (Luther, Osiander, Rieger, Zwingli).—363. No prelate, but only the Church, can excommunicate (Zwingli, Haller).—364. We confess that the world has been miserably led astray by Popes, Councils, decrees of Fathers, with these traditions, or more properly, snares of the devil (Luther).—365. No Pope or bishop nor any other man has the right of imposing a single syllable upon any [Christian] man (Luther).—*Against Councils*: 366. After one has been justified, no laws or ordinances bind him (Melanchthon).—367. That was an erroneous decision by the Council that essence neither begets nor is begotten; also that the intellectual soul is man's substantial form (Luther).—368. Openly heretical is the resolution of

the Council referring to the extinction of the heretics (Melanchthon).^{*}
 —369. I declare that all the Articles of Huss at Constance were most Christian and were condemned by Antichrist and his disciples in a synagogue of Satan collected from the most worthless sophists (Luther).

Here notice, O Emperor, that the calumniator of the most holy and free Council of Constance is now making an appeal to a future Council!

—370. Huss and Jerome were burned in violation of faith publicly pledged; because it was concluded in the Council that a safe conduct with heretics ought not to be kept; hence our Germans have learned from the Romans to break faith and promises (Capito).—371. The Princes of Germany once had the highest reputation for their faithfulness, but they have learned in obedience to the idol at Rome and to the perpetual ignominy of the nation, to despise nothing more than faithfulness (Luther).—372. When I was called I went to Worms, even though I knew that the promise of safe-conduct given to me would be violated by the Emperor (Luther).—373. In those things that pertain to faith, every Christian is Pope and Church to himself (Luther).—374. Every Christian is allowed to judge concerning every doctrine, for we are not bound to believe Councils and Popes (Luther, [Blarer]).—*Seditiosa*: 375. It is only a matter that should be laughed at, if a great sedition should arise against bishops and their rule; because those exposing their fortunes and bodies to such an emergency are sons of God, true Christians; and in a short time matters will come to such a pass that there will be no bishop, no prince under the sun, no cathedral church, no monastery (Luther).—376. Nothing is to be received except what is expressly taught in Holy Scripture (Zwingli, [Bucer], Blarer, Berner, Memminger).—377. I will not permit you to ascribe more than one sense to the Holy Scriptures. For Scripture does not admit of a number of meanings, "literal, allegorical," etc. (Luther, Zwingli).—378. The literal meaning of the creation of the world Gen. 1 is hypocrisy, and a carnal opinion concerning the condition of nature (Melanchthon).—379. The Apocalypse was not written by John the Evangelist. The books of Baruch and Maccabees are not to be received (Luther, Zwingli).—*Contra jura*: 380. For the Gospel to share authority with the Canon Law, is an impossibility (Luther).—381. I know that no state is successfully administered by means of laws (Luther).—382. It is impossible at the same time to observe the Gospel and human laws; accordingly, it is impossible to keep the peace and at the same time the laws (Luther).—383. There is no hope of a remedy, unless, all the laws of all men being

^{*}Melanchthon refers to the Council of Verona, 1184, that condemned all who teach differently of the sacraments than the church.

once annulled; we ought judge and rule all things according to the Gospel (Luther).—*An iurandum*: 384. We must not swear for temporal things; for he who requires an oath of another, or himself swears, must be of a malicious and trifling mind, not regarding the truth (Melanchthon).—385. It is not allowable for a Christian for any cause to take an oath (Anabaptists). For it is unjust and contrary to the Holy Scriptures to demand an oath for an other one (Luther, Anabaptists and Enthusiasts).—386. All are heathen who contend in court for property or reputation (Luther).—*Bellare*: 387. If anything be taken from us we ought not to demand it back in court or by war (Luther).—388. It is a doctrine of devils that it is allowable for a Christian to wage war; for all who go to war are accursed children of Cain (Oecolampadius).—*Emere*: 389. To buy and sell are purely heathen matters (Luther).—390. Business contracts even for godly purposes, as churches, benefices, etc., are usurious (Straus); or at least, unjust (Luther).—*Communio*: 391. A community of all things is commanded in the New Testament (Melanchthon).—392. Altars are to be abolished in the New Testament, because Christ is there crucified, divided, buried, and bitten with the teeth; for the Lord's Supper, a table answers the purpose (Osvaldus Glaib, Balthasar [Hubmaier]).—393. One should not care to be buried in a cemetery, or consecrated place, because it is certain that all blessed by man is cursed by God (Osvald Glaib).—394. Wicked spirits will hereafter be saved together with the damned (John Denk).—395. They blaspheme who rave that the Turks or heretics should be attacked not with the Word of God, of which they are ignorant, but with war and worldly tumult, or with the din of censorships (Luther).—396. The word of Christ that many false prophets shall arise and deceive many, I verily think was spoken with reference to the public universities (Melanchthon).—397. The doctrine of all the schools, speculative as well as practical, has been condemned (Luther).—398. All moral virtues and speculative branches of knowledge are not true virtues and sciences, but sins and errors (Luther).—399. I doubt whether the Creed was handed down in writing by the Apostles, although I do not doubt that it was composed by Apostolic men, and yet, I doubt so far as to wish that it could be proved. Neither, unless I am mistaken, did Augustine believe this. But it was an abuse of the common people, not indeed with a godless opinion. And before: That good and, in his Christian simplicity, exceedingly credulous man erred (Erasmus [in the printed edition: Quidam]).—400. Pilate was not free to acquit Christ, since his power was compelled to serve the madness of the Jews. The same says it is the veriest trifle what Beda says about the humility of

Mary, namely, that she by her humility merited to become the Mother of God (Quidam. Erasmus [in the printed edition: Quidam]).—401. It is not entirely clear to me whether in the time of Christ's infancy, it was clearly revealed to the Virgin Mary that he was God and Man. If Mary and Joseph had known that the child Jesus was God and Man, and would suffer nothing but that which was necessary, why would they have feared and grieved for him? (Quidam. Erasmus [the printed edition has no equivalent]).—402. Jesus wished his death not to be mournful, but glorious; not to be deplored, but adored; for he was to be extolled for his victory (Quidam [Erasmus]).—403. It is proper and in accord with God's word to excite seditions and tumults; hence there is no better proof that my doctrine is of God, than that it excites discords, seditions, and tumults (Luther). Many of them, therefore, have often publicly testified to the common people: "The Gospel wants blood" (Zwingli).—404. Among Christians, there should be no superiority, no courts, nothing fenced up or closed, no "meum" or "teum," no restraint or excommunication; and this they want to be practiced more and more (Anabaptists).



But, who is Luther? From the following we learn it; for he wants to be heard. "I was the very first whom God put into the field." "Surely, I never did wrong." "Had I been disposed to proceed impulsively, I could have caused great shedding of blood in Germany." "Aye, I could have begun a game at Worms, that the Emperor had not been safe." "I am also the one to whom God first revealed this, that I might proclaim these words to you." "You know not how much labor it is to contend with the devil; but I know him well, and he knows me well; for I have already eaten with him one or two bits of salt, and I would have perished had there not been a confession, etc."

All the articles above noted, both those of Luther himself, as clearly a man familiar with the devil, and those of his followers who, being infatuated with his errors, have so degenerated as to become deaf to the truth, we reject and anathematize each of them as heretical, or scandalous, false, and offensive to godly ears, and misleading the simple, or entirely seditious and disturbing the public peace. With respect to this, I am ready to give an account in a public disputation, at the pleasure of the Most Reverend Emperor, God aiding me, and the Virgin Mary and all Saints supporting me with their intercessions.—To God alone the glory.—The day and hour of the disputation Eck will publish at the pleasure of the Emperor.—Ingolstadt, 1530.

While in order that Thy Holy Majesty and the Christian world

may see and judge the impieties of the adversaries, I have gathered a very few out of their infinite errors, nevertheless I have guarded them from head to foot with my assertions, and offer to reply as to all in behalf of the faith and the Church.

The Assertion of Eck. I assert with entire confidence given by the Holy Spirit that the Articles of Luther concerning this shameful matter condemned by Pope Leo X. were legitimately condemned as heretical, erroneous, and scandalous. I anathematize and condemn them, and freely declare that they who agree with the Bull are Christian men, but that they who oppose it are enemies of the faith, who ought to be regarded as heathen and publicans. Hence we introduce here all these XLI. Articles, ready to receive the attacks of any opponent, and to take the part of the Church.

**23. CAMPEGIUS' INSTRUCTION TO THE EMPEROR,
MAY 9, 1530²⁵**

See at the end of the book.

**24. THE ELECTOR'S LETTER TO LUTHER ACCOMPANIED BY THE FIRST DRAFT OF THE
AUGSBURG CONFESSION,
MAY 11, 1530²⁶**

First of all our Greeting, Honorable, Learned and Devout [Friend].—After you and our other learned men at Wittenberg had, at our gracious thought and desire, made a draft of the Articles of Religion which are now in dispute, it is our wish to let you know that Melancthon has further revised the same and drawn them up in a Form, which we are sending you herewith. And it is our gracious desire that you would feel free to further consider and revise these Articles, and where you deem it wise and well to take away or to add anything, please do so in the margin. Send back the same carefully secured and sealed without delay, that we may be ready and prepared for the arrival of his Imperial Majesty, whom we expect in a short time.—We also desire you to know that our representatives at the Imperial court at Innsbruck have written that it is the plan to deal with us on the arrival of his Imperial Majesty, that we should not permit preaching in the churches, as we have begun it. This you

will infer from the enclosed statement. And although I have drawn up an opinion on this subject, yet I wish your further opinion, that we may do right in the sight of God and our conscience. In this you will do our gracious pleasure.—Augsburg, Wednesday after Jubilate, A. D. 1530.—To Dr. Martin.

25. MELANCHTHON'S LETTER TO LUTHER, MAY 11, 1530²⁷

To D. Martin Luther, his very dear Father:—Greeting. Our Apology is being sent you, but in truth it is rather a Confession. For the Emperor has not time to listen to lengthy disputations. Yet I have said that which I believed most useful or proper. On this ground I have succinctly given nearly all the Articles of Faith, since Eck has circulated the most Satanic slanders against us. Over against these, I wished to oppose a remedy. Please give judgment on the whole writing according to your spirit.—Duke George and Margrave Joachim have gone on to meet the Emperor. Now a Diet will be held *weber unseren Hals*. Therefore pray God to bring to naught the counsel of the nations that want war.—A question is being referred to you, to which I greatly desire an answer from you. There is no doubt the Emperor will prohibit the Zwinglian sermons. We judge from this, that under this pretence our sermons will also be forbidden, for Eisleben is already preaching publicly in a church. Now what is your opinion? Is not the preaching in a public place to be given up, in case the Emperor desires this; if he should wish this in order that the Zwinglian preaching might also be prevented without disturbance? I have answered: one must yield to the will of the Emperor, in whose city we now are guests. But our old man [= Dr. Brueck] is difficult to soften. What therefore you think, I beg that you will write it in German on separate paper. Please answer concerning this matter.—We reckon that the Emperor cannot arrive within fourteen days. Now the Austrian estates are assembled at Hall [in the neighborhood of Innsbruck]. Other news we have not. In such a great divergency of opinions it is not possible to judge what can be hoped for from the deliberations of the Emperor, but we await help from Christ. Farewell. Wednesday after Jubilate. Eisleben sends greetings.—Philippus.

26. LUTHER'S ANSWER TO THE ELECTOR, MAY 15, 1530²⁸

To the most worshipful, highborn Prince and Lord, John Duke of Saxony, Elector, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.—Grace and peace in Christ our Lord.—Most worshipful, highborn Duke, most gracious Lord! I have perused Magister Philip's *Apologia*, which pleases me very greatly. I see no need of changing or amending any part of it; nor should I know how to improve it, for I cannot tread so gently. May Christ our Lord cause it to bear much good fruit as we hope and pray. Amen.

In Reply to the Question, what should be Your Honor's attitude in case His Imperial Majesty commands Your Electoral Honor to stop the preaching of the Gospel, I answer now as I did before that the Emperor is our lord; the city and everything else belongs to him—just as no one has a right to interfere with any of the orders which you give your city of Torgau. I should indeed prefer, if it is possible, that a wise and appropriate attempt be made at changing His Imperial Majesty's intention in this respect and that His Imperial Majesty be humbly petitioned not to prohibit our preaching without any investigation but rather to order someone to listen to our preachers. His Imperial Majesty should not prohibit the pure and unadulterated preaching of the Scriptures; our men do not preach enthusiastic or rebellious sermons. But if that is of no avail, we will have to suffer this injustice. We have done what we could and are absolved from blame.

This is my answer to Your Electoral Honor's question. The God of mercy comfort Your Electoral Honor through His Holy Spirit.—Cantate Sunday, A. D. 1530.—Your Electoral Honor's obedient Martin Luther.

27. MELANCHTHON'S FIRST DRAFT OF THE 28th ARTICLE, MAY 11, 1530 (?)²⁹

Of the Power of the Keys. Concerning this, it was formerly held that the power of the keys is the ecclesiastical and the civil governments, and that, by the keys, the Pope has received the power to appoint and remove kings, and that, without the confirmation of the Pope, there can be no king. This error was so insisted upon, that those who have held otherwise were condemned as heretics. But now all our

adversaries proclaim that this is a pernicious, un-Christian error, viz., that the Pope, by the power of the Keys and the Gospel, usurps the civil power and appoints and removes kings.

But we teach how the power of the keys is to be used, namely, that the power of the keys is the command to preach the Gospel, and to reprove and forgive sinners in the name and on behalf of Christ. Thus the power of the keys is now only spiritual government, the preaching of the Gospel, the reproof and forgiveness of sins, and the administration of the sacraments. This alone is to be the office of bishops or priests, and, according to the Gospel, the establishment and regulation of the civil government, and appointment and removal of kings, do not belong to this office; for Christ says in express words that he would give Peter the keys of "the kingdom of heaven." Thereby the ecclesiastical is separated from the civil government. So too, John 20: "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." From these words it is manifest that the Apostles had no command concerning civil government, but only concerning doctrine and preaching and the administration of the sacraments, whereby the forgiveness of sins is bestowed. Again, Christ forbids the Apostles to undertake civil government, when he says: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship; but ye shall not be so." Again, Matt. 5: "Resist not evil;" now punishment and resistance of evil always belong to the civil government. Again, Christ would not interfere in the government of the Romans; for to one who asked him to divide an inheritance, he said: "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" Again: "My kingdom is not of this world."

From these and many other passages, it is clear that the keys are not civil government or civil polity. But if something besides is conceded to the Pope by the Emperor, it does not pertain to the keys, but is a human donation which we do not accept. For this doctrine of the Gospel lets lord be lord, and deals alone with the conscience and heart, as to its present relation with God, and how it should harmonize with Him. Often before this time, ecclesiastical abuses have been punished; but our predecessors have always acted in a seditious manner, and wished to deprive the bishops of their property. But we now have the office of the ministry and the civil government so distinguished, that what pertains to conscience, and what

respect should be shown property and external dignitaries, is readily shown.

Since now the power of the keys is the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, it also follows that, in virtue of the keys, the Pope has no power to arrange new divine services contrary to the Gospel, or to bind consciences by laws. And if the Pope makes a law, he does this, not in virtue of the keys, but as any other civil ruler, for which he nevertheless has no command, and when he issues dispensations, they are again repealed, just as a ruler may set free a thief. If now these laws and dispensations are contrary to God's Word, we are in duty bound to obey God rather than man, as has been indicated above. Also, since the keys are nothing else than the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, the Pope has no more power in the use of the keys than every pastor; as the canons themselves indicate, for they concede that in the article of death a pastor may absolve all reserved cases.

Of Excommunication. Christ has taught how excommunication should be inflicted, Matt. 18, and Paul, 1 Cor. 15, that those who are in open crimes, and, after admonition, will not reform, should be excluded from the Church, and the sacraments should not be administered to them. And in such cases excommunication may be conceded to the bishops, if they will not antagonize the doctrine of the Gospel, as above presented. But in matters that pertain to the civil tribunal, they should not have power to excommunicate. The pastors also might be commanded to report those who persist in open crimes, when the bishops visit the pastors, as they are in duty bound. A like rule might be observed with respect to those who have not communed for a year or more, that they be admonished by the pastors, and if they will not commune, they be reported as others who live in open crimes.

Of Degrees of Consanguinity, etc. Matrimonial cases abound in details, and, if jurisdiction is to be exercised, it is necessary to discuss, with reference to them, not only the question of degrees, but also many points. Besides, it is our judgment that the subject of degrees be committed to the jurists, and those to whom the jurisdiction is entrusted. For the civil power may make laws, for reasonable causes, not only to forbid future marriages, but also to dissolve those which have been solemnized contrary to such power. But that sponsorship should hinder marriage has no ground or cause, and is a law

which serves the more to perplex consciences. The Pope also has no power to make such a law. Again, the Pope has no power to make dispensations in regard to cases that are forbidden by divine law. In regard to many cases that are not forbidden by divine law, the conscience is not bound, and if, then, against this decree, a man marry a woman, and live with her, and be not forced from her by the magistrates, this is regarded as a valid marriage. Therefore the law of the Popes must be censured, which gave men scruples as though all cases were contrary to God; but these cases are trivial.

28. THE COUNT OF NEUENAHN'S LETTER, CONCERNING THE ELECTOR, TO THE COUNT OF NASSAU, MAY 15, (?), 1530³⁰

Dearly beloved Sir and Uncle! The Marshal and I have made a careful and exhaustive report of the matters which Your Honor and I discussed with His Imperial Roman Majesty at Innsbruck, together with the reply which we received. Now I will not hide from Your Honor that the Elector has been pained by this report and the reply to three of the five points (viz., the approval of the marriage contract, the confirmation of the market, and the safe-conduct of the Margravine) together with the reasons on the basis of which His Imperial Majesty has rejected his requests and frustrated the hopes which certainly were fair, proper, and well founded. But above all he has been deeply grieved by the answer which he was given in the matter concerning religion, because His Imperial Majesty has not committed himself at all as to whether it pleased or displeased him, whether it was agreeable or disagreeable to him, whether His Majesty viewed it with favor or disfavor, and because it appears from the reply that His Majesty regards this matter—which His Electoral Grace has committed to the Almighty who worketh all things through His grace—as a paltry and insignificant thing. But His Grace, because of his Christian sense of duty and fealty, has considered this matter and informed His Majesty of it through us (who were informed about the causes and His Grace's purpose) and, trusting in God's comfort and grace, will not yield on this point. Nevertheless, His Electoral Grace will exercise due obedience and fulfill all obligations toward His Imperial Majesty as required by Christian duty.

Furthermore, I will not conceal from Your Honor this confidential information that His Electoral Grace, because of ill health, is

planning to leave after a few days and to return to his own country to Coburg, even though the marshall and I have earnestly tried to dissuade him from carrying out his intention. But we found that his mind was made up although he will have to stay a few days and will not be able to leave at once because of his submissive promise to His Imperial Roman Majesty.—Moreover, His Electoral Grace has nevertheless, in his usual voluntary obedience, decided in case of his departure to leave here behind at Augsburg several of his councillors and to give them full power to speak on his behalf to the end that through God's grace this matter may be properly considered.

God knows that I on my part am thoroughly troubled in the spirit on account of this turn of affairs. But when Your Honor and I consented to act in this matter—God our supreme Lord and Judge will justify our consciences that neither Your Honor nor I sought to gain or to increase our own glory or fame or external secular advantage, but that this is a matter of greatest importance to the welfare and prosperity of the German Nation and that it concerns us all, and that it is the most important work in the whole world. Since so important a matter cannot be examined in any other light and can only be considered profitably when the help of divine grace has been invoked, this turn of affairs has given the Elector the greatest possible pain. It indicates that we are all to be thoroughly punished, ruined, and destroyed. God have mercy on us all; may He cause His divine grace to succeed.

Therefore, I ask Your Honor most kindly and confidentially to inform me quickly by mail of your opinion and to let me know in response to my request how you consider and view this matter in the light of this exhaustive report; for I am fairly well resolved to begin my return journey, but shall await your reply here at Augsburg as stated above.—I find the Elector to be a man of Christian strength and constancy; at the same time he is willing to offer all due obedience, and to abide by his above mentioned resolution.

29. THE EMPEROR'S INSTRUCTION TO THE COUNTS
OF NASSAU AND NEUENAHN AS TO WHAT
INFORMATION THEY SHALL CONVEY
TO THE ELECTOR, MAY 24, 1530³¹

Charles, by the grace of God, Roman Emperor, *semper Augustus*, etc. Instruction to the highborn and faithful Imperial Counts William of Nassau, Katzenellenbogen, Vianden, and Dietz, and William, Count of Neuenahr, as to what information they shall convey to His Highness, Duke John of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire, our dear uncle and Elector, and how they shall conduct the negotiations with him on our behalf and yet by themselves and without showing him this instruction.

To begin with, they shall assure His Highness of our Imperial favor and good-will; they shall tell him that we were especially greatly pleased to hear of his submissive, devoted, Christian, and obedient proposal and that we graciously and kindly thank His Highness for it; furthermore that we have sent to him the above mentioned Count of Neuenahr and our faithful Imperial Knight Hans von Dolzig, His Highness' counselor and ambassador, and have given His Highness a gracious and good reply to the articles concerning which they together with the Count of Nassau approached us on His Highness' behalf (viz., the investiture, the confirmation of the Juelich marriage contract, the approval of a market at Gotha, the safe-conduct for the spouse of our dear uncle and Elector of Brandenburg), a reply which they undoubtedly transmitted to His Highness and which in our judgment might well have satisfied His Highness' legitimate desires in every respect.

Nevertheless we are informed that His Highness is complaining about something contained in our reply; we are very greatly surprised at this, mainly for the following reasons. His Highness will surely know and remember how closely the two worthy houses of Austria and Saxony have been related and linked by many years' friendship, and how the error in our holy Christian religion originated, which has produced so much dissension. Now then, His Highness must remember that in this matter he has detached himself from us and from the five Imperial Electors and that he has disregarded and annihilated the edict which we and they, all six Electors and the other Princes and Estates of the Holy Empire unanimously approved

and adopted; furthermore that the above mentioned error and dissension (we will not mention how very greatly we, the Roman Emperor, his supreme lord and head, and the protector of holy Christendom, have been insulted and disgraced in the matter) have spread so widely throughout the Holy Empire and almost all Christendom that it will not be easy now to restore peace. Moreover that His Highness and others who subsequently also became disobedient and contrary in this matter, have entered into an agreement and formed an alliance against us and said edict, and that he is the head of this union. How much bloodshed and other evils have been caused by this in the Holy Empire and many estates of Christendom, and how much more it may cause in the future—unless we prevent it, with the help of the Almighty and to His praise; and we will spare no effort to do so—His Highness can without much trouble determine for himself. In spite of all this, we have graciously and patiently listened to everyone of the requests which His Highness addressed to us, whether in writing or through personal representatives; we have merely postponed the investiture and the confirmation until our arrival in the Empire so that we might also consult our dear uncle and Elector of Brandenburg himself who is one of the noblest members of the Holy Empire. In view of all this we thought that His Highness had no cause for complaint but should rather have appreciated our Christian attitude and our gracious and kind good-will. If His Highness will thoroughly consider this, he will recognize that we, as a Christian Emperor and the head of Christendom, do not desire anything else but that the honor and glory of God the Almighty be sought and that our own highness and majesty be properly acknowledged, preserved, and increased, and we shall then prove ourselves gracious toward His Highness, provided he enters into no alliance but observes that willing obedience toward us which a worthy Elector owes us and which the other Electors show.

And this is a matter of such vital importance that it cannot be properly disposed of by means of writing. But we have the confidence that if we and His Highness according to His Christian proposal had a personal conversation, we should, by the grace of God, come to an agreement. Therefore, if His Highness, or in case he is physically unable to come, his beloved son, or if it is convenient, both of them will go to Munich and there await further dispatches from us, they may be assured that they will be welcome to us upon our arrival there. We shall arrive at a peaceful settlement of those matters

that may be settled by our two persons, provided that they submit to us, enter into no alliance, and conduct themselves as is proper for a worthy Elector and his son as a Prince of the Holy Empire.

And so far as the other articles are concerned we may hear and discuss them, with God's help. But whether His Highness or his son come or not, this much we request, that from now until we arrive at Augsburg and reestablish order in these things, as we hope to do with the help of the Almighty, they command their preachers positively to stop preaching so that disputations may be avoided. It is not our intention to prolong our stay here on account of the proposed visit of His Highness or his son, but we should like, prior to our arrival at Augsburg, to have a conversation with His Highness or Their Highness.

What answers they receive to these several matters, they shall quickly and accurately report to us so that we may govern our conduct accordingly. In this they will please us especially greatly and act accordingly to our own mind. Given at Innsbruck, under Our Imperial Seal, May 24, 1530.—Carol.

30. THE ELECTOR'S REPLY TO THE EMPEROR'S PROPOSAL, MAY 31, 1530³²

(Instruction to the Counts of Nassau and Neuenahr)

Highborn Uncles, dear Friends.—The proposal which you, well-beloved, by the instruction of His Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, have transmitted and delivered to us, John, by the grace of God, Duke of Saxony, archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire, and Elector, has been most dutifully received by us as having been sent by our most gracious lord and Emperor. We have gathered from this proposal and also from His Majesty's gracious invitation that His Imperial Majesty is greatly surprised that we have registered complaints in regard to the reply which His Majesty some days ago had given to you and our faithful counsellor Hans von Dolzig concerning several articles and subjects. The reasons for His Majesty's surprise are enumerated in the instruction. It is stated that in spite of all evil reports His Majesty has so graciously and exhaustively replied to our letters and personal messengers in matters pertaining to the postponement of the investiture that His Majesty cannot understand why we now register a complaint; because if we had thoroughly considered the matter we would have clearly seen that

His Imperial Majesty desired nothing else than the glorification of God and the proper acknowledgment of His Imperial Majesty's highness; it is also said that this is a matter of such importance that it cannot be satisfactorily settled by means of letters, and that His Imperial Majesty is confident that a personal conversation between His Majesty and us, as was suggested in our Christian proposal would probably result, with the help of God, in mutual agreement.

It is therefore suggested that we or, if we are too ill to go, our son, or both of us visit His Majesty, and that we, if we can see our way clear to go to Munich and there await further dispatches from His Majesty, will be welcome to His Majesty, and that our difficulties will probably be settled to mutual satisfaction, on the condition that we submit to His Majesty and that we enter into no alliance and that we conduct ourselves as behooves an Elector and our son as one of the Princes of His Majesty and the Empire. Also, that with the help of God, His Majesty would hear and advise us concerning the other points. But that whether we or our son could conveniently arrange to come or not, His Imperial Majesty desires that from now until His Majesty arrives at Augsburg and reestablishes order in these things, our preachers should be positively prohibited from preaching so that disputations may be avoided. And finally the Emperor requires you to transmit to Him quickly and accurately our reply to each and every one of these points so that His Majesty may govern His conduct accordingly.

To begin, we are most humbly thankful to His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, for His gracious invitation, and especially for His kind and gracious acceptance of our humble and obedient Christian proposal.

We are, also, thankful that His Imperial Majesty would enjoy and tolerate our presence with His Majesty and that His Majesty so graciously offers to grant a personal audience to us, or to our son, for the discussion of the main points or at least certain points as stated in the instruction. Now we, together with our son, should have been quite eager, out of submissive deference, to meet His Majesty prior to this as soon as His Majesty arrived at Innsbruck, as several other Princes have also done. With this purpose in mind we have ordered several of our councillors casually to investigate at His Majesty's court what His Majesty's pleasure might be in this respect. But we were informed that our presence would not be favorably regarded because it might give rise to suspicions among

the other Electors and Princes and Estates as though a secret agreement were being effected and because it might delay His Majesty's arrival at Augsburg. It was in agreement with this information when several Imperial councillors, by order of His Imperial Majesty, conveyed to us, among other things, His Majesty's wish that we wait for Him here at Augsburg where He expected to arrive very shortly. We have obediently fulfilled this wish of His Imperial Majesty to the present day, and have now been here at Augsburg one whole month because we had with all obedience and speed heeded His Majesty's serious Imperial summons to this Imperial Diet and had set out at once for this city. And even now we should have been eager to accept His Majesty's present gracious invitation at once and to bring, in person, our necessary, Christian, and obedient answer to His Majesty's proposal and instruction; but we have seen from said instruction that His Majesty has decided and ordered that you two sirs and Counts should first quickly and accurately convey to His Majesty the replies which we give you on each and every point of reproof.

Therefore, and in order to prove our obedience to His Majesty, also in reference to His instruction, we will not conceal from His Majesty, our most gracious lord, nor from you, who are expected to report to His Majesty, our answer to the reproof, to wit:

First, with reference to our complaint at His Majesty's recent answer, you, Count William of Neuenahr, know that we voiced our most obedient gratitude to His Majesty when you, together with our counsellor Hans von Dolzig, returned to us from His Imperial Majesty and gave us a report of the negotiations concerning the investiture and of the Emperor's reply and decision to bestow the electoral dignity upon us. And even if we mentioned again to you the other matters which we had confidently expected to see satisfactorily settled (as you, Count William of Nassau probably indicated upon your return to Innsbruck), yet we know, by the grace of God, that if we did complain because of the Imperial reply we did so in the most submissive manner possible. It would grieve us if any improper action of ours should give His Imperial Majesty just ground for suspicion or displeasure. And we believe and hold that our humble complaints alone—without the numerous rumors so generously circulated by our adversaries and others who desire to further their own advantage in these matters—would not have sufficed to move His Imperial Majesty to such grievous reproofs against us as are

contained in the proposal. For His Majesty is aware, as the instruction shows, of the close friendship and affiliation which for many years has bound together the two worthy houses of Austria and Saxony. We have therefore at all times had the confidence that His Majesty has been thoroughly misinformed as though six Electors, could not expect anything else in the light of His Imperial Majesty's numerous gracious offers.

But we did not expect that said adversaries would succeed in inveigling His Imperial Majesty with reference to the edict. For his Majesty has been thoroughly misinformed as though six Electors, hence also our late brother Duke Frederick, together with other Princes and Estates had consented to the edict. His Majesty and the other Electors will graciously and kindly remember the attitude which our late brother Frederick took toward the edict together with the declarations and resolutions which he offered when the edict was being prepared. If necessary this point can be demonstrated even today.

Furthermore His Imperial Majesty will graciously consider that inasmuch as the edict involves God, His Word, and our holy faith, our adversaries have no ground to charge us with reprehensible separation from the other Electors. As far as His Imperial Majesty's Imperial highness is concerned, or the Holy Empire's honor, welfare, and prosperity, under God, we hope and know indeed that our dear late brother Duke Frederick and we ourselves have—this we may say, without praising ourselves—furthered the same with our most obedient intentions, service, disposition, and power, and that we have so conducted ourselves that without minimizing anyone's services we cannot yield first place to any one else.—But our brother and we have never thought it proper to resist God the Almighty and His eternal and indestructible Word which offers us the one assurance of our salvation. And those who have carried malicious reports concerning us to His Imperial Majesty must know themselves how many difficulties have been caused by said edict at nearly all the Diets that have been held since the Diet of Worms, and that for that reason it has been deemed highly necessary to hold a free, general, Christian council, as the Electors, Princes, and Estates more than once unanimously resolved. Hence our adversaries should in all fairness refrain from registering complaints against us with reference to the edict.

But if these affairs are to be discussed thoroughly and from

their very beginnings, we shall be able, with the help of the Almighty, to give a humble, well-founded, truthful, and incontrovertible report from which His Imperial Majesty may graciously learn what godless and un-Christian abuses, both in preaching and otherwise, had originated and spread throughout the Empire, and that not we, but others are responsible for the errors and divisions.—In addition, in conformity with His Majesty's summons, we shall, if it please God, like other Electors, Princes, and Estates, at the impending Imperial Diet set forth our opinions and thoughts; and in deference to His Majesty's wish and with the help of the Almighty, we shall state what is being taught in our duchy and domains.—We should never have suspected that we should now be accused before His Imperial Majesty on account of the edict even if we had committed an error in this respect (which, however, cannot be proved). For the Imperial summons clearly states, and His Imperial Majesty desires, that at this Diet measures shall be taken concerning the error and division, whereby in sounder and better fashion it may be brought about that divisions may be allayed, antipathies set aside, past errors left to the judgment of Christ our Saviour, etc., and every care taken to give a charitable hearing to every man's opinions, to understand them, and to weigh them, to bring and reconcile them to a unity in Christian truth, and to dispose of everything that has not been rightly explained or treated of on the one side or the other—as His Imperial Majesty will graciously remember.—It is altogether inappropriate, in view of this summons, that these matters, without having been heard and weighed, are condemned as erroneous and that our adversaries register complaints with His Majesty against us on this account.

When furthermore we are accused before His Majesty of resisting His Imperial Majesty and His edict by concluding an agreement and an alliance with those who oppose and resist His Imperial Majesty in this matter, and of being the head of such alliance, we feel the urgent need of giving the following reply to this oft repeated accusation: No one in the whole Empire can truthfully declare, or report to the Emperor that our dear late brother or we have entered into any sort of alliance in matters pertaining to the Gospel. Without doubt, those who have received a greater measure of grace from the Almighty will trust in God alone and not seek help in alliances and similar human devices. Since, however, we have been thus accused before His Majesty (as we gather from His proposal), we humbly request His Majesty to give us and those who are ac-

cused with us an opportunity to face our accusers before His Majesty and to call them to account. His Imperial Majesty will then, on basis of the charges against us and on basis of our defense, graciously find that we are innocent of forming an alliance against His Majesty and that we have been accused without cause. For when we have formed friendly and neighborly alliances, we have in no way thought of opposing the Emperor, but solely desired to protect our own domains, subjects, and allies against violence or oppression to which we are so often exposed in these times of uncertainty and in the Emperors absence from the Empire. For that reason our accusers should not have placed such a malicious interpretation upon our action; it should be considered for what purpose we formed the agreement and also that strange, troublesome, threatening rumors are current throughout the Empire which have induced us and our friends to come to a friendly and irreproachable understanding for the sake of mutual protection (the Emperor being exempted), and action which certainly is not unjustified. If, moreover, these accusers will submit to His Majesty the agreement which they have made among themselves even before we and our friends made ours, we shall not fail to do the same in order that His Imperial Majesty may clearly recognize who was the first to form an alliance and thereby gave rise to other alliances.

But in reference to the request that we should prohibit our preachers from preaching here, we are in conscience bound to make the following most obedient and urgent petition. For since our preachers preach nothing else than the plain truth of God and the Holy Scriptures—and we would not easily allow them to preach anything else—it would be terrible to suppress God's Word and truth.—Furthermore, we as a human being, are in such constant need of the comfort and help which the preaching and proclamation of the divine Word offer to our conscience in all the troubles that meet us and all men every day, that we could not get along without preaching if we really wish to have God before our mind.—Moreover, our preachers assiduously admonish the people at the conclusion of every sermon to pray to God for all the needs of Christendom, especially that in these last times He may give grace to His Imperial Majesty, its divinely appointed lord, and all Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, to the end that at this Imperial Diet they may do what is most conducive to the glory of God and to peace and unity.—Again, our preachers faithfully instruct the people concerning the erroneous

views of the Sacrament that have spread here. It would therefore be injurious and not at all conducive to the improvement of conditions if our preachers would now be prohibited from preaching.—Also, the divisions have been under discussion everywhere for so many years that disputations need no longer be avoided.

The prohibition of the preaching of the Gospel would also be harmful because some would be grievously offended thereby. Especially because at both Diets of Speyer the doctrine of the Gospel has been most judiciously proclaimed by us and our friends in public, and without any interference or offence.—Furthermore, His Imperial Majesty will graciously recognize that if we and our friends should stop the preaching of the Gospel, many Christians would be most grievously offended and His Imperial Majesty's conduct would be liable to the misinterpretation that whereas He promised, in the careful Christian, and well-known summons that every man's opinion and ideas should be heard and that a Christian agreement should be reached. He would not without hearing the matter and without discussing it suppress this teaching; and His Majesty would no doubt dislike to have it said that His Majesty's summons was not carried out.

And for the sake of our relationship and because of our humble desire to honor and serve His Majesty, we may be permitted to offer some advice to His Majesty, we would not mention anything else than this that His Majesty do not allow anyone to shift the purpose of His Imperial Majesty's summons and proposal and that graciously the greatest care be taken everywhere in the transaction of this most important matter so that Christian peace and agreement may be restored. We remind His Majesty of this out of faithfulness and good-will, in all humbleness, with the best intentions. In view of all these circumstances and conditions we are of the opinion that any advice to the contrary that may be offered to His Imperial Majesty is not conducive to the best interests of His Majesty nor to the welfare of the Empire or Christendom in general. And therefore we humbly petition His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord, graciously to accept this our necessary and submissive notice which represents our unchanged attitude in this matter, and to remain our most gracious lord and Emperor as we most humbly hope.

With the help of the Almighty we shall observe until death all due, fair, and voluntary obedience and submission to His Imperial

Majesty, our God-appointed magistrate; and in matters which we together with our friends, the Electors, Princes, and Estates are expected to transact for the honor, welfare, and prosperity of the Empire, we shall conduct ourselves in such a manner that we need not be ashamed of giving an account before God, His Imperial Majesty, the above mentioned Estates, and anyone else. In reference to the remaining articles we hope that His Majesty will upon gracious investigation find that we do not seek anything that may give anyone just cause for complaint, and that His Majesty will finally graciously approve of them and thereby reveal His good-will toward us. We are willing to sacrifice both body and property in the service of His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious lord and Emperor.

And it is our friendly and gracious purpose that you two Counts together and separately, according to His Majesty's gracious command, convey this our humble and necessary reply to His Majesty in the most appropriate and gentle manner that you may know, with the help of God. On this account we owe you friendship, grace, and all good-will.

Given at Augsburg, under Our Seal, the last day of May, 1530.

31. FINAL FORM OF MELANCHTHON'S PREFACE TO THE CONFESSION, MAY, 1530³¹³

Since there has been much and all kinds of talk about the Elector of Saxony because his grace has permitted and suffered the change of some few abuses in the order of the Church, his Elec. Gr. has placed his highest hope and trust next to God in the clemency and goodness of Y. Imp. Maj., which is as famous and glorious with every one as the powerful conquest of your enemies. And although in former ages no emperor achieved as much against his enemies, there is nothing more glorious and laudable than that Y. Maj. has done in this nothing else than seek the peace of all Europe. Besides, no pride, insolence or cruelty has been noticeable in this conduct. Also that Y. Maj. in the odious actions, which arose from a difference in common religion and faith, has shown your clemency so manifestly, that you have been willing to consent to graciously hear such dissension. Hence no cruelty may be ascribed to Y. Imp. Maj., since you have so graciously permitted us to come to such a hearing of the case, contrary to the opinion of some.

Hence it is the submissive request of the Elector of Saxony that Y. Imp. Maj. would, in the first place, not suffer yourself to be moved to any disfavor or suspicion against him, and secondly, to hear and consider the case in such a way that thereby the glory of God may be furthered and common peace be preserved and maintained, which the Elector of Saxony desires, not only in view of his age; but also on account of the danger which every one may expect in it. May God help Y. Imp. Maj. to further the unity of Christendom with the same grace as has been done in other matters, since Y. Maj. could perform nothing more well-pleasing to God, nor more glorious or honorable to yourself forever, than to use your power and might for the inquiry into this case and the unification of Christendom.

Therefore, Y. Maj. should also endeavor to follow the example of the most famous emperors, Theodosius, Charlemagne and Henry the Second, who rightly considered it to be a duty of their office to weigh the dissensions of faith and to bring about the preaching of pure doctrine in Christendom, as the Holy Ghost specially admonishes princes to defend the faith, when he says in the second Psalm, "Now, therefore, be wise, oh ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth," and elsewhere: "The princes of the peoples gather themselves together unto the God of Abraham." When the princes of the land gather unto God, God is praised gloriously. With such words the prophet would indicate that God's honor is furthered when the people are induced by the piety of the princes, and the princes maintain God-fearing preachers. Therefore, He also calls the princes the protectors of the land, since they are to protect and defend the righteous and the God-fearing with their power.

Since Y. Imp. Maj. is endowed with no fewer virtues and fear of God than above-mentioned Theodosius, Charlemagne and Henry, yea, far transcends several of them in power and glory, it would not ill become Y. Maj. to examine into the affairs of Christendom and bring about a union. The Apostles have prophesied that Christendom in these last times would have much adversity, wherefore it would be quite necessary to mark the present evils in such a manner that things may not become worse and more dangerous.

But, later on, we will indicate what the doctrine is that is taught in the Electorate of Saxony. At present we will briefly show of what mind the Elector of Saxony is in this matter, so that it might

not be thought that he would further and abet this new doctrine out of evil purpose.

The honorable Electors of Saxony, Duke Frederick and Duke Hans, brothers, have always been of such an honorable and brave nature that they have never been known or suspected of any evil. It is also manifest how kind and gracious they have always been toward everyone, no matter of what estate; moreover how much they have always inclined to the Christian religion and faith, is attested publicly, not only by their whole life, but also the institutions and churches which they have in part, at their own expense, built from the foundation, and in part adorned and endowed. Thus they have also shown their faith and allegiance to the Roman Emperors in such a manner as became honorable electors. In all affairs of the empire they have never fallen short in furnishing money or sending stately well-armed auxiliaries. With foreign nations or enemies of the empire they have never had any understanding or treaty. For the peace and unity of a common Germany they have been so inclined that they neither ever gave any one occasion for disturbance; but, though they were highly tempted, they have shown patience for the sake of common peace, so that the disturbance did not become greater. They have also more than once, when others were already arrayed in arms, by their diligence and care brought them to peace and quiet.

And though such things as told above are more than sufficient, more and more praiseworthy things may yet be shown from which the faith and good-will of above-mentioned Electors of Saxony may be seen to greater evidence.

Who would imagine that the Elector of Saxony, without notable and honorable reason, would imperil his honor, children and grandchildren to such an extent? Or what advantage might accrue to him from this miserable discord and dissension, that could be compared with this danger which he undergoes and sees before his eyes daily? From this it may well be concluded that if his conscience had not driven him, he would not have undertaken to represent these matters, for it was not hidden from him what a burden he would thus load upon himself, although the matter did not originate with the Elector, but with others.

In the first place, many pious and learned people took pleasure in this doctrine, since all upright men were desirous of a pure doctrine, and bore it grievously that the Christian doctrine was oppressed

and darkened with the teachings of men and with useless talk. Every one complained of the abuses that increased daily; all teaching in the schools was corrupted; some showed and praised their philosophy; some exalted human teachings. But the things that were given us through Christ, of repentance, of forgiveness of sins that is given us not for the sake of our merit, but through faith in Christ,—of all this no one could speak, although among Christians, above all things, the righteousness ought to be preached that comes from faith, the forgiveness of sins from faith, etc. Every day new forms of worship were invented in the Church that brought revenue, new ways of selling the mass, new saints, new ceremonies, indulgences without number, new monkery, and the consciences of the simple were daily burdened with new commandments.

But there was no one who informed or comforted the consciences with the gospel. This was the complaint, not only of the common man, but also of the bishops, though in secret, for nobody could speak against these things publicly, since the monks ruled so powerfully in Christendom, even over the bishops. But it happened that the indulgence and letters of remission were preached in Saxon lands and exalted unduly. This Martinus Luther contradicted by means of several smaller treatises, scholastically and not before the people, and also without abusing or maligning the Pope. But his adversaries quickly kindled a great controversy and published many malicious books in both languages, and soon, before the case was heard, brought up the ban and condemnation of the doctrine. Through such unjust action its respect was somewhat dimmed, and a change took place in many locations.

Nevertheless, Luther was importuned to answer, and many pious and learned people took pleasure in his answer, not because he rejected the indulgence, but on account of the salutary and comforting doctrine of repentance and the righteousness that follows from faith. Thus this doctrine was adopted by many pious people, so that it would have been difficult for the Elector of Saxony to proceed in any wise against the originator of this doctrine on account of so many brave and learned people that clung to it, and on account of his own conscience. This was especially the case, since those whose duty it was did not wish to undertake the matter and the change of religion was already at hand, and would only have become greater and worse, if the learned preachers had been put away. For before Luther had written anything, all sorts

of erroneous and scandalous doctrine had already arisen, which would have caused much grievous change and oppression in Christendom if Luther had not prevented it.

And the adversaries, if they have any sense at all, cannot deny that much that is salutary and useful to the salvation of the soul is contained in this doctrine, which they themselves accept and allow. For it has brought this about that the preachers now teach much more thoughtfully of the power of the keys, of forgiveness of sins, of work-righteousness, of the use of the sacraments, of evangelical counsels, of worldly statutes, of the merit of monastic life and such like human doctrine, of the worship of saints, after such things have been brought to light by us. They also dispute more sharply with us, and even endeavor to slay us with our own sword.

And, as can be proved, more than one heresy has thereby been allayed, which had arisen with new and unchristian writings against the holy sacraments. The Anabaptists had spread a seductive and seditious doctrine against the possession of temporal property, against the courts, against the power of the magistrates, against all civil order, against preaching, against the Holy Sacrament, all of which would have been spread much further had not the hearts of men been warned and strengthened by this teaching, whereby authority and civil order are well maintained, and the righteousness of faith is so bravely defended against the hypocrisy of the Anabaptists and their imagined angelic holiness. Hence it is not denied by any upright, honest man, that in these schisms much has been brought to light that is absolutely essential to know. It is also entirely unfounded to say that the Anabaptists of their ilk have originated from Luther's doctrine, for such things have occurred before Luther, and most of all in such places where there was a lack of skilful pastors who ought to have strengthened and warned the consciences of men against false doctrine.

This cause was made specially odious on account of the general rumor spread by our adversaries that we had done away with all ceremonies, and were destroying all spiritual order and rule. With how much reason such things are attributed to us the facts will show. For this doctrine is not directed to the end that ceremonies be done away with but rather that they should be preserved with true fear of God, and we can say with truth, that in all Germany the mass is not celebrated with greater fear of God and greater participation of the people than with us. It is also celebrated according to common custom, except that along with the Latin singing we

also use German, so that the people may have something which they can understand and learn.

The Sacrament is received by the people with greater reverence and oftener than before, and every one is previously examined and instructed, a thing which formerly could not easily be done, as at such a time a whole crowd was accustomed to go together.

Confession is likewise still observed, and the power of the keys is oftentimes praised in preaching and the people admonished what a great power there is in absolution.

The sermons are pure and sensible, which beyond doubt is the most acceptable sacrifice unto God.

Psalms and the litany are also chanted at the proper time, not for lucre or money, but by the pupils and the congregation of people. Thereby the unskilled are practiced and earnestly urged through the Word of God to pray. For this reason the ceremonies must be observed in the churches.

The holy days are still observed, with the exception of a few more recent ones, which have long been displeasing to well-informed men, for which reason the bishops and princes have often counselled how they might abolish some.

Besides all this a very useful ceremony is also observed, which formerly was used with great diligence in Christendom, but afterward fell into desuetude owing to negligence of the pastors and the people, namely, the catechism and instruction of the young. For this the boys and girls are asked to come together to the churches, where one of the preachers delivers to them the beginning and foundation of Christian doctrine, as the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, several portions of the Gospel on the remission of sins, of repentance, of faith in Christ, of good works, of the cross, of Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar. Afterward every one is examined as to what it has retained. Thus the children advance exceedingly in Christian knowledge, which formerly was lacking even to the older ones on account of much useless disputation and talk.

The schools are maintained with great diligence and at great expense to the authorities.

This is the order of the churches in the Electorate of Saxony, mostly in accordance with ancient custom and usage of the Roman Church, according to the instruction of holy teachers, and we desire nothing more than that such should also be acceptable to the bishops;

but they are a little too hard on us, because they persecute us on account of the marriage of priests and such like things.

But if they were inclined toward us with somewhat more grace, no one would need to complain that the order of the Church is being broken. For the matter of which many accuse us, as if this doctrine had the sole tendency to break up the power of the clergy, is altogether without foundation. For they would lose nothing of their power and magnificence if they would only cease some new and improper abuses. They would also not need entertain any fear for their possessions, although many others more than once before us have endeavored, under the semblance of a reformation, to take away the possessions of the clergy.

The Bohemians at the Council of Basel, among other things, have also postulated that the servants of the Church should have no private property; but our teaching is entirely different, namely, that as it is permissible to every Christian to use other external things, just so every Christian, whether he be a bishop or a pastor, may legally have and possess his own property. For even if bishops should become poor and lose their properties, that would not help other Christians. But it would help them, if the bishops would provide for the preaching of the pure and unadulterated Word. These seditious propositions to take from the clergy what belongs to it have nothing to do with our doctrine, which demands only that Christendom be instructed in the pure teaching, and the consciences be unburdened from unchristian commandments, for the Christian Church is born and maintained solely from the Word as it is written: He has begotten us through the Word of truth. Thus we teach that all civil laws and ordinances under spiritual and secular power are to be observed as an order of God for the sake of peace and unity. Never has a reformation been undertaken so entirely without violence as this one, as it is evident that through our adherence others have been brought to peace who were already arrayed in arms.

Up to this point we have shown that this controversy arose not without cause, and that it was not tolerated by the Elector of Saxony from a malicious purpose. Now we speak of the doctrine, and first of all enumerate the principal articles of faith from which Y. Imp. Maj. may learn that the Elector of Saxony does not tolerate any unchristian teaching in his territory, but has given all diligence to the universal Christian faith.

32. MELANCHTHON'S DRAFT OF THE CONCLUSION TO THE CONFESSION, MAY-JUNE, 1530³⁴

Since the Imperial Majesty, as a most renowned Christian Emperor, has learned herewith the basis of the doctrine that is taught and preached in the principality, lands and territories of the aforesaid Elector of Saxony, and especially what constitutes the justification of men, and where a man is to seek and where not to seek the forgiveness of his sins and the attainment of God's grace. Also which are the Christian and pious ceremonies, for what they are profitable and useful, and how they are to be observed, and likewise which ceremonies are offensive, and, furthermore, how the people are taught and instructed that they are in duty bound to be obedient to the government with submissive homage (so long as they are not compelled to commit sin or to act against God). So may the Almighty and Merciful God grant your Majesty grace and imperial courage, in accord with the Imperial Majesty's gracious summons, to act in these most important and weighty matters in such manner that after having heard the opinion and judgment of each party in love and graciousness, everything that is found contrary to the clear and plain divine Scriptures, and therefore is wrongly held by this or that party, may be turned to the one and only Christian truth, which God Himself has revealed to the world through His Word alone, and in Christ has shown what is His divine will and what He requires of men whom he would justify and cause to be saved, that all divisions and misunderstandings of Scripture may be done away since on Scripture the unity and oneness of Christianity alone shall rest and stand as on the right foundation and so the one true Christian religion may be accepted and held by all estates. In this way the dangerous and lamentable dissension which is now found in churches and congregations may be put down and removed. For if this be not done, in the manner the Imperial Majesty, in your previously mentioned summons, has indicated as a gracious and Christian way, the result can only be that daily new and dangerous schisms, separation, dissent and disorder will result in the Church. As, unfortunately is very evident, there are many forward persons in the German nation who only to gain notoriety for themselves, begin many disputes and put forward all kinds of harmful and dangerous doctrines attacking the Christian Sacrament, that was instituted by God. And further, as is manifest, they would venture to meddle with other

articles of doctrine, especially should they find support and opportunity, as might easily happen, then if those of our party, who up to this time through the teaching of the truth have most vigorously opposed such things and strenuously contended against such heresies, were banished or driven away, because they were not present, these others would no longer hesitate and would add still more dangerous errors to their previous heresies which they have invented concerning the Sacrament.

Therefore may the Roman Imperial Majesty tread in the footsteps of the pious kings, who ruled over the Jewish people, who had no higher concern than to remove and destroy everything set up as a religious observance among the people that was contrary to the commandment and decree of God. They were most highly praised by the prophets of their day, because in these matters involving God's honor and service they heeded His command and decree more than the inventions of men, but the others, who did not do so and failed to destroy and forbid false worship were severely punished. Therefore may you consider all Christendom and the salvation of men's souls and act in these affairs for the true glory of Almighty God and the peace of the German Nation, for the improvement of the people and the maintenance of the preaching of the Holy Gospel and God's Word, that the youth may be faithfully instructed therein and the true Christian doctrine may be transmitted to following generations, for which it is the duty of all men to provide. Without doubt this will be the most exalted and praiseworthy imperial work that Your Imperial Majesty, in your eminence, can ever perform. For Your Imperial Majesty can graciously perceive that these matters do not concern temporal possessions, lands or nations, but that they involve the eternal salvation or injury of souls and consciences, and that at the Last Judgment God will demand an accounting concerning those matters that have herein been discussed. God grant Your Imperial Majesty grace and safety for this undertaking. Amen.

33. LUTHER'S ADMONITION TO ALL THE CLERGY ASSEMBLED AT THE REICHSTAG IN AUGSBURG, JUNE, 1530³⁵

The portions in small type are only a summary of Luther's statements.

Circumstances make it impossible for me to attend this Reichstag personally but I shall be spiritually present and my conscience drives me to admonish and exhort you, and to beg you to make the most of the opportunities the grace of God has provided through this assembly. If this Reichstag should be without results, after all the disappointments and provocations of the past, the consequences will be most disastrous to yourselves, as well as to us and to others. So I am writing as I do in the interests of peace and unity.

Some may think me presumptuous in interfering but fools can often give good advice while wisdom has done great harm when it has neglected the grace of God. Your own past has given painful evidence of that fact. Knowing that our prayers are acceptable to God, we are interceding in your behalf that your hearts may not be hardened but guided by God. For ourselves we do not need the aid of a Reichstag because we trust in God the true helper and are always safe in His keeping.

But we are concerned about you and the poor people under your jurisdiction who are still unenlightened and in doubt, and we would help as best we can with our prayers and admonitions. For I greatly fear that you will forget your duties and the necessary humility towards God, drawing the strings too tight, and riding the willing horse too hard, till another uprising results and, as on previous occasions, you and we alike will experience perils and dangers. Beyond doubt you know how, before the uprising, the Diet of Spire was convened with such splendid and comfortable hopes that all the world looked on in eager anticipation and honestly expected good would result. But your counsels were full of guile and you so manipulated affairs that its decisions were antagonistic and disgraceful. Straightway the rod of punishment descended on you, namely, Muenzer and his uprising, and delivered a blow from which you have not yet fully recovered and from which we still suffer great injury.

That means that everything is to be done with coercion and obstinacy. Just as at Worms our beloved and magnanimous master, the Emperor Charles had to do as you wished and was compelled to condemn me and all my teaching though there were portions of it that you yourselves had secretly accepted and applied. Your preachers today would have nothing to preach if Luther's books were not at hand, for they have discarded their sermon books that

they were accustomed to declaim from the pulpits and begin to preach against us on faith and good works, although nothing was heard or known about these subjects previously. In addition, you forced through a decree for the killing of Lutherans that was so monstrous that you yourselves could neither enforce it nor endure it and had to alter it at the Reichstag at Nuernberg. And several of the princes among you had to forbid its enforcement because it would have endangered their authority and possessions.

I do not recall this to scoff or mock at you, because I am already in sufficiently bad odor with you, but earnestly to pray you and faithfully to admonish you that you may benefit by your previous experience and misfortunes, that you may cease from defiance and threatenings, from force and bullying and walk with fear and humility before God, that you may put behind you your pride and seek His help and grace by earnest prayer. Verily, verily the issues are too great and human power and wisdom are far too insignificant to meet them; God must help, else it is certain the evil will become worse. For if you will persist in your bullying, you will have to discover that the spirit of Muenzer is still alive and, I fear, far more dangerous and powerful than you think or are now able to understand. It means more to you than to us, even though it is more hostile to us than to you, because, God be praised forevermore, we have an effective weapon against it, the pure Word and upright prayer. Would to God you had them also.

You know that we have always withstood the fanatics more successfully than you could have done, with the result that they hate us more than they do you. Some try to hold me responsible for their outbreaks but fair minded persons of your party can easily see that the antagonism between their teaching and mine is greater than that between myself and the pope. Have you forgotten the 400 counts of the Gravamina presented at Worms, when they threatened to proceed against the clergy unless the Emperor corrected some of the abuses? You would have been destroyed in the subsequent disorders if I had taken sides against you but I stood on the side of law and order. Or have you forgotten how even bishops at first welcomed my teaching when it promised relief from the tyranny of the pope and the prospect of regaining their episcopal authority? Particularly when I attacked the traffic in indulgences which was such a pest but was protected by the pope, why was this not seditious? And when I attacked the monks and the monasteries, that was quite acceptable. They would not want these bugs and lice reintroduced into their episcopal furs. Why was this not seditious? Because they were glad to be relieved of the oppression of the pope and the monks.

Concerning Indulgences. That you may see what the Gospel has done for you, let me remind you of previous conditions. I will begin where my teaching

began, with the indulgences. No ecclesiastical authority attempted to abate these abuses; they were either tolerated or turned to profit. They were as follows:*

1. That they sold indulgences in place of the divine grace that forgives sins. Thereby they denied and blasphemed the blood and death of Christ, the Holy Ghost and the Gospel.—2. That they thus falsely liberated souls from purgatory for money, insulting the Divine Majesty and deceiving the multitude.—3. That they exalted the pope to the place of God in heaven in ascribing to him authority to command the angels to lead to heaven the souls of the pilgrims, who died on their way to Rome.—4. The true indulgence of the Gospel had to be silenced in the churches in the interests of their indulgence.—5. That they robbed the whole world of immense sums of money, and betrayed and skinned men with impudent greed and deception, pretending they wanted to fight against the Turks.—6. That they continually nullified the old letters of indulgence in favor of new ones, and instituted new forms of indulgence in place of the old, and trifled with the year of Jubilee, as they needed money—of course to fight against the Turks.—7. And the invention of the golden year of Jubilee is only a golden swindle and an evil lie to destroy faith in Christ and His daily year of Jubilee. But thus unnumbered thousands of souls have been misled, and people have been made to run like fools to Rome, cheated of their money and property, wasting their time and means.—8. That through indulgences they sold the good works of all Christendom and the absolution, like something distinct, though now as always the Gospel grants it for nothing to the whole world, and in this way the consciences of men were led away from the Gospel of Christ to human works.—9. That they exalted the indulgence above all the good works done by love.—10. That they reserved for themselves the works of supererogation done by the saints as a treasure of indulgence at their disposal, as though the sufferings of Christ were not sufficient for the forgiveness of all sins, which again corrupts faith in Christ.—11. That finally they so exalted indulgences that they taught that even if any one had violated the Mother of God it would be forgiven by the indulgence.—12. That they taught that when the penny rings in the chest the

*This particular list of Luther's is of special interest as in our day the attempt has so frequently been made to deny the correctness of some of these accusations. It should be evident to unprejudiced minds that he would never have dared, under the circumstances to have made these assertions unless they were unquestioned facts. He would only have injured his own cause if they had been false.

soul flies up to heaven.—13. That sorrow and repentance were not necessary to gain the indulgence but that it was sufficient to contribute the money.—14. That St. Peter himself could not grant a greater grace than that of the indulgence.—15. What has become of the immense sums of money which have been acquired so disgracefully through the depredations of the indulgence?"

Who can recount all the abominations and abuses of the indulgences, the misled consciences, the many lies, the mockery of Christ's sufferings in which you clergy were accessories both in sharing the profits and by your silence. You have not repented of these evils and still you come to Augsburg claiming the Holy Ghost as your special possession. That conditions have been improved is due alone to my "revolutionary Gospel." In the same class belong the dispensations of various sorts that were peddled by bishops and the rest of the clergy.

Concerning Confession. Your books in which you have laid down the rules and teaching of confession are still at hand. I reckon them as one of the greatest plagues on the earth, for here you have confused the consciences of all men, caused many souls to despair and weakened and smothered the faith of all men in Christ. For you have had nothing to say concerning the consolation of the absolution, which is the chief thing in confession, and which strengthens faith and trust in Christ. But you have made a work out of it and forced it by law on unwilling hearts, to strengthen your tyranny, and then to alarm, torture and torment men with the enumeration of all sins. By an impossible requirement you have forever destroyed the peace and quiet of the heart.

How will you repair the damage you have done to souls? It remained for my Gospel to come to their rescue.

Concerning penance. This is the worst of all; it is hell itself. If it were possible to forgive you all other abominations this would remain unforgiven. This teaching has filled hell and has injured the kingdom of Christ more horribly than it was possible for the Turks or all the world put together to injure it. For you have taught us that we should render satisfaction for our sins, even to God, by our own works. What is it to say you must make satisfaction for your sins but another way of saying you must deny Christ, recant your Baptism, revile the Gospel, make God a liar, disbelieve the forgiveness of sins, tread Christ's blood and death underfoot, dishonor the Holy Ghost, and by your own virtues raise yourself to heaven?

This is the creed of Jews, Turks and heathen. Your books are full of such things and empty of faith but none of the clergy regret or protest it.

All the other abuses have grown out of this fundamental one and all other errors have sprung from it. Even the natural relationships of life and of society were decried in favor of artificial good works. It is the oldest of all errors and probably will remain the very newest till the end of time. We will examine some of the immediate results. You are aware of the scandals connected with the buying and selling of masses. They can neither be excused nor denied and our Gospel had to mend matters. The quotations you make from the ancient canons (in defence of the idea of a sacrifice in the mass) are not germane, because they speak of the parish mass, with its communicants and do not refer to private masses said for stipends. What they say of sacrifices applied originally to the offerings of the people and not to the Sacrament. You, who complain about innovations, are the chief innovators with your private masses, the new cults of saints, the rosaries and other novel devotions, the newfangled pilgrimages and the scandal of the Holy Coat of Trier. "What have all the Lutheran 'innovations' to compare with this one deception and fraud? But no one pointed out this innovation or complained about it except Luther. He who exposes and condemns these novelties is called the innovator!"

New indulgences and brotherhoods were multiplied, the varieties of masses increased, the remains of saints had more members than a natural body, while the silly relics have become a joke even among you, but no bishop saw an innovation here. It all becomes still more glaring when we consider the preaching. Here we were told about devotions and works, and merits, and the intercession of Mary, but nothing about Christ. Mary was the mediator, while Christ was only the angry Judge. Was this not an abominable innovation? But where were the bishops who condemned it? The doctors in the higher institutions of learning have been adding to their reputations by discovering one new opinion after another, the most important being the belittling of the Bible and its treatment as an almost heretical book. Just read the doctors. Scotus denies that the article, "He descended into hell," can be proved by Scripture. Occam, my good teacher, writes that it is impossible to prove from Scripture that God's grace is necessary to do good works. Thomas Aquinas even exalts monasticism to the plane of Baptism. But this is no innovation and he is cannonized! For all their writings not one of them knew the simple teachings of a catechism, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the faith, as our children know it. Yet they were not innovators and we are! Yes, you answer, but these things are all in current use and you come with novelties. But how ancient in fact are these uses and what is so new in my Gospel? The cathedral chapter of Magdeburg says "it injures the treasury and the refectory." Now we are at the root of the trouble. What depletes purse and refectory is new, what fills them is old! I do not want to bring you into disrepute but it is not to be tolerated that what you do not want must be called an innovation and what you want shall be accounted an ancient custom. To justify such things in the face of truth and conscience is the sign of a hardened heart and of impending judgment. Not by denying but by repenting will you gain God's aid. If you will not heed and amend your ways remember that you will be responsible for your own undoing and for the innocent who have to suffer with you.

Too many things are thrusting themselves on my attention at once and so I will return again to the question of private masses. All the abuses connected with them, that rise before me, I will pass by till I see whether you will amend your ways or will try to white-wash yourselves at the Reichstag. If you attempt the latter course we will, God permitting, paint you in your true colors and send you our greeting. We have said enough for the present about the carnival of paid masses. Even if you did not traffic in them but held them *gratis*, for God's sake, you would still teach that they are a sacrifice, an act by which we serve God and a satisfaction for our sins and for the sins of others, whether living or dead and especially for the departed. We all know that the mass must counteract the flames of purgatory for the dead according to your teaching. The suffragan bishop who made me a priest, when he placed the chalice in my hands said: "Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis." It was only through the great long suffering of God that the earth did not swallow up both of us.

It was the common belief that those of the living who were present at one mass a day were safe, secure and blessed, and this was perhaps the least offensive use made of it.

Is not all this a terrible innovation? Do not your Apostolic Canons say that no one should be present at the mass who does not wish to commune or receive the Sacrament? Has Christ not instituted it to be received, to remember Him, and to strengthen faith in Him when He says, "This do in remembrance of me." But you are silent concerning such commemoration, you do not permit it, you do not admonish them to faith, according to Christ's institution. You are content if the bystander has seen the mass which you have been offering secretly. So you allow the poor bystander to retain these lies and this false confidence in his heart and let him think he has done a good work by his presence, though he has neither spiritually nor physically followed the command of Christ and the Apostles to receive. I repeat: You complain that the endowed foundations and monastic property has been taken from you. In view of such sacrilegious abuses the monastic institutions should be treated as Josiah, king of Judah treated the altars at Bethel, not leaving one stone upon another; this would be right and proper if you will not reform.

You ask what good has come from Luther's new teaching? I reply what good have you allowed to remain? None. The mass, our most precious treasure, is perverted. Children are indeed baptized, but as soon as they grow up

they are taught to despise its grace through your doctrines of penance and good works. Like the Anabaptists you lower the value of the Baptism as though it were a temporary work of man and not the eternal covenant of God.

Concerning the Ban. You are aware of that gigantic fraud and outrage that you call the great ban, the *Excommunicatio maior* (which is really a prerogative of the civil government). This you usurped, so that popes have arrogantly presumed to depose emperors, kings and princes, and have made themselves temporal rulers. Hearken, Dear Sirs, that is not lawful. Yours should be the lesser ban, which does not bar from the world but from heaven, and excludes men from Christendom and the Sacrament, as Christ directs, Matt. 18, "Let him be unto thee as a heathen etc." and St. Paul, I Cor. 5, "What have I to do to judge them that are without? etc." If other matters are to be amended this must also be reformed, for God is not pleased with a sacrifice or service that includes robbery, as Isaiah teaches.

The proper use of the ban for the punishment of open crimes and vices, heresy and blasphemy you have neglected so that it has been entirely lost among you. It has only been used to persecute devout people and to extort money. In place of its true use there has been the most gentle indulgence and consideration, especially towards the higher clergy. Who has ever been placed under the ban for simony? It is applied only to those you do not like. You neither act as good Christians, because you disregard Christ's order, nor yet as good papists, because you violate the canonical law.

You rightly complain of the plundering of endowments. I do not approve of it, but it is carried on more by non-Lutherans than by those whom you revile as Lutheran, for there are two kinds of robbers of endowments; those without, and those within, who have perverted them from their intended use. "Tell me, who are the worst robbers of endowments and the worst church thieves? You will see at their head the pope, with the cardinals, bishops, canons, abbots and monks. They nowhere fulfil the purposes for which they were ordained, but do the very opposite when, like madmen, they seize and spend the revenues just as they please. You complain that you are dispossessed of what is yours, which is unjust, of course, but I would like to apply the same rule in your case. According to your own laws you have long since forfeited your rights to what you have spiritually misused. Use what is really yours, your prostitutes and knavery, but the endowments you have perverted from their true purpose are not yours and should be taken away from you as from thieves and robbers. I would even rather see the secular rulers sequester the endowments and apply them to good purposes than to see the incomes diverted to Rome, to be consumed with harlots and scoundrels. If they neglect and misuse their office they have no right to its revenues. Tell me what popes, bishops or institutions have ever repented of this evil? They are double thieves for they have appropriated what was given for others and have also stolen away all Christianity. You clamor for the restitution of your property, but you have stolen Christianity from men and money from the institutions. Restore these and no one will begrudge you your own.

Concerning both kinds in the Sacrament: I have little hope of your amendment in those matters that require for their understanding the guidance of the Holy Ghost, such as penance, mass, Baptism, faith and good works, but I will proceed to other matters that might almost be recognized by unaided reason. First concerning both kinds in the Sacrament.

You know full well that the administration under one kind is an innovation contrary to the clear command of Christ and contrary to the entire ancient usage of all Christendom. Nevertheless, you, who are such mighty foes of all innovation have not only adopted this sacrilegious innovation, but you have, in utter willfulness, maintained it with abominable threatenings and persecutions, both tempting God and profaning and condemning His Word. God grant that you may repent and subject your opinions to His Word. You cannot maintain this custom by Scripture. Should you then presumptuously attempt to maintain it by force, contrary to Scripture, you must fail in the end. It will not help you to object that no innovations should be introduced and nothing altered, for you have been reminded that this is itself an innovation and that you are the ones who without ceasing have introduced innovations and changes into Christianity. Whatever is changed in accordance with God's Word is no innovation, and all customs, no matter how good they are must give place to its commands, as your own law recognizes. God's Word is more ancient than you and will always be newer and more modern than either we or you, since it is eternal. So it shall rule and change all things, both new and old, and itself shall neither be ruled nor changed by anything whether new or old.

You assert that without the consent of the churches nothing shall be changed or altered. Who is the Church? Are you? If so produce your seals and commissions, or else prove it by your deeds and accomplishments. Why are not we the Church as well, we who are baptized as well as you, who teach, preach, administer the Sacrament, believe, love, hope and suffer more than you? Or are you the Church, because you introduce unmitigated novelties, alter God's Word for that purpose, blaspheme, persecute and kill and, in addition, as Church robbers hold possession of the institutions and convents? Yea, you are the devil's church, which is a liar against God's Word and a murderess as she sees that her god the devil is a liar and a murderer too. For the true Church must be the one that cleaves to God's Word and suffers for it as, God be praised, we do, and which neither murders any nor leads men astray from the Word

of God. Therefore you should not keep on repeating to us Church, Church, Church, but you should prove to us that you are the Church. Here is the point, for the devil can affirm, I am god, worship me, Matt. 4, and the wolf also can say, I am the shepherd, Matt. 7, John 10. We know very well that we should obey the Church, but our question is, where is the Church and who constitutes it?

Even if you effect some improvements at the Reichstag we will not admit that what you now approve was wrong before. It would be yielding to the pride of antichrist to admit that you can determine the authority of God's Word. You must admit the wrong you have done and not pass it over in silence.

Concerning celibacy. Celibacy is one of your papal innovations which is contrary to God's Word, the ancient usages of the Church, and the very order of creation. According to Daniel it is another mark of antichrist and it is an abuse that requires special repentance because of the unspeakable immorality it has brought about. God made woman as an honor and a helpmeet for man, not as an instrument of evil. Do you not know the Sixth Commandment, which makes no distinction between persons, whether spiritual or secular, cleric or lay! The very commandment implies marriage for all, just as the Seventh Commandment implies the possession of property. It is one of the villainies of the canons that they assume that it is not possible to serve God when possessing a wife but that the possession of property is no hindrance. By the same reasoning they might play with the Fifth Commandment, which forbids murder, and say that it prohibits the possession of weapons because they might be misused to kill. The devil himself invented this canon that forbids honorable marriage but has encouraged all kinds of uncleanness and vice, and has brought about the persecution and murder of those who are honorably married. I do not have to speak about the monks as you would gladly see them all sent to the devil. No wonder, for two cocks will not stand peaceably together on the same dunghill. But if real pastors are not provided you will see how long the rest of the hierarchy will survive, for pastors are essential to the very existence of the Church, while Christendom existed many centuries without such an hierarchy, and can do so again. The bishops do no practical good to the people, and their presence is chiefly kept in mind by their financial demands. Even their episcopal duties are relegated to suffragans, who ordain without regard to men's qualifications and who fail to provide competent teachers and preachers. You say that education is provided in the higher schools but you have no sympathy with higher education and you would like to get rid of the theologians and scholars as you have been relieved of the monks. Your real interest is in temporal power, you may manage the external government of the Church but you do not engage in the real work of a bishop, the shepherding of the sheep. So I have to admonish you because of your impenitence. You have reviled us for living in honorable marriage, but we can compel you to admit your concubinage and vice. If I am not here to do so there will be others in my place.

All we ask of you is not to interfere with our work of preaching the

Gospel, and then we will ask no support from you. I would gladly relinquish my place as a preacher and be relieved of its burdens, but the need of poor souls and the command of Jesus Christ both forbid it. We will even consent to have you remain as you are, and, unlike Wycliffites, Hussites and the fanatics of the present, we preach submission to the powers that be. Only keep the peace, refrain from persecution and give us the free Gospel. If you are unwilling to do so, we will still keep our honor and you will lose both peace and honor. For my part I would not even object to the restoration of episcopal power, provided you leave the Gospel free. What more can we offer?

It may seem absurd to some that we would consent to the government of the Church by the notoriously incompetent suffragans, but, that all may see how genuinely we seek peace, I could suffer them to make the appointments, for God has often accomplished good through evil rulers.

But if they suppress the Gospel or remain impenitent, it will be at their own risk. We will still preach as we please. Neither do they sit as securely as they think. If they court misfortunes, God will soon awaken another Muenzer, who will destroy them utterly. If they will not be bishops in God's name, let them be barbers in the devil's name. It will not be our fault, but the Lutherans will remain the masters, because Christ remains with them and they with Christ, though hell and the world, devils and princes all go mad together.

It would take too long to go into the other details and so I will indicate by a list other contrasts between us. (Here follows a list of teachings and customs of the true Christian Church, beginning, What is law, what Gospel, what sin, etc., some 35 subjects being mentioned. Then follows a list of the matters customary in the feigned church, beginning, Indulgences, sacrifice of the mass, the ban etc. and containing 115 counts, not all of them however things objected to).

Now I will stop though I could add plenty concerning abuses in the higher circles. Only amend your ways.

It is true that among the usages just enumerated there are some things that should not be discarded and some have been discarded that I would like to see retained, but they can easily be restored. Among the best are the fine Latin hymns, *de tempore*, which have survived, though they had almost been drowned out by the new saint's hymns and were little regarded. But we retain them and heartily approve of them.

Many of the things mentioned would be harmless enough for children but for the bishops to take them seriously and even make articles of faith out of them is the devil's own business. As long as they do not interfere with the Gospel they might be tolerated but when made essential they can only work evil. Pray God to give you grace to understand and for guidance, because men's hearts have been greatly embittered, and it will not mend matters to intensify that feeling by apologies or by censures. You know that even

pope Hadrian, through his legates at Nuernberg, admitted that the Roman Sedia was the cause of much ill and that he promised amendment. Why do you hesitate to admit these evils or stubbornly refuse reformation? You know that ecclesiastical power was instituted by God not to destroy but to improve the Church.

If, however, you are determined stubbornly to carry on by force, (which God forbend), I herewith, together with all my fellow believers, testify before God and all the world, that it is not our fault if your pride so corrupts you that it destroys you utterly. Your blood be upon your own head; we will be innocent of your blood and condemnation for we have sufficiently pointed out to you your misdeeds; we have faithfully exhorted you to repent, sincerely petitioned you, and have urged everything that would make for peace. We have sought nothing and desired nothing but that one and only comfort for our souls, the free, pure Gospel. So we may boast with a clear conscience that the fault does not lie with us. May the God of peace and consolation give you His Spirit, that He may lead you and guide you into all truth, through our dear Lord Jesus Christ, To Him be praise and thanks for His unspeakable gifts and grace to all eternity. Amen.

**34. The Answer of the Protestant Elector and Princes to the
Request of His Roman Imperial Majesty That His
Electoral and Princely Grace Should Not
Allow Preaching During the Diet, June**

17, 1530³⁶

1. Most excellent, mighty and invincible Emperor, most gracious Lord. Since your Majesty to-day gave us an instruction that we should transmit our conclusion in writing, for your further consideration: in obedience thereunto we now announce and repeat in this our writing, that your Majesty should graciously note, that if we find our preachers proclaiming new things, and teaching what is not grounded in the Holy Scripture or is contradictory to our holy Faith, we shall not willingly permit it, but will array ourselves against it. We wish them to preach and explain the Gospel clearly and purely, and even as it was preached and taught by the worthiest and most faithful Fathers in the holy Christian Church, as your imperial decree, at your Majesty's Diet in Nuernberg, in 1523, publicly declared should be the case. If now such preaching of the holy

Gospel were discontinued, as though it were false doctrine, it would be terrible. It would stand before God (Who does not want His holy Word bound) as a sin against the Holy Ghost. We also, as poor sinful people, need such preaching and proclaiming of God's Word, to console our conscience, and to find help therein from God in our daily necessities and obligations. As little as we can forbid the daily food of the body, so much less can we be without the sermon and proclamation of the Divine Word, since man liveth not by bread alone but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. As we also declared to your brother, King Ferdinand, and the appointed commissioners, four years ago at the Diet of Speyer called by your Imperial Majesty.—2. And even if the preaching were different, yet your imperial Majesty and everybody knows that there is a dissension in doctrine. Wherefore and for other reasons your Majesty called this Diet, that each one's opinion and meaning should here be heard, and, if error be found, it should on both sides be settled and brought into Christian unity.—3. On this account we ask your Majesty to graciously consider how our consciences could be satisfied if, while there was other preaching elsewhere, we had none, and could hear only the other preaching.

4. This would compel us, against our conscience, if we consented to it, to adjudge our doctrine as wrong, and the opposite as right, before, according to your Summons to this Diet, the matters not right on both sides were adjusted. For it must follow, if we give up our preaching and hear another, that we are in essence and in effect compelled to acknowledge that our doctrine, since it is done away with, would be erroneous; and the other, since we are hearing and accepting it, would be right. 5. For what is done away with must, according to your own Summons and all human reason, be wrong at that time, and that which is ordained must be right. And if there should be, as we can well judge, little further done in these most weighty matters relating to our salvation, it would be directly against your own Summons, which so clearly involves that each one shall be heard first, and then that which has not been done right on both sides, on the other no less than on this, and not only on our side, shall be done away with.

6. If your Majesty should be informed by anyone that we preach novelties, it is our judgment, as we yesterday declared, that the clear Gospel is preached and explained by us as it was by the most worthy and prominent Fathers of the Church according to the

Scripture, and that neither anything else nor any novelty is being preached.—7. And suppose there were novelties or abuses in our preaching, your Majesty nevertheless knows what terrible novelties in doctrines, customs and life have been introduced against Scripture and the Fathers, on the other side, and are still being practised, so that the whole world, and the pious before our time, have lamented and complained, and do so to-day. Let your Majesty recall what remarkable abuses were brought before you at the first Diet at Worms, which are unchanged to this day.—8. And we state all this simply to indicate to your Majesty what partial and unequal treatment the opposite party expects and demands from you.

9. We know that our preachers give no offence to the conscience. But, as we said yesterday, if there be any one whose conscience has been given offense, we will require a report of our preachers concerning it.—10. But what offense would we not give to our neighbor's faith and love, if the report went out that we were willing to cease preaching the Gospel, and thus in essence condemn our own doctrine as wrong? How could we give answer to God our Judge?

11. We have also admonished our preachers and people, after the sermon, to pray diligently for grace for your Majesty as the divinely ordained authority, and for the Electors, princes and estates that the business transacted at this Diet would eventuate, to the praise of God, in Christian peace and Christian unity.—12. The people are also faithfully instructed against certain doctrines concerning the Sacrament, which would be much more dangerous if our preachers were silent.

13. If we should cease preaching, we would be condemned by our own consciences, as being responsible for the ruin of those who were thus misled. For these disputed matters have been discussed for some years past and at both the Diets of Spires the doctrine of the Gospel was preached openly and in an orderly way, with which it was impossible to find fault.

14. To this all, we did not take it that the edict of the Diet of Spires of one year ago required that we should now agree to the cessation of the preaching of the Gospel.—15. It has also been the free and undisputed right of your ancestors, and of those of the Electors and Princes (except that at both the last Diets of Spires the churches were denied us for the free preaching of the Gospel), that each one might order his preacher to preach the divine Word publicly in the church before him and all others who should attend.

16. If we should yield to the abolishment of the preaching, this would be understood by many that your Majesty had decided against us unheard, after your Summons has been published throughout the Empire and every one, no matter of which estate, is looking toward God and yourself in the hope that these most serious matters will be disposed of aright and according to God's unchangeable truth. We also are assured that your Majesty will act in no other manner than your Majesty has announced in his Summons. We therefore most humbly pray your Majesty, as we have done the past two days, that you would graciously regard this explanation as coming from obedient and well-meaning hearts, and would venture to spare us from the intended prohibition of our preaching, and would permit us, as at Spires and and here up to the present, to let our preachers preach.—All the more will we confess ourselves, in matters that pertain to our body, property and means, as your obedient electors and princes.

Datum, Friday after Corpus Christi (June 17th), year, etc., 1530.

John, Duke of Saxony Elector; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, Duke of Brunswick and Lueneburg; Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolf, Prince of Anhalt.

35. LETTERS OF LUTHER TO PHILIP OF HESSE, JUNE (MAY) 20, 1530³⁷

To the Serene and Right Honorable Prince and Lord, Lord Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, Ziegenhain, Dietz and Nidda, My Gracious Lord.

Grace and consolation, peace and joy in Christ our Lord and Saviour, Serene, Right Honorable Prince, Gracious Lord! Though I hope with confident assurance that our dear Lord Christ abides with Your Princely Grace, in the true and pure faith, and especially that He firmly maintains the teaching of the Sacrament in the heart of the Y. P. G. so that it would be unnecessary for me to write to Y. P. G. concerning it; yet I have heard and can easily understand that our opponents are very active and untiring in their importunities and efforts to draw Y. P. G. to their side; and although their importunities and insistence may not hurt Y. P. G., I know all too well how powerful and cunning the evil spirit is in his suggestions of all sorts of crafty ideas, and that where he fails to gain his ends by force or deceit, he is able by his unceasing insistence finally

to weary men and so to overwhelm them. And even if all this were not so, as indeed "not quite", may be "not at all", there still remains God's commandment, which directs us to care and pray for each other; to console, warn, admonish, visit each other, and, in short, to support others with aid and counsel even as we desire to receive the same treatment from God and man.

In accordance with that commandment, I will boast with a good conscience that I, who am one of the least important, am very solicitous for Y.P.G. and pray to God, the Father of all grace, with great fervor, beseeching Him that He would mercifully preserve in His confession and in the pure Word, especially in these disordered and dangerous times, Y.P.G. as one who is in the midst of wolves, and doubtless beset by evil spirits, and protect you against all evil assaults; that He would send His Spirit and prepare Y.P.G. to be a well pleasing instrument for Him, by which He accomplishes much that is very good and profitable, to the praise and honor of His Word; so that through Y.P.G. much that is good and useful may be done for many troubled, forsaken and erring souls. Amen.

In addition to such prayer I also come in humble good will, with my admonition and warning, hoping that you will graciously regard my appeal, because it is my duty, and so with affectionate intention I sincerely and devotedly pray Y.P.G. that you will not be moved by the honeyed words of our opponents, or much rather, that you will not receive the deceitful suggestions and ideas of the devil, which St. Paul, Eph. 6, calls fiery darts. For Y.P.G. possesses a good weapon and armor against them, namely, the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. Furthermore it is dangerous to receive such a new teaching in contradiction to such a manifestly evident text and to the clear word of Christ, and to surrender this ancient faith, which has been held by all Christendom from the beginning till this day, for the sake of the trivial statements and ideas which they have produced up to this time, and which certainly cannot satisfy any conscience against such clear words of Christ.

I know of a certainty that the opponents cannot satisfy their own consciences and I believe that if the beer were back in the barrel they would let it stay there, judging from what I clearly observed in Marburg more than once. But because they have been committed to a negation they are unable to retrace their steps. At that time Y.P.G. yourself heard that their two best arguments rested on these assertions; that because the Sacrament was a sacrament or sign it

could not be the actual Body of Christ, as Oecolampadius affirmed, and that because a body must occupy space the Body of Christ could not be present, as Zwingli asserted. These are certainly utterly worthless and unconvincing reasons and may be heard from the papists and sophists in mockery. And, Dear Lord! how many statements of Scripture did they produce, in the use of which they were openly convicted of having erred and being mistaken, and which they had to abandon, which sufficiently shows that there was no solid foundation there, but only their own imaginings. Furthermore, Y.P.G. knows that they did not stop with this error but taught incorrectly concerning Baptism, the Baptism of children, original sin, the use of the Sacraments and concerning the external Word, but in all this they were so vacillating that at Marburg (as Y.P.G. knows) they yielded all these points and professed the very opposite.

Such things and much besides all those will have to share who receive their faith. I will not mention how unfriendly their attitude towards us is at present; how they have received Carlstadt and believe all the abominable lies the wretched man has invented about us, and, since it must be done thoroughly, they defend him, God knows for how long. Now I would regret it from the bottom of my heart if Y.P.G. should become a partaker of their unfounded propositions, misleading obscurities, and blundering false speeches and actions, because Y.P.G. has enough, aside from this, to endure and to carry on in connection with your own official duties, both for the sake of God and for your own subjects, without adding the burden of such strange and inconstant business, and, furthermore, it would occasion great offence and cause many to fall, while those who have already fallen would be encouraged and hardened, so that they could not be reclaimed later on, when matters are adjusted, and it would leave a perpetual sting and sorrow in the conscience of Y.P.G. that you had been the occasion of such falls and hardenings; which God forbid!

Oh, Lord God, it is not a merry jest to teach something new; it dare not come from fancies or self delusion, or uncertain texts, but there must be clear convincing texts which have not been broached before. I have verily suffered so much trouble and danger through my teaching that I would not care to have labored and still to labor so arduously in vain; therefore I would certainly not withstand them because of hatred or pride, but would have accepted their teaching long ago, as God my Lord knows, if they could have

produced some foundation for it, but I cannot rest my conscience on the grounds on which they stand.

Wherefore I hope that Christ our Lord has accomplished not a little through me, as through a poor workman, so that they cannot regard me as one who has accomplished nothing against their activities.

Herewith I will commend Y.P.G. to our dear Lord God. I hope that Y.P.G. will perceive that my intentions are sincere and honest. May God, the Father of all poor wretched souls, give us all His grace and enlighten us with His truth. To Him be praise, honor and thanksgiving throughout eternity. Amen.

Out of the Wilderness, May 20th, in the Year 1530.—Your Princely Grace's Obedient Mart. Luther.

36. BRUECK'S PREFACE TO THE CONFESSION, JUNE 23, 1530³⁸

Most Invincible Emperor, Caesar Augustus, most Clement Lord: Inasmuch as Your Imperial Majesty has summoned a Diet of the Empire here at Augsburg to deliberate concerning measures against the Turk, that most atrocious, hereditary and ancient enemy of the Christian name and religion, in what way effectually to withstand his furor and assaults by strong and lasting military provision; and then also concerning dissensions in the matter of our holy religion and Christian Faith, that in this matter of religion the opinions and judgment of parties might be heard in each other's presence, and considered and weighed among ourselves in charity, leniency and mutual kindness, to the end that the things in the Scriptures which on either side have been differently interpreted or misunderstood, being corrected and laid aside, these matters may be settled and brought back to one perfect truth and Christian concord, that for the future one pure and true religion may be embraced and maintained by us, that as we all serve and do battle under one Christ, so we may be able also to live in unity and concord in one Christian Church. And inasmuch as we, the undersigned Electors and Princes, with others joined with us, have been called to the aforesaid Diet, the same as the other Electors, Princes and Estates, in obedient compliance with the Imperial mandate we have come to Augsburg, and, we do not mean to say it boastfully, we were among the first to be here.

Since then Your Imperial Majesty caused to be proposed to the Electors, Princes, and other Estates of the Empire, also here at Augsburg at the very beginning of this Diet, among other things, that, by virtue of the Imperial Edict, the several Estates of the Empire should present their opinions and judgments in the German and Latin languages, after due deliberation, answer was given to Your Imperial Majesty, on the ensuing Wednesday, that on the next Friday the Articles of our Confession for our part would be presented.

Wherefore, in obedience to Your Imperial Majesty's wishes, we offer, in this matter of religion, the Confession of our preachers and of ourselves, showing what manner of doctrine from the Holy Scriptures and the pure Word of God has been up to this time set forth in our lands, dukedoms, dominions and cities, and taught in our churches. And if the other Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire will present similar writings, to wit, in Latin and German, according to the said Imperial proposition, giving their opinions in this matter of religion, here before Your Imperial Majesty, our most clement Lord, we, with the Princes and friends aforesaid, are prepared to confer amicably concerning all possible ways and means, as far as may be honorably done, that we may come together, and, the matter between us on both sides being peacefully discussed without offensive strife, the dissension, by God's help, may be done away and brought back to one true accordant religion; for as we all serve and do battle under one Christ, we ought to confess the one Christ, and so, after the tenor of Your Imperial Majesty's Edict, everything be conducted according to the truth of God, which, with most fervent prayers, we entreat of God.

But, with regard to the other Electors, Princes and Estates, if they hold that this statement of the matter of religion after the manner which Your Imperial Majesty has so wisely brought forward, namely, with such mutual presentation of writings and calm conferring together among ourselves, should not proceed, or be unfruitful in results; we, at least, leave behind the clear testimony that we decline or refuse nothing whatever, allowed of God and a good conscience, which may tend to bring about Christian concord; as also Your Imperial Majesty and the other Electors and Estates of the Empire, and all who are moved by sincere love and zeal for religion, and who will give an impartial hearing to this matter, will

graciously perceive and more and more understand from this our Confession.

Your Imperial Majesty also, not only once but often, graciously signified to the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire, and at the Diet of Speyer held A. D. 1526, according to the form of Your Imperial instruction and commission given and prescribed, caused it to be stated and publicly proclaimed, that Your Majesty, in dealing with this matter of religion, for certain reasons which were alleged in Your Majesty's name, was not willing to decide and could not determine anything, but that Your Majesty would diligently use Your Majesty's office with the Roman Pontiff for the convening of a General Council, as the same was publicly set forth at greater length over a year ago at the last Diet which met at Spiers. There Your Imperial Majesty, through his Highness Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, our friend and clement Lord, as well as through the Orator and Imperial Commissioners, caused this, among other things, to be proclaimed: that Your Imperial Majesty had known of and pondered the resolution of Your Majesty's Representative in the Empire, and of the President and Imperial Counsellors, and the Legates from other Estates convened at Regensburg, concerning the calling of a Council, and that this also was adjudged by Your Imperial Majesty to be of advantage; and because the matters to be adjusted were nearing agreement and Christian reconciliation, Your Imperial Majesty did not doubt that the Roman Pontiff could be induced to hold a General Council; therefore Your Imperial Majesty himself signified that he would endeavor to secure the Chief Pontiff's consent together with Your Imperial Majesty to convene such General Council, and that letters to that effect would be publicly issued with all possible expedition.

In the event, therefore, that the differences between us and the other parties in the matter of religion cannot be amicably and in charity settled here before Your Imperial Majesty, we offer this in all obedience, abundantly prepared to join issue and to defend the cause in such a general free, Christian Council, for the convening of which there has always been accordant action and agreement of votes in all the Imperial Diets held during Your Majesty's reign, on the part of the Electors, Princes and other Estates of the Empire. To this General Council, and at the same time to Your Imperial Majesty, we have made appeal in this greatest and gravest of matters even before this in due manner and form of law. To this appeal,

both to Your Imperial Majesty and to a Council, we still adhere, neither do we intend, nor would it be possible for us, to relinquish it by this or any other document, unless the matter between us and the other side, according to the tenor of the latest Imperial citation, can be amicably and charitably settled and brought to Christian concord, of which this also is our solemn and public testimony.

37. The Oldest Form of the
Augsburg Confession
May 31, 1530³⁹

The text is preceded by Melancthon's final draft of his preface which is given under No. 31.

Die Artikel des Glaubens

1. *Der Erste.* In dem Kurfürstentum Sachsen wird einhellig gelehrt und gepredigt, den Beschluss des Concilii Nicaeni von Einigkeit des göttlichen Wesens und dreier Personen unzweifelig zu halten und zu glauben, nämlich dass da ist ein göttlich Wesen, welches heisst und ist, ein ewiger Gott, einig on Leib [incorporeus], unzerteilt, von unaussprechlicher Macht, Weisheit und Güte, ein Erhalter aller sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Dinge, und sind doch drei Personen eines Wesens, Macht und Ewigkeit, nämlich der Vater, der Sohn und der heilige Geist. Und es wird das Wörtlein Person hier verstanden, wie das die Väter gebraucht haben, nämlich, dass [es] nicht ein Teil oder Eigenschaft eines anderen, sondern ein Wesen für sich selbst ist.

Dagegen werden verworfen alle Ketzereien, so wider diesen Artikel entsprungen sind, als Manichäer, Valentinianer, etc.

38. Revised Form of the
Confession, June 15, 1530⁴⁰

This text has no preface.

*Artikel des Glaubens und [der]
Lehre*

1. *Erstlich* wird einträchtiglich gelehrt und gehalten laut des Beschlusses im Concilio Nicäno, dass ein einiges göttliches Wesen ist, welches genannt wird und wahrhaft ist Gott, und sind doch drei Personen in demselben einigen göttlichen Wesen, gleich gewaltig, gleich ewig, Gott Vater, Gott Sohn, Gott heiliger Geist, alle drei ein göttlich Wesen, ewig, ohn Stück, ohn End, unermessner Macht, Weisheit und Güte, ein Schöpfer und Erhalter aller sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Ding. Und wird durch das Wort Person verstanden nicht ein Stück noch eine Eigenschaft in einem andern, sondern das selbst bestehet, wie denn die Väter in dieser Sache dies Wort gebraucht haben. Derhalben werden auch verworfen alle Ketzereien, so diesem Artikel zuwider sind, als Manichäer, die zwei Götter gesetzt haben, einen bösen und einen guten; item Valentiniani, Ariani [Eunomiani], Mahometistä und alle dergleichen, auch Samosateni, alte und neue, so nur eine Person setzen und von diesen zweien, Wort und heiligem Geist, Sophisterei machen und sagen,

39. The Final Form of the
Confession, June 25,
1530⁴¹

The text is preceded by Brueck's preface, given under No. 36.

Artickel des glaubens vnd der Lehre

1. *Erstlich* wirdet Eintrechtlich gelert vnd gehalten lauts des Beschlus Concilij Niceni, das ain ainig gotlich wesen sey, welchs genennt wirdet vnd warhaftiglich ist, Got, vnd seind doch drey personen jn demselben einigen gotlichen wesen, gleich gewaltig, gleich ewig, Got vater, got son, got hayliger geist, alle drey ain gotlich wesen ewig onstuck, on end, vnermesner macht, weishait vnd gute, ain schopfer vnd erhalter, aller sichtbarn vnd vnsichtbarn ding. Vnd wirdet durch das wort persona verstanden nit ain stuck, nit ain eigenschaft jn ainem andern, sonder dasselbs besteet, wie dan die vetter jn dieser sache diss Wort gebraucht haben. Derhalben werden verworfen alle ketzereyen, so diesem Artigkel zuwider seind, Als manichei, die zwon gotter gesetzt haben, ein bosen vnd ein guten, Item valentiniani, Ariani, Eunomiani, machemotisten vnd alle dergleichen, auch Samosatani alte vnd newe, so nuher ain person setzen vnd von diesen zwayen, Wort vnd haylig gaist, Sophisterey machen vnd sagen, dass es nit muessen vnderschiedene personen sein,

40. The German Version of
the Editio Princeps,
1530-1531⁴²

The text is preceded by Brueck's preface.

Artikel Christlicher Lehr

Der Erste. Erstlich lehren und halten wir einträchtiglich laut des Beschluss Concilii Niceni, dass ein ainig göttlich Wesen sei, welchs genennt wird und wahrhaftiglich ist Gott, und sind doch drei Personen in dem selbigen einigen göttlichen Wesen, gleich gewaltig, gleich ewig, Gott Vater, Gott Sohn, Gott heiliger Geist, alle drei ein göttlich Wesen, ewig, ohne Stück, unermessner Macht, Weisheit und Güte, ohne Ende, ein Schöpfer und Erhalter aller Dinge, der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren. Und wird durch das Wort Persona verstanden nicht ein Stück, nicht ein Eigenschaft in einem andern, sondern, das selb bestehet, wie denn die Väter in dieser Sachen das Wort gebraucht haben.

Dazu werden verworfen alle Ketzereien, so diesem Artikel zu wider sind, als Manichäi, die zween Götter gesetzt haben, ein bösen und ein guten. Item, Valentiniani, Ariani, Eunomiani, Mahometisten und alle dergleichen, auch die Juden und Samosateni, alte und neue, so nur eine Person setzen und von diesen zweien, Wort und heilig Geist.

2. *Zum Andern* lehrt man, dass nach Adams Fall alle Menschen nach der Natur werden in Sünden geboren, das ist ohne Furcht und Vertrauen zu Gott, voller Begierde etc., und dass diese angeborene Sucht eine wahrhaftige Sünde ist, die da verdammt und in den ewigen Tod wirft alle die, so durch die Taufe nicht werden wiedergeboren.

3. *Zum Dritten*, dass der Sohn Gottes habe an sich genommen die menschliche Natur in dem Leib der heiligen Jungfrau Maria, also dass die zwei Naturen, göttlich und menschlich, in der einigen Person unteilbar vereinigt, sind der einige Christus, wahrer Gott und wahrer Mensch, wahrhaftig geboren, gelitten, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben

dass es nicht müssen unterschiedene Personen sein, sondern Wort bedeute leiblich Wort oder Stimme und der heilige Geist sei eine geschaffene Regung in den Kreaturen.

2. *Weiter* wird gelehrt, dass nach dem Fall Adams alle Menschen, so natürlich geboren werden, in Sünden empfangen und geboren [werden], das ist, dass sie alle von Mutterleib an voll böser Lust und Neigung sind und keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keinen wahren Glauben an Gott von Natur haben können; dass auch dieselbig angeborene Seuche und Erbsünde wahrhaftig Sünde sei und verdamme alle diejenigen unter ewigen Zorn Gottes, so nicht durch die Taufe und heiligen Geist wieder neugeboren werden. — Hier werden verworfen die Pelagianer und andere, so die Erbsünde nicht für Sünde halten, damit sie die Natur fromm machen durch natürliche Kräfte zur Schmach dem Leiden [und] Verdienst Christi.

3. *Item*, es wird gelehrt, dass Gott der Sohn ist Mensch worden, geboren aus Maria, der reinen Jungfrauen, und dass die zwei Naturen, göttlich und menschlich, in einer Person also unzergentzlich [=inseparabiliter] vereinigt, ein Christus sind, welcher wahrer Gott [und] wahrer Mensch ist, wahrhaftig geboren, gelitten, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben

sonder wort bedeut leiblich wort oder stim, vnd der haylig gaist sey erschaffene regung jñ creaturen.

2. *Weiter*, wirdet bey vns gelehrt, das nach Adams fall alle menschen, so natürlich geborn werden, jñ sunden emphanen vnd geborn werden, das ist, das sie alle von mutter Leib an vol beser lüst vnd naygung seind vnd kain ware gottesforcht, kainen waren glauben an got von Natur haben kunnen; das auch dieselbige angeborne seuch vnd erbsunde wahrhaftiglich sund sei vnd verdamme alle die vnder ewigen gottes zorn, so nicht durch die Tauf vnd hayligen gaist widerumb neu geborn werden.

Hieneben werden verworfen die Pelagianer vnd andere, so die Erbsund nit fur sunde haben, damit sy die Natur frombd machen durch naturlich krefft zu smach dem leyden vnd verdienst Christi.

3. *Item* es wirdet geleret, das got der son sey mensch worden, geborn aus der Rainen Jungfrauen Maria, vnd das die zwo natur, die gotlich vnd menschlich, in ainer person also vntzertrennlich verainiget ain Christus seind, welcher warer got vnd mensch ist, warhaftig geborn, geliten, gecreuzigt, gestorben vnd begraben, das Er ain opfer were

Sophistereien machen, sagen, dass es nicht müssen unterschiedne Personen sein, sondern Wort bedeutet leiblich Wort oder Stimme und der heilig Geist sei geschaffne Regung in Creaturen.

Der Ander. Weiter wird gelehrt, dass nach dem Fall Adä alle Menschen, so natürlich geborn werden, in Sünden empfangen und geborn werden, das ist, das sie alle von Mutterleibe an voller böser Lust und Neigung sind und keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keine wahre Gotteslieb, kein wahren Glauben an Gott von Natur haben können; dass auch dieselbige angeborne Seuch und Erbsünd wahrhaftiglich Sünd sei und verdamme alle diejenigen unter ewigen Gotteszorn, so nicht durch die Taufe und heiligen Geist wiedergeborn werden.

Hie werden verworfen die Pelagianer und andere, so die Erbsünd nicht für Sünde halten, damit sie die Natur fromm machen durch natürliche Kraft zu Schmach dem Leiden und Verdienst Christi.

Der Dritte. Item, es wird gelehrt, dass Gott der Sohn sei Mensch worden, geboren aus Maria der reinen Jungfrauen, und dass die zwo Natur, göttliche und menschliche, in einer Person also unzertrennlich vereinigt ein Christus sind, welcher wahrer Gott, wahrer Mensch ist, wahrhaftig geboren, gelitten, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben. dass

zu einem Opfer nicht allein für die Erbsünde, sondern auch für die wirkliche Sünde aller Menschen. Er ist auch abgestiegen zu der Hölle, am dritten Tag wahrhaftig erstanden, nachfolgend auf gen Himmel gefahren, dass er sitze zu der Rechten des Vaters und ewiglich regiere, rechtfertige, heilige, lebendig mache und beschütze alle, die an ihn glauben durch Sendung des heiligen Geistes in ihre Herzen. Er wird auch öffentlich kommen und richten die Lebendigen und Toten, wie wir im Glauben bekennen.

ben, dass er ein Opfer war nicht allein für die Erbsünde, sondern auch für alle andren Sünden und Gottes Zorn versöhnet. Item dass derselbige Christus abstieg zur Hölle, wahrhaftig am dritten Tag von den Toten auferstanden, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzt zu der Rechten Gottes, dass er ewig herrsche über alle Kreaturen, dass er alle, so an ihn glauben, durch den heiligen Geist heilige, reinige, stärke, tröste, [ihnen auch] Leben und allerlei Gaben und Güter austeile und wider den Teufel und wider die Sünde beschütze und beschirme; item, dass derselbige Herr Christus endlich wird öffentlich kommen, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten etc. laut des Symboli Apostolorum.

4. *Zum Vierten*, dass der heilige Geist gegeben wird durch das Mittel des Worts und der Sakrament, wie Paulus sagt: Der Glaube kommt aus dem Gehör. Hier werden verworfen die Wiedertäufer und ihresgleichen, die das Wort und die Sakrament verachten, meinen, der heilige Geist werde erlangt durch menschliche Zubereitung.

4. *Weiter* wird gelehrt, dass wir Vergebung der Sünde und Gerechtigkeit vor Gott nicht erlangen mögen durch unser Verdienst, Werk und Genugtun, sondern wir bekommen Vergebung der Sünde und werden gerecht vor Gott aus Gnaden um Christus willen durch den Glauben, so wir glauben, dass Christus fuer uns gelitten hat und dass uns um seinetwillen die Sünde vergeben, Gerechtigkeit und ewiges Leben geschenkt wird. Diesen Glauben will Gott für Ge-

nicht allain fur die Erbsundt, sunder auch fur alle andere sunde vnd gottes zorn verseunet.

Item, das derselbig Christus sey abgestiegen zur helle, warhaftig am dritten tag von den Todten auferstanden, aufgefahren gen himel, sitzend zur Rechten gottes, das Er ewig hersche vber alle Creaturen, vnd regiere, das Er alle. so an jne glauben, durch den hayligen Gaist haylige, raynige, stercke vnd troste, jnen auch leben vnd allerlai gaben vnd guter austail vnd wider den Teufel vnd wider die sunde schutze vnd beschyrme. Item, das derselbige Her Christus entlich wirdet offentlich komen zu richten die lebendigen vnd die todten etc. lauts des Symboli Apostolorum.

4. *Weiter* wirdet gelert, das wir vergebung der sunde vnd gerechtikhait fur got, nit erlangen mugen, durch vnser verdienst, wergk vnd gnugthuen, sonder das wir vergebung der sunde bekumen vnd vor got gerecht werden auss gnaden vmb Christus willen durch den glauben, so wir glauben, das Christus fur vns geliten hadt, vnd das vns umb seinen willen die sunde vergeben, gerechtikhait vnd ewigs Leben geschenkht wirdet; dan diesen glauben wil Got fur gerechtikhait fur jme

er ein Opfer wäre nicht allein für die Erbsünd, sondern auch für alle andere Sünde und Gottes Zorn versühnet.

Item, dass derselbig Christus abgestiegen zur Hölle, wahrhaftig am dritten Tag von den Toten auferstanden, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzend zur Rechten Gottes, dass er ewig herrsche über alle Creatur und regiere, dass er alle, so an ihn glauben durch den heiligen Geist, heilige, reinige, stärke, tröste, ihnen auch Leben und allerlei Gaben und Güter austheile und wider den Teufel und wider die Sünde schütze und beschirme.

Item, dass der selbige Herr Christus endlich wird öffentlich kommen, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten etc., laut des Symboli Apostolorum. Und werden verdammt allerlei Ketzereien, so diesem Artikel entgegen sind.

Der Vierte. Und nachdem die Menschen in Sünden geboren werden und Gottes Gesetz nicht halten, auch nicht von Herzen Gott lieben können, so wird gelehrt, dass wir durch unsere Werk oder Gnugtuung nicht können Vergebung der Sünden verdienen, werden auch nicht von wegen unserer Werk gerecht geschätzt vor Gott, sonder wir erlangen Vergebung der Sünden und werden gerecht geschätzt vor Gott um Christus willen aus Gnaden durch den Glauben, so das Gewissen Trost

rechtigkeit vor ihm halten und zurechnen. Röm. 3 und 4.

5. *Zum Fünften*, dass wir Vergebung der Sünden und Rechtfertigung vor Gott durch einich [irgend eins] unser Werk oder Genugtuung nicht erwerben mögen, sondern wir empfangen's frei lauter umsonst, so wir glauben, dass uns die Sünde durch Christus vergeben und wir zu Gnaden angenommen werden. Denn darum ist Christus in die Welt gekommen, dass alle, so an ihn glauben, nicht verderben, Joh. 3. Durch solchen Glauben an das Evangelium oder Verheissung der Gnaden empfangen wir den heiligen Geist, wie Paulus sagt zu den Galat. 3, dass wir die Verheissung des Geistes empfangen durch den Glauben.

6. *Zum Sechsten*, dass dieser Glaube gute Werke mit sich bringt oder dass man von nöten gute Werke muss thun, darum dass es Gott haben will, wie wohl man damit Vergebung der Sünd

5. Solchen Glauben zu erlangen, hat Gott das Predigtamt eingesetzt, Evangelium und Sakrament gegeben, dadurch er als ein Mittel den heiligen Geist gibt, welcher den Glauben wirkt, wo und wann er will, in denen, so das Evangelium hören, welches lehrt, dass wir durch Christus Verdienst, nicht durch unser Verdienst einen gnädigen Gott haben, so wir solches glauben. Und werden verdammt die Wiedertäufer und andere, so lehren, dass wir ohne das leibliche Wort des Evangelii den heiligen Geist durch eigene Bereitung, Gedanken und Werke erlangen.

6. *Auch wird gelehrt*, dass solcher Glaube gute Früchte und gute Werke bringen soll und dass man muss gute Werke tun allerlei, so Gott geboten hat um Gottes willen, doch nicht auf solche

halten vnd zu rechnen, wie Sant paul sagt zu Romern am 3 vnd 4.

5. *Solchen glauben* zu erlangen hadt got das predig Ambt eingesetzt, Euangelium vnd Sacrament geben, dadurch er als durch mittel den hayligen gaist gibt, welcher den glauben, wo vnd wen er will, in denen, so das Euangelium horen, wirket, welchs do leret, das wir durch Christus verdienst, nit durch vnser verdienst ein gnedigen got haben, so wir solchs glauben.

Vnd werden verdampt die wiertaufer vnd andere, so leren, das wir on das leiblich wort des Euangelij den hayligen gaist durch [Weber: dadurch] aygne beraitung, gedanken vnd werke erlangen.

6. *Auch wirdet* geleret, das solcher glaub gute frucht vnd gute wergk bringen soll, vnd das man musse gut wergk thun, allerlai, so got geboten hadt, vmb gots willen, doch nit auf solche werk

empfähet an der Verheissung Christi und gleubt, dass uns gewisslich Vergebung der Sünde geben wird und dass uns Gott wolle gnädig sein, uns gerecht schätzen und ewiges Leben geben um Christus willen, der durch seinen Tod Gott versühnet hat und für die Sünde gnug getan. Wer also wahrhaftiglich gläubet, der erlanget Vergebung der Sünde, wird Gott angenehme und vor Gott gerecht geschätzt um Christus willen, Roma. 3 und 4.

Der Fünfte. Solchen Glauben zu erlangen, hat Gott das Predigtamt eingesetzt, Euangelium und Sacramenta geben, dadurch als durch Mittel der heilig Geist wirkt und die Herten tröstet und Glauben wirkt, wo und wenn er will, in denen, so das Euangelium hören, welches lehrt, dass wir durch Christus Verdienst einen gnädigen Gott haben, so wir solchs gleuben. Und werden verdammet die Wiedertäufer und andere, so lehren, dass wir ohne das leibliche Wort des Euangelii den heiligen Geist durch eigne Be- reitung und Werk verdienen.

Der Sechste. Auch wird gelehrt, dass solcher Glaub gute Werk bringen soll und dass man müsse gute Werk tun, allerlei so Gott geboten hat, um Gottes willen, doch nicht auf solche Werk

und Rechtfertigung vor Gott nicht verdient, sondern die werden uns vergebens [gratis] geschenkt, so wir glauben, dass uns der Vater um Christi willen zu Gnaden angenommen und wir gerechtfertigt sind, wie denn die alten Lehrer reden als Ambrosius in der Epistel zu den Korinthern: Das ist von Gott beschlossen, dass, wer an Christus glaubt, selig wird ohne Werke und vergebens [gratis] durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden empfängt.

Werke zu vertrauen, dadurch Gnade vor Gott zu verdienen. Denn wir empfangen Vergebung der Sünden und Gerechtigkeit durch Glauben an Christum, wie Christus spricht: So ihr das alles getan habt, sollt ihr sprechen: wir sind untüchtige Knechte. Also lehren auch die Väter, denn Ambrosius [spricht: Also] ist's beschlossen bei Gott, dass, wer an Christum glaubt, selig ist und nicht durch Werke, sondern allein durch Glaube, ohne Verdienst, Vergebung der Sünden habe.

7. *Zum Siebenten*, dass eine heilige christliche Kirche ewiglich bleiben wird. Die Kirche ist aber eine Versammlung der Heiligen, darin das Evangelium gepredigt und die Sakramente gereicht werden, und zur Einigkeit der Kirchen ist genug, dass man des Evangeliums und der Sakrament haben übereinkommt; aber dass die Zeremonien und andere menschliche Ordnung allenthalben gleich seien, ist nicht von nöten, wie Christus sagt: Das Reich Gottes kommt nicht mit einem Aufsehen. — Wiewohl nun die Kirche, eigentlich zu reden, ist eine Versammlung der Heiligen und wahrhaft Gläubigen, jedoch dieweil in diesem Leben viele Heuchler und Böse darunter sind, mögen wir uns wohl und

7. *Es wird auch gelehrt*, dass allezeit muss eine heilige christliche Kirche sein und bleiben, welche ist die Versammlung aller Gläubigen, bei welchen das Evangelium rein gepredigt und die heiligen Sakramente laut des Evangelii gereicht werden. Denn dieses ist genug zu wahrer Einigkeit der christlichen Kirche, dass da einträchtiglich nach reinem Verstand das Evangelium gepredigt und die Sakramente dem göttlichen Wort gemäss gereicht werden, und ist nicht not zu wahrer Einigkeit der christlichen Kirchen, dass allenthalben gleichförmige Zeremonien, von den Menschen eingesetzt, gehalten werden, wie Paulus spricht Ephe. 4: Ein Leib, ein Geist, wie ihr berufen seid zu einerlei Hoff-

zuvertrauen, Dardurch gnad fur got zuverdienem, dan wir emphahen vergebung der sunde vnd gerechtigkeit durch den glauben an Christum, wie Christus selbs spricht, So jr diss alles gethan habt, solt jr sprechen, wir sein vnteuchtige Knecht. Also leren auch die vetter, Dan Ambrosius spricht: Also ists beschlossen bey got, Das wer an Christum glaubet, selig sey, vnd nit durch werck, sondern allain durch den glauben on verdienst vergebung der sunden hab.

7. *Es wirdet* auchgeleret, das alle zeit musse ain haylige Christliche kirche sein vnd leyben [thus by a slip of the pen for *bleyben*], welche ist die versamlung aller glaubigen, bey welcher das Euangelium rain gepredigt vnd die hayligen Sacramenten lauts des Euangelij geraicht werden. Dan diess ist gnug zu warer ainigkeit der christlichen Kirchen, das do aintrechtiglich nach rainem verstandt das Euangelium gepredigt vnd die Sacrament dem gotlichen wort gemess geraicht werden, vnd ist nit noth zu wahrer aynigkeit der christlichen Kirchen, das allenthalb gleichformige Ceremonien, von den menschen eingesetzt, gehalten werden, Wie Paulus spricht zu den Ephesern am 4. ain leib, ain gaist, wie jr beru-

zu vertrauen, dass wir durch unsere Werk Gottes Gesetz gnug tun oder von wegen unsrer Werk gerecht geschätzt werden, denn wir empfangen Vergebung der Sünden und werden gerecht geschätzt durch den Glauben um Christus willen, wie Christus spricht: So ihr das alles getan habt, sollt ihr sprechen: wir sind untüchtige Knecht. Also lehren auch die Väter. Denn Ambrosius spricht: Also ists beschlossen bei Gott, dass, wer an Christum glaubt, selig sei und nicht durch Werk, sondern allein durch Glauben ohne Verdienst Vergebung der Sünden habe.

Der Siebente. Es wird auch gelehret, dass allzeit müsse eine heilige Christliche Kirche sein und bleiben, welche ist die Versammlung aller Gläubigen, bei welchen das Evangelium rein gepredigt und die heiligen Sacrament laut des Evangelii gereicht werden.

Denn dieses ist gnug zu wahrer Einigkeit der Christlichen Kirchen, dass da einträchtiglich nach reinem Verstand das Evangelium gepredigt und die Sacrament dem göttlichen Wort gemäss gereicht werden; und ist nicht not zu wahrer Einigkeit der christlichen Kirchen, dass allenthalben gleichformig Zeremonien, von Menschen eingesetzt, gehalten werden, wie Paulus spricht Ephes. 4: Ein Leib, ein Geist, wie ihr berufen

ohne Gefahr brauchen der Sakrament, so durch die Bösen gereicht werden, wie Christus sagt: Auf dem Stuhl Mosis sitzen Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer, und sind die Sakrament und das Wort kräftig von wegen der Einsetzung und Ordnung Christi, ob sie gleich durch die Bösen werden gehandelt. Hier werden verworfen die Donatisten und andere, die da lehrten, man sollte keines Bösen Dienst in der Kirchen gebrauchen, denn was er handelt, wäre unkräftig.

8. *Zum Achten*, dass man die Kindlein taufen soll und dass sie durch die Taufe Gott fürgetragen und zu Gnaden angenommen werden. Hier werden abermals verworfen die Wiedertäufer, die da sagen, die Taufe sei den Kindern kein nütze und dass die Kindlein auch ohne Taufe selig werden.

9. *Zum Neunten*, dass der Leib und das Blut Christi wahrhaftig ist und ausgeteilt wird in dem Abendmahl; und werden die, so anders lehren, verworfen.

nung euers Berufs, ein Herr, ein Glaub, eine Taufe.

8. *Item*, Wiewohl die christliche Kirche eigentlich nichts andres ist denn die Versammlung aller Gläubigen und Heiligen, jedoch dieweil in diesem Leben viel falscher Christen und Heuchler, auch öffentlicher Sünder, unter den Frommen bleiben, sind die Sakrament gleichwohl kräftig, obschon die Priester, dadurch sie gereicht werden, nicht fromm sind, wie Christus anzeigt: Auf dem Stuhl Mosis sitzen die Pharisäer etc.

9. *Von der Taufe* wird gelehrt, dass sie nötig sei und dass dadurch Gnade angeboten wird; dass man auch die Kinder taufen soll, welche durch solche Taufe Gott überantwortet und gefällig werden. Derhalben werden die Wiedertäufer verworfen, welche lehren, dass die Kindertaufe nicht recht sei.

10. Von dem Abendmahl des Herrn wird also gelehrt, dass wahrer Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftiglich unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei und da ausgeteilt und genommen wird. Derhalben wird auch die Gegenlehre verworfen.

fen seyt zu ainerlai hoffnung Ewers berufs, ain herr, ain glaub, ain Tauf.

8 *Item*. wiewol die Christliche kirchen aigentlich nit anders ist, dan die versamblung aller gläubigen vnd hayligen, jdoch dieweil in diesem Leben vil falscher Christen vnd heuchler sein, auch offentlicher sunder vnter den fromen bleiben, so seind die Sacrament gleichwol krefftig, obschon die Priester, dadurch sy geraicht werden, nit fromb seind, wie dan Christus selbs antzaiget: auf dem Stull Moysi sitzen die Phariseyer etc.

Derhalb werden die Donatisten vnd alle andere verdambt, so anderst halten.

9. *Von der Tauf* wirdet geleret, das sie notig sey, vnd das dadurch gnad angeboten werde, das man auch die kinder taufen soll, welche durch solche tauf got vberantwort vnd gefellig werden. Derhalben werden die widerteufer verworfen, welche leren, dass die kinder tauf nit recht sei.

10. *Von dem abendmal* des herren wirdet also gelert, das warer leib vnd blut Christi wahrhaftiglich vnter der gestalt des prots vnd weins jm abendmal gegenwertig sey vnd da ausgetailt vnd genuhmen wirdet. **Derhalben** wirdet auch die gegenlahr verworfen.

seid zu einerlei Hoffnung euers Berufs, Ein Herr, ein Glaub, eine Taufe.

Der Achte. *Item*, wiewohl die christliche Kirche eigentlich nichts anderes ist denn die Versammlung aller Gläubigen und Heiligen, jedoch dieweil in diesem Leben viel falscher Christen und Heuchler, auch öffentliche Sünder unter den Frommen bleiben, sind die Sacrament gleichwohl kräftig, obschon die Priester, dadurch sie gereicht werden, nicht fromm sind, wie Christus anzeigt: Auf dem Stuhl Moysis sitzen die Pharisäer etc. Derhalben werden die Donatisten und alle andre verdammt, so anders halten.

Der Neunte. *Von der Taufe* wird gelehrt, dass sie nötig sei und dass dadurch Gnad angeboten wird; dass man auch die Kinder taufen soll, welche durch solche Taufe Gott überantwortet und gefällig werden.

Derhalben werden die Wiedertäufer verworfen, welche lehren, dass die Kindertaufe nicht recht sei.

Der Zehente. *Von dem Abendmahl* des Herrn wird also gelehrt, dass wahrer Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftiglich unter Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei und da ausgeteilt und genommen wird. **Derhalben** wird auch die Gegenlehre verworfen.

10. *Zum Zehnten*, dass die sonderliche Absolution in der Kirche soll gehalten werden, wiewohl in der Beichte nicht not ist, alle Sünde zu erzählen, denn das ist unmöglich.

11. *Zum Elften*, dass die, so nach der Taufe gesündigt haben, mögen zu jeder Zeit durch die Busse verneuert werden, und dass die Kirche schuldig ist, solchen die Absolution mitzuteilen. Die Busse aber besteht in zwei [Stücken], erstlich in der Reue oder Schrecken des Gewissens, so man die Sünde erkennt; zum andern in dem Glauben, den man aus dem Evangelio oder Absolution empfängt, so man glaubt, dass uns die Sünd durch Christus vergeben werden und also das Gewissen getröstet und gestärkt wird. Alsdann sollen folgen die guten Werke als Früchte der Busse. Hier werden verworfen die Novatianer, die niemand, so nach der Taufe gesündigt, zur Busse und Absolution wollten kommen lassen. Hier werden auch verworfen die, so lehren, Vergebung der Sünde durch unsere Genugtuung und nicht durch Christum [zu] erlangen. Desgleichen die Wiedertäufer, so lehren, welcher einmal gerechtfertigt worden, der mag nicht mehr fallen.

11. *Von der Beichte* wird also gelehrt, dass man in der Kirchen privatam absolutionem erhalten und nicht fallen lassen soll, wiewohl in der Beichte nicht not ist, alle Missetat und Sünde zu erzählen, dieweil doch solches nicht möglich ist, Ps. 18 [19]: Wer kennet die Missetat?

12. *Von der Busse* wird gelehrt, dass diejenigen, so nach der Taufe gesündigt haben, zu aller Zeit, so sie zur Busse kommen, Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und ihnen die Absolution von der Kirche nicht soll verweigert werden. [Und] ist wahre, rechte Busse eigentlich Reue und Leid oder Schrecken haben über die Sünde und doch daneben glauben an das Evangelium und Absolution, dass die Sünde vergeben und durch Christum Gnade erworben sei, welcher Glaub wiederum das Herz tröstet und zufrieden macht. Darnach soll auch Besserung folgen und dass man von Sünden lasse, denn dies sollen die Früchte der Busse sein, wie Johannes Matthäi am dritten spricht: Wirkt rechtschaffene Früchte der Busse. — Hier werden verworfen die, so lehren, dass diejenigen, so einst fromm sind worden, nicht wieder fallen mögen. Dagegen auch werden verdammt die Novatiani, welche die Absolution weigerten denen, so nach der Taufe gesündigt hatten. Auch werden die verworfen, so

11. *Von der Beicht* wirdet also geletet, das man in der kirchen privatam absolucionem erhalten vnd nit fallen lassen soll, wiewol in der Beicht nit noth ist, alle missetaten vnd sunden zuertzelen, Dieweil doch solchs nit muglich ist, Psalmo XVIII.: wer kennet die missetaten.

12. *Von der Buss* wirdet geletet, das diejenigen, so nach der tauf gesündigt haben, zu aller zeit, so sie zur busse kumen, mügen vergebung der sunden erlangen vnd jnen die absolucion von der Kirchen nit soll gewaigert werden. Vnd ist wahre rechte Buss aigentlich Reu vnd Laid oder schrocken [= Schrecken] haben vber die sunde. Vnd doch darneben glauben an das Euan-gelium vnd absolucion, das die sunde vergeben vnd durch Christum gnad erworben sey, welcher glaub widerumb das hertz trostet vnd zufriden machet. Darnach soll auch besserung volgen vnd das man von sunden lasse, dan diss sollen die fruchte der buss seyn, wie Johannes spricht Matthei. 3: wircket rechtschaffene frucht der Buss; hie werden verworfen, die, so leren, das die jenen, so ainsten seind frumb worden, nit wider fallen mügen. Dagegen auch werden verdambt die Nouacianj, welche die absolucio denen, so nach der tauf gesündigt hetten, wegerten. Auch werden die verworfen, so nit le-

Der Elfte. Von der Beicht wird also gelehrt, dass man in der Kirchen privatam absolucionem erhalten und nicht fallen lassen soll, wiewohl in der Beicht nicht not ist, alle Missetat und Sünden zu erzählen, die weil doch solchs nicht möglich ist, Psalm 18 [19]: Wer kennet die Missetat?

Der Zwölfte. Von der Busse wird gelehrt, dass diejenigen, so nach der Taufe gesündigt haben, zu aller Zeit, so sie bekehrt werden, Vergebung der Sünden erlangen mögen, und soll ihnen die Absolutio von der Kirche nicht geweigert werden. Nun ist wahre, rechte Busse eigentlich nichts andres denn Reu und Leid oder Schrecken haben über die Sünde und doch daneben glauben an das Evangelium und Absolution, dass die Sünde vergeben und durch Christum Gnad erworben sei, welcher Glaube wiederum das Herz tröstet und zufrieden macht.

Darnach soll auch Besserung folgen und dass man von Sünden lasse. Denn dies sollen die Früchte der Busse sein, wie Johannes spricht Matthäi 3.: Wirket rechtschaffene Früchte der Busse.

Hie werden verworfen die, so lehren, dass diejenigen, so einst sind fromm worden, nicht wieder fallen mögen.

Dagegen auch werden verdammt die Novatiani, welche die Absolutio denen, so nach der

nicht lehren, dass man durch Glaube Vergebung der Sünde erlange, sondern durch unser Genuß tun.

12. *Zum Zwölften*, dass die Sakrament nicht allein zu einem Zeichen unter den Menschen sind eingesetzt, sondern vielmehr zu einem Zeugnis des göttlichen Willens gegen uns; item, zu stärken den Glauben in denen, so ihrer gebrauchen. Darum soll man sie also handeln, dass man glaubt den Verheissungen, so durch die Sakrament werden fürgetragen.

13. *Vom Brauch der Sakramente* wird gelehrt, dass die Sakramente eingesetzt sind nicht allein darum, dass sie Zeichen seien, dabei man äusserlich die Christen kennen kann, sondern dass es Zeichen und Zeugnis sind göttlichen Willens gegen uns, unsern Glauben dadurch zu erwecken und zu stärken, derhalben sie auch Glauben fordern und dann recht gebraucht werden, so man sie im Glauben empfängt und den Glauben dadurch stärkt.

[Der spätere 14. Artikel ist vom Uebersetzer wohl übersehen worden.]

14. *Vom Kirchenregiment* wird gelehrt, dass niemand in der Kirchen öffentlich lehren oder predigen oder Sakrament reichen soll ohne ordentlichen Beruf.

13. *Zum Dreizehnten*, dass alle Satzungen, so durch Menschen in der Christenheit gesetzt sind, Gnade und Rechtfertigung da-

15. *Von Kirchenordnungen*, von Menschen gemacht, lehrt man diejenigen halten, so ohne Sünde mögen gehalten werden

ren, das mhan durch glauben vergebung der sunden erlange, sonder durch vnser gnugthuen.

13. *Vom brauch der Sakrament* wirdet geleret, Das die Sacrament eingesetzt seind, nit allain darumb, das die [= sie] zaichen seyen, dabey mhan eusserlich die Christen kennen muge, Sonder das es zaichen vnd zeugknus seind gotlichs willens gegen vns, vnsern glauben dadurch zuerwecken vnd zustercken, derhalben sie auch glauben fodern vnd dan recht gebraucht werden, so mans jm glauben empfaet vnd den glauben dardurch sterket.

14. *Vom Kirchen Regiment* wirdet geleret, das niemandt in der Kirchen offentlich leren oder predigen oder Sacrament raichen soll an ordentlichen beruf.

15. *Von Kirchen ordnungen*, von menschen gemacht, leret man diejenigen halten, so an sundmugen gehalten werden, vnd zu

Taufe gesündigt hatten, weigerten.

Auch werden verworfen diejenigen, so lehren, dass canoniche satisfactiones not seien zur Bezahlung der ewigen Pön [= punishment] oder des Fegfeuers.

Der Dreizehnte. Vom Brauch der Sacrament wird gelehret, dass die Sacrament eingesetzt sind nicht allein darum, dass sie Zeichen sind, dabei man äusserlich die Christen kennen möge, sondern dass es Zeichen und Zeugnis sind göttlichen Willens gegen uns, unsern Glauben dadurch zu erwecken und zu stärken, derhalben sie auch Glauben fordern und dann recht gebraucht werden, so mans im Glauben empfäht und den Glauben dadurch stärkt. Darum werden diejenigen verworfen, so lehren, die Sacrament machen gerecht ex opere operato, ohne Glauben, und lehren nicht, dass dieser Glaube dazu getan soll werden, dass da Vergebung der Sünd angeboten werde, welche durch Glauben, nicht durchs Werk erlangt wird.

Der Vierzehnte. Vom Kirchenregiment wird gelehrt, dass niemand in der Kirche öffentlich lehren oder predigen oder Sacrament reichen soll ohne ordentlichen Beruf.

Der Fünfzehnte. Von Kirchenordnungen, von Menschen gemacht, lehrt man diejenigen halten, so ohne Sünde mögen gehalten

durch zu erlangen, sind unchristlich und verletzen Christi Ehr und Verdienst, darum die Klostersgelübde, Unterschied der Tage und der Speisen, unehelich Leben und dergleichen Menschenfündlein zur Rechtfertigung untauglich sind. Was aber der Satzungen sind, dass alle Dinge in der Kirche ordentlich zugehen, die lehren wir von Frieden und Einigkeit wegen zu halten, als da sind Ordnung der Feiertag, Gesäng und dergleichen; man soll sie aber nicht nötig noch verdienstlich machen.

und zu Frieden und guter Ordnung in der Kirche dienen, als gewisse Feiern, Feste und dergleichen. Doch geschieht Unterricht dabei, dass man die Gewissen damit nicht beschweren solle, als seien solche Dinge nötig zur Seligkeit etc. Darüber wird gelehrt, dass alle Satzungen und Traditionen von Menschen dazu gemacht, dass man dadurch Gott versöhne und Gnade verdiene, dem Evangelion und der Lehre vom Glauben an Christum entgegen sind. Derhalben sind Klostersgelübde und andre Traditionen vom Unterschied der Speisen, Tage etc., dadurch man vermeint Gnade zu verdienen und für Sünde genug zu tun, untüchtig und wider das Evangelium.

15. *Zum Fünfzehnten* vom bürgerlichen Wesen, dass rechtmässige bürgerliche Ordnungen ein gut Werk Gottes sind, dass ein Christ mag ein Oberkeit führen, Gerichtsübung gebrauchen, urteilen nach jetzigen kaiserlichen Rechten, das Uebel mit Recht strafen, rechtmässige Kriege führen, kaufen und andre Kontrakte machen, eigene Güter haben, auf Erforderung der Oberkeit schwören, heiraten etc. Hier werden abermals die Wiedertäu-

16. *Von Polizei und weltlichem Regiment* wird gelehrt, dass alle Oberkeit in der Welt und geordnetes Regiment und gesetzte gute Ordnung von Gott geschaffen und eingesetzt sind, und dass Christen mögen in Oberkeit, Fürsten- und Richteramt ohne Sünde sein, nach kaiserlichen und anderen löblichen Rechten Urteil und Recht sprechen, Uebeltäter mit dem Schwert strafen, rechte Kriege führen, streiten, kaufen und verkaufen, aufgelegte Eide

frieden vnd zu guter ordnung in der Kirchen dienen, Als gewisse feier, festa, vnd dergleichen, doch geschicht vnterricht dabey, das mhan die gewissen damit nit beschweren soll, als sey solch ding nötig zur seligkait. Darüber wirdet geleret, das alle satzungen vnd tradicion von menschen dartzu gemacht, das man dardurch got versune vnd gnad verdiene, dem evangelio vnd der lahre vom glauben an Christum entgegen seind. Derhalben sein Clostergelübde vnd andere tradicion von vnderchiede der speyse, tage etc., dardurch man vermaint gnad zuuerdienen vnd fur sunde gnug zu thun, vntüchtig vnd wider das euangelium.

16. *Von pollicey vnd weltlichem Regiment* wirdet geleret, das alle oberkait in der welt vnd geordnete Regiment vnd gesetze gute ordnung, von got geschaffen vnd Eingesetzt seind, vnd das Christen mugen in Oberkait, Fursten vnd Richter Ambt one sunde sein, nach Kayserlichen vnd andern vbelichen Rechten vrtail vnd Recht sprechen, vbelthaten mit dem schwerdt strafen, rechte Kriege furen, streiten, kaufen vnd verkaufen, aufgelegte ayde thun,

ten werden und zum Frieden und guter Ordnung in der Kirchen dienen, als gewisse Feier, Feste und dergleichen. Doch geschieht Unterricht dabei, dass man die Gewissen nicht dabei beschweren soll, als seien solche Ordnungen nötige Gottesdienste, ohne die niemand vor Gott gerecht sein könne.

Darüber wird gelehrt, dass alle Satzungen und Tradition, von Menschen der Meinung gemacht, dass man dadurch Gott versühne oder Vergebung der Sünde verdiene oder gerecht vor Gott geschätzt werde, dem Evangelio und der Lehre vom Glauben an Christum entgegen sind. Derhalben sind Klostergelübde und andere Tradition von Unterschied der Speis, Tag etc., dadurch man vermeint, Vergebung der Sünd und Seligkeit zu verdienen als durch Gottesdienst, untüchtig und wider das Evangelium.

Der Sechzehnte. Von Polizei und weltlichem Regiment wird gelehrt, dass alle Oberkeit in der Welt und geordnete Regiment und Gesetze gute Ordnung von Gott geschaffen und eingesetzt sind und dass Christen mögen in Oberkeit, Fürsten- und Richteramt ohne Sünde sein, nach kaiserlichen und andern üblichen Rechten Urteil und Recht sprechen, Uebeltäter mit dem Schwert strafen, rechte Kriege führen, streiten, kaufen und verkaufen, aufge-

fer verworfen, die solches alles einem Christen verbieten. Desgleichen die, so die evangelische Vollkommenheit nicht auf Gottesfurcht und Glauben, sondern in Zerrüttung bürgerlicher Einigkeit stellen. Denn wiewohl das Evangelium lehret eine ewige Gerechtigkeit im Herzen, so wirft es doch die äusserliche Ordnung und Regiment dadurch gar nicht, sondern will solche gehandhabt haben als eine Ordnung Gottes, die Liebe darin zu üben. Derhalb ein Christ schuldig ist, der Oberkeit und ihren Satzungen gehorsam zu sein, es wäre denn, dass sie etwas Unchristliches und wider Gott gebieten, denn da soll man Gott mehr gehorchen denn den Menschen.

16. *Zum Sechzehnten*, dass alle verstorbenen Menschen mit demselben ihren Leib, darin sie gestorben, wiederum werden auferweckt werden zu dem Gericht Christi, darunter die Auserwähl-

tun, Eigenes (property) haben, ehelich sein etc. — Hier werden verdammt die Wiedertäufer, so lehren, dass der obangezeigten keines christlich sei. Auch werden diejenigen verdammt, so lehren, dass christliche Vollkommenheit sei, Haus und Hof, Weib und Kind leiblich verlassen und sich der vorherührten Stücke äussern, so doch dies allein rechte Vollkommenheit ist: rechte Furcht Gottes und rechter Glaube an Gott. Denn das Evangelium lehrt nicht ein äusserliches, sondern innerliches ewiges Wesen und Gerechtigkeit des Herzens und stösst nicht um weltlich Regiment, Polizei und Ehestand, sondern will, dass man solches alles halte als wahrhaftige Gottesordnung und in solchen Ständen christliche Liebe und rechte gute Werke bewaise, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf. **Derhalb** sind die Christen schuldig, der Oberkeit untertan und ihren Geboten und Gesetzen gehorsam zu sein in allem, so ohne Sünde geschehen mag. Denn so der Oberkeit Gebot ohne Sünde nicht geschehen mag, soll man Gott mehr gehorsam sein denn dem Menschen, Act. 4.

17. *Auch wird gelehrt*, dass unser Herr Jesus Christus am jüngsten Tag kommen wird zu richten und alle Tote auferwecken, den Gläubigen und Auserwählten ewiges Leben und ewige

eigens haben, ehelich sein etc.; hier werden verdammt die wider-taufer, so leren, das der obange-tzaigten kains christlich sey.

Auch werden die jenigen verdammt, so leren, das Christliche vollkommenheit sey, haus vnd hof, weib vnd kind laiblich verlassen vnd sich der berurten stuck eussern, so doch diss allain rechte volkhumenheit ist, rechte forcht gottes vnd rechter glaub an got. Dan das Euangelium leret nit ain eusserlich zeitlich, sonder innerlich ewig wesen vnd gerechtigkeit des hertzen vnd stosset nit vmb weltlich Regiment, Policey vnd ehestandt, sonder wil, das man solchs alles halte, als warhaftige gotes ordnung vnd in solchen stenden Christliche liebe vnd rechte gute werck, ain jder nach seinem Beruf, beweise. Derhalben seind die Christen schuldig, der oberkait vnderthan vnd jren geboten gehorsam zu sein jn allem, so on sunde gescheen mag, dan so der Oberkait gebot on sund nit gescheen mag, soll man got meher gehorsam sein dan den menschen. Actum 4.

17. *Auch wirdet* geleret, das vnser herr Jesus Christus am jungsten tag kumen wirdet zu richten vnd alle todten auferwecken, den glaubigen vnd ausserwelten ewigs leben vnd ewige

legte Eide tun, Eignes haben, ehelich sein etc.

Hie werden verdammt die Wiedertäufer, so lehren, dass der obangezeigten keins christlich sei.

Auch werden diejenigen verdammt, so lehren, dass christliche Vollkommenheit sei, Haus und Hof, Weib und Kind leiblich verlassen und sich der vorberührten Stücke äussern, so doch dies allein rechte Vollkommenheit ist, rechte Furcht Gottes und rechter Glaube an Gott. Denn das Evangelium lehret nicht ein äusserlich, zeitlich, sondern innerlich, ewig Wesen und Gerechtigkeit des Herzens und verwirft nicht weltlich Regiment, Polizei und Ehestand, sondern will, dass man solchs alles halte als wahrhaftige Gottesordnung und in solchen Ständen christliche Liebe und rechte gute Werke ein jeder nach seinem Beruf beweise. Derhalben sind die Christen schuldig, der Oberkeit untertan und ihren Geboten und Gesetzen gehorsam zu sein in allem, so ohne Sünde geschehen mag. Denn so der Oberkeit Gebot ohne Sünde nicht geschehen mag, soll man Gott mehr gehorsam sein denn den Menschen, Aktor. 4.

Der Siebenzehnt. Auch wird gelehrt, dass unser Herr Jesus Christus am jüngsten Tag kommen wird zu richten und alle Toten auferwecken, den Auserwählten und Gerechten ewiges Leben

ten ewig selig, aber die verdammten Menschen samt den Teufeln aus höllischer Pein nimmer in Ewigkeit erlöst werden. Hier werden verworfen die Nachfolger Origenis und die Wiedertäufer, so lehren, dass zuletzt auch die Verdammten und Teufel aus der Pein erlöst werden; desgleichen die, so auf jüdische Meinung sagen, die Verheissung von Eroberung des jüdischen Landes müsse leiblich verstanden werden, und dass vor der Urständt [resurrection] und jüngstem Gericht werden die Gottlosen allenthalben von den Heiligen unterdrückt und sie das zeitlich Regiment unter sich bringen.

17. *Zum Siebzehnten.* Von dem freien Willen lehren wir, dass des Menschen Wille etlicher Massen frei ist, äusserliche Gerechtigkeit zu üben und Unterschied zu machen in den Dingen, so der Vernunft unterworfen sind. Er vermag aber nichts zu der innerlichen geistlichen Gerechtigkeit, so vor Gott gilt, ohne den heiligen Geist. Denn der natürliche Mensch versteht nichts, was den Geist Gottes anbetrifft. Sondern diese (i. e. iustitia spiritualis) entsteht allein in dem Herzen, so der heilige Geist durchs Wort empfangen wird, wie Augustinus sagt: Wir bekennen, dass alle Menschen einen freien Willen haben und einen natürlichen Verstand, dadurch sie aber nichts

Freude geben, die gottlosen Menschen aber und die Teufel in die Hölle und ewige Strafe verdammen. — Derhalben werden die Wiedertäufer verworfen, so lehren, dass die Teufel und verdammte Menschen nicht ewige Qual und Pein haben werden. Item werden hier verworfen etliche jüdische Lehren, die sich auch jetztund ereignen, dass vor der Auferstehung der Toten eitel Heilige, Fromme ein weltlich Reich haben und alle Gottlosen vertilgen werden.

18. *Vom freien Willen* wird also gelehrt, dass der Mensch etlicher Massen einen freien Willen hat, äusserlich ehrbar zu leben und zu wählen unter den Dingen, so die Vernunft begreift. Aber ohne Gnade, Hilf und Wirkung des heiligen Geistes vermag der Mensch nicht gottgefällig zu werden, Gott herzlich zu fürchten oder zu glauben oder die angeborenen bösen Lüste aus dem Herzen zu werfen, sondern solches geschieht durch den heiligen Geist, welcher durch Gottes Wort gegeben wird. Denn Paulus spricht 1 Korinther 2: Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nichts vom Geiste Gottes. Und damit man erkennen mag, dass hierin keine Neuigkeit gelehrt wird, so

freude geben, die gotlosen menschen aber vnd die teufel in die helle vnd ewige straf verdamen. Derhalben werden die widertaufer verworfen, so leren, das die teufel vnd verdambte menschen nit ewige pein vnd qual haben werden. Item werden die [= hie] verworfen etzlich judische lere, die sich auch jtzund ereugen, das vor der auferstehung der todten eitel haylige, frome ain weltlich Reich haben vnd alle gotloser [= gotlose] vertilgen werden.

18. *Vom freyen willen* wirdet geleret, das der mensch etzlicher mass ein freyen willen hadt, eusserlich erbar zu leben vnd zu welhen vnter den Dingen, so die vernunft begreift, aber on gnad, hilf vnd wirkung des hayligen gaists vermag der mensch nichts, got gefellig zu werden, got hertzlich zu furchten oder zu glauben oder die angeborne bose lust auss dem hertzen zu werfen, sondern solchs geschicht durch den hayligen gaist, welcher durch gots wort geben wirdet. Dan Paul spricht 1 Corinth. 2: Der natürllich mensch vernimbt nichts vom gaist gottes.

Vnd damit man erkennen muge, das hierin kain Newigkait gelet wirdet, so seind das die cla-

und ewige Freude geben, die gottlosen Menschen aber und die Teufel in die Höll und ewige Strafe verdammen.

Derhalben werden die Wiedertäufer verworfen, so lehren, dass die Teufel und verdammte Menschen nicht ewige Pein und Qual haben werden.

Item, hie werden verworfen etliche jüdische Lehre, die sich auch jertzund ereignen, dass vor der Auferstehung der Toten eitel Heilige, Fromme ein weltlich Reich haben und alle Gottlose vertilgen werden.

Der Achtzehnte. Vom freien Willen wird also gelehret, dass der Mensch etlicher Masse einen freien Willen hat, äusserlich erbar zu leben und zu wählen unter den Dingen, so die Vernunft begreift. Aber ohne Gnade, Hilf und Wirkung des heiligen Geistes vermag der Mensch nicht, Gott gefällig zu werden, Gott herzlich zu fürchten, zu lieben oder zu glauben oder die angeborne böse Lust aus dem Herzen zu werfen, sondern solchs geschicht durch den heiligen Geist, welcher durch Gottes Wort gegeben wird, denn Paulus spricht 1. Kor. 2: Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nichts vom Geist Gottes.

Und damit man erkennen möge,

Geistliches und Göttliches weder anfangen noch vollbringen mögen, sondern allein, was zu diesem gegenwärtigen Leben gehört, gut und böse, das Gute, als Acker bauen, essen, trinken, kleider, anziehen etc., das Böse, als Abgötter ehren, totschiagen, ehebrechen etc.

sind die Worte Augustini vom freien Willen hiebei geschrieben aus dem dritten Buch Hypnognosticon: Wir bekennen, dass in allen Menschen ein freier Wille ist, denn sie haben je alle natürlich angeborenen Verstand und Vernunft, nicht dass sie etwas vermögen mit Gott zu handeln, als Gott von Herzen zu lieben, zu fürchten, sondern allein in äusserlichen Werken dieses Lebens haben sie Freiheit. Gutes oder Böses zu wollen. Gut, meine ich, das die Natur vermag, als auf dem Acker zu arbeiten oder nicht, zu essen, zu trinken, zu einem Freund zu gehen oder nicht, ein Kleid an oder aus zu tun, zu bauen, ein Weib zu nehmen, ein Handwerk zu treiben und dergleichen etwas Nützliches und Gutes zu tun. Welches alles doch ohne Gott nicht ist noch besteht, sondern alles aus, in und durch ihn ist. Dagegen kann der Mensch auch Böses aus eigener Wahl vornehmen, als vor einem Abgott niederknien, einen Totschlag zu tun etc.

ren wort Augustini vom freyen willen, wie jtzund hiebey geschriben auss dem dritten buch hipog-nosticon: Wir bekennen, das in allen menschen Ein freyer will ist, Dan sie haben jhe alle naturlich angeborn verstandt vnd vernunft, nit das sy etwas vermugen mit got zu handlen, Als got von herzen zu lieben, zu furchten, sonder allain in eusserlichen werken dieses lebens haben sye freyhait, gutes oder beses zu wellen, Güt maine ich, das die Natur vermag, als auf dem Acker zu arbeiten oder nit, zu essen, zu trincken, zu ainem Freund zu geen oder nit, ain claid an oder auszu-thun, zu bawen, ain weib zunemen, ain handtwerg zu treyben vnd der gleichen etwas nutzlichen vnd guts zuthun, welchs alles doch one got nit ist, noch besteet, sonder alles aus jme vnd durch jne ist. Dagegen kan der mensch auch boses aus aigner wahle furnemen, Als fur ainem Abgot niederzuknien, ain tots Schlag zu thun etc.

dass hierin keine Neuigkeit gelehrt wird, so sind das die klaren Worte Augustini vom freien Willen, hiebei geschriben aus dem dritten Buch Hypognosticon: Wir bekennen, dass in allen Menschen ein freier Wille ist, denn sie haben ja alle natürlich angebornen Verstand und Vernunft, nicht dass sie etwas vermögen mit Gott zu handeln, als Gott von Herzen zu lieben, zu fürchten, sondern allein in äusserlichen Werken dieses Lebens haben sie Freiheit, Gutes oder Böses zu wählen. Gut meine ich, das die Natur vermag, als auf dem Acker zu arbeiten oder nicht, zu essen, zu trinken, zu einem Freund zu gehen oder nicht, ein Kleid an oder aus zu tun, zu bauen, ein Weib zu nehmen, ein Handwerk zu treiben und dergleichen etwas Nützlich und Gutes zu tun, welches alles doch ohne Gott nicht ist noch besteht, sondern alles aus ihm und durch ihn ist. Dagegen kann der Mensch auch Böses aus eigner Wahl vornehmen, als vor einem Abgott niederzuknien, einen Totschlag zu tun etc.

Hie werden diejenigen verworfen, so lehren, dass wir Gottes Gebote ohne Gnade und heiligen Geist halten können, denn ob wir schon äusserliche Werke der Gebote zu tun vermögen, so können wir doch die hohen Gebote im Herzen nicht tun, nämlich Gott

18. [Zum Achtzehnten]. Von der Sünde lehren wir: wiewohl Gott die Natur erschaffen hat und dieselbe erhält, so verursacht doch die Sünde nichts denn der böse Wille des Teufels und der Gottlosen, welcher, so ihm Gott nicht hilft sich von Gott abwendet, wie der Prophet Hosea am 13. sagt: O Israel, dein Verderben ist aus dir, aber deine Hilfe steht allein bei mir.

19. *Von Ursach der Sünden* wird bei uns gelehrt, dass wiewohl Gott der Allmächtige die ganze Natur geschaffen hat und erhält, so wirkt doch der verkehrte Wille die Sünde in allen Bösen und Verächtern Gottes, wie denn des Teufels Wille ist und aller Gottlosen, welcher alsbald, so Gott die Hand abgetan, sich von Gott zum Argen gewendet hat, wie Christus spricht Johann. 8: Der Teufel redet Lügen aus seinem Eigenen.

20. *Von Glauben und Werken.* Den Unsern wird mit Unwahrheit aufgelegt, dass sie gute Werke verbieten. Denn ihre Schriften von [den] zehn Geboten und andere beweisen, dass sie von rechten christlichen Ständen und Werken guten nützlichen Bericht und Ermahnung getan haben, davon man vor dieser Zeit wenig gelehrt hat, sondern allermeist in allen Predigten getrieben auf kindische, unnötige Werke, als Rosenkranz, Heiligendienst, Mönch werden, Wallfahrten, gesetzte Fasten, Feiern, Bruderschaften. Solche unnötige Werke rühmet auch unser Widerpart nun nicht mehr so hoch als vor Zeiten. Dazu haben sie auch gelernt, nun vom Glauben zu reden, davon sie doch vor Zeiten gar nichts gepredigt haben; lehren dennoch nun, dass wir

19. *Von ursach der sunde* wirdet bey vns geleret, das wiewol got der Almechtig die gantze Natur geschaffen hadt vnd erhelt, so wircket doch der verkezte will die sunde jn allen bosen vnd verechtern gottes, wie dan des teufels will ist vnd aller gotlosen, welcher also bald, so got die handt abgethan, sy [= sich] von got zum argen gewandt hadt, wie Christus sprich [= spricht] Joh. viij: der teufel redet lügen aus seinem aygen etc.

20. *Vom glauben vnd guten Werken.* Den vnsern wirdet mit vnwarhait aufgelegt, das sie gute werck verbieten, Dan jre schriften von zehen geboten vnd andere beweisen, das sie von rechten Christlichen Stenden vnd wercken guten nutzlichen bericht vnd Ermanung gethan haben, davon man vor dieser zeit wenig geleret hadt, sonder allermaist in allen Predigen auf kindische vnnotige werck, als Rosenkrentz, hayligen dienst, Monich werden, walfarten, gesetzte fasten, Feier, Bruderschaften getrieben, solche vnnotige werck ruhmeth auch vnser wider part nu nit meher so hoch als vortzeiten. Darzu haben sie auch gelernet, nu vom glauben zu reden, dauon sy doch jn vortzeiten gar nichts gebrediget haben, Lernen dannoch nu, das wir nit allein aus wercken gerecht werden für

wahrhaftiglich fürchten, lieben, Gott glauben, etc.

Der Neunzehnte. Von Ursach der Sünden wird bei uns gelehret, dass wiewohl Gott der Allmächtige die ganze Natur geschaffen hat und erhält, so wirkt doch der verkehrte Wille die Sünd in allen Bösen und Verächtern Gottes, wie denn des Teufels Wille ist und aller Gottlosen, welcher alsbald, so Gott die Hand abgetan, sich von Gott zum Argen gewandt hat, wie Christus spricht Joh. 8: Der Teufel redet Lügen aus seinem Eignen.

Der Zwanzigste. Den Unsern wird mit Unwahrheit aufgelegt, dass sie gute Werke verbieten, denn ihre Schriften von Zehn Geboten und andere beweisen, dass sie von rechten christlichen Ständen und Werken guten, nützlichen Bericht und Vermahnung gethan haben, davon man vor dieser Zeit wenig gelehret hat, sondern allermeist in allen Predigten auf kindische, unnötige Werke als Rosenkranz, Heiligendienst, Mönch werden, Wallfahrten, gesetzte Fasten, Feiern, Bruderschaften, Indulgentien etc. getrieben. Solche unnötige Werke rühmet auch unser Widerpart nun nicht mehr so hoch als vor Zeiten, wiewohl sie dennoch ihre Irrtum nicht bekennen, sondern unterstehen sich, dieselbigen zur Unterdrückung der heilsamen und tröstlichen Lehr vom Glauben und zu Schmach unserm Herrn Christo zu verfechten. Dieweil aber die Lehre vom Glauben, welche das Hauptstück ist in christlicher

nicht aus Werken allein vor Gott gerecht werden, sondern setzen den Glauben in Christum dazu und sprechen: Glaube und Werke machen uns gerecht vor Gott. Welche Rede etwas mehr Trost bringen mag, denn so man allein lehrt, auf Werke zu vertrauen. Dieweil nun die Lehre vom Glauben, die das Hauptstück ist im christlichen Wesen, so lange Zeit, wie man bekennen muss, nicht getrieben worden, sondern allein Werklehre an allen Orten gepredigt, ist davon durch die Unseren solcher Unterricht geschehen:

Erstlich, dass unsere Werke uns nicht mögen mit Gott versöhnen und Gnad erwerben, sondern solches geschieht allein durch den Glauben, so man glaubt, dass uns um Christus willen die Sünden vergeben werden, welcher allein der Mittler ist, den Vater zu versöhnen. Wer nun vermeint, solches durch Werke auszurichten und Gnade zu verdienen, der verachtet Christum und sucht einen eignen Weg zu Gott wider das Evangelium. — Diese Lehre vom Glauben ist öffentlich von Paulos an vielen Orten gehandelt, sonderlich zu den Ephesern 2: Aus Gnaden seid ihr selig worden durch den Glauben, und dasselbige nicht aus euch, sondern es ist Gottes Gabe, nicht aus Werken, damit sich niemand rühme. Und dass hierin kein neuer Verstand eingeführt

got, sonder setzen den glauben an Christum dartzu, Sprechen: glauben und werck machen vns gerecht fur got, welche Rede meher trosts bringen mag, Dan so man allain leret auf werck zuuertrauen.

Dieweil nu die lere vom glauben, die das hauptstück ist im christlichen wesen, so lange zeit, wie man bekennen mus, nit getrieben werden [= worden], sondern allain werck lahr an allen orten gepredigt, ist dauon durch die vnsern solcher vnterricht geschehen:

Erstlich, das vns vnser werck nit mügen mit got verseunen vnd gnad erwerben, sonder solchs geschicht allain durch den glauben, so man glaubet, das vns vmb Christum willen die sunde vergeben werden, welcher allain der mittler ist [manuscript: in] den vater zuuersunen; wer nu vermaint, solchs durch werck auszurichten vnd gnad zu verdienen, der verachtet Christum vnd suchet ain aigen weg zu got wider das Euangelium.

Dise lere vom glauben ist offentlich vnd clar im paulo an vilen Orten gehandelt, sonderlich zun Ephesern 2: aus gnaden seid jr selig worden durch den glauben, vnd dasselbig nit aus Euch, sonder es ist gottes gab nit aus wercken, damit sich niemants rume etc.; vnd das hierin kain newer verstandt eingefurt sey, kan man aus Augustino beweisen,

Lehre, wie man bekennen muss, lange Zeit nicht getrieben noch gepredigt ist, sondern dagegen viel falscher Gottesdienst aufgerichtet, so ist davon durch die Unsern dieser Bericht geschehen.

Wo Glaube und was der Glaube sei. Unser Herr Christus hat sein Euangelium gefasset in eine richtige und kurze Summa, nämlich dass man lehren soll Busse und Vergebung der Sünd in seinem Namen. Die Predigt von der Busse strafft die Sünde. Wer nun vor Gottes Zorn erschrickt von wegen seiner Sünde, dem predigt das Euangelium auch Vergebung der Sünden um Christum willen aus Gnaden ohne unser Verdienst. Solche Vergebung wird allein durch Glauben erlangt, so wir glauben, dass Gott uns um Christum willen unsre Sünde vergeben und gnädig sein wolle.

Also lehren nun die Unsern, dass wir durch Glauben an Christum Vergebung der Sünde erlangen, nicht durch unsere vorgehenden oder folgenden Werke verdienen, sondern allein empfangen Vergebung aus Barmherzigkeit um Christum willen, und dass wir allzeit, wenn wir schon gute Werke haben, glauben sollen, dass wir um Christum willen vor Gott gerecht geschätzt werden, nicht aus Verdienst unserer Werke, denn wir können doch Gottes Gesetz selbst nicht gnugthun.

Dieses ist ein reicher gewisser Trost allen blöden und erschrocknen Gewissen, und ist klar in der heiligen Schrift gegründet und ausgedrückt, ja es ist der vornehmste Artikel des Evangelii, denn Paulus spricht also Eph. 2: Aus Gnaden seid ihr selig worden durch den Glauben und das

ist, kann man aus Sankt Augustin beweisen, der diese Sache fleissig gehandelt und auch also lehrt, dass wir durch den Glauben an Christum Gnad erlangen und vor Gott gerecht werden nicht durch Werke, wie sein ganzes Buch De spiritu et litera ausweist.

Wiewohl nun diese Lehre bei unversuchten [imperiti] Leuten sehr verachtet wird, so befindet sich doch, dass sie den blöden und erschrockenen Gewissen sehr tröstlich und heilsam ist. Denn das Gewissen kann nicht zu Ruhe und Friede kommen durch Werke, sondern allein durch den Glauben, so es bei sich schliesst, dass es um Christus willen einen gnädigen Gott habe; auch Paulus spricht zu den Römern 5: So wir durch den Glauben sind gerecht worden, haben wir Ruh und Fried vor Gott. Diesen Trost hat man vor Zeiten nicht getrieben in Predigten, sondern die armen Gewissen auf eigne Werk gewiesen, und sind mancherlei Werk fürgenommen. Etliche hat das Gewissen ins Kloster gejagt, der Hoffnung, daselbst Gnade zu erwerben; etliche haben andere Werke erdacht, damit Gnade zu verdienen und für die Sünde genugzutun. Derselbigen viele haben erfahren, dass man dadurch nicht ist zu Fried kommen. Darum ist not gewesen, diese Lehre vom Glauben an Christum zu predigen und fleissig zu treiben, dass

der diese sache vleissig handelt vnd auch also leret, Das wir durch den glauben an Christum gnad erlangen und fur got gerecht werden vnd nit durch wergk, wie sein gantz Buch de spiritu et litera ausweiset.

Wiewol nun diese lehre bey vnuersuchten Lewten seer veracht wirdet, So befindet sich doch, das sie den bloden vnd erschrockenen gewissen seer trostlich vnd hailsam ist. Dan das gewissen kan nit zu ruhe vnd fride kumen durch werck, sondern allein durch glauben, so es bey sich gewislich schleust, Das es vmb Christus willen ein gnedigen got hab, wie auch Paulus spricht Roma. 5: So wir durch den glauben seind gerecht worden, haben wir Ruhe vnd friden von [=vor] got.

Diesen trost hadt man vortzeiten nit getrieben in predigten, sonder die Armen gewissen auf aygne werck trieben, vnd seind mancherlay werck furgenommen, Dan etzlich hadt das gewissen in die Closter gejaget, der hofnung daselbst gnad zuerberwen [=zu erwerben] durch Closterleben. Etzliche haben andere werck erdacht, damit gnad zuuerdienen vnd fur sunde gnug zu thun. Derselbigen viel haben erfahren, das man dadurch nit ist zu friden kumen. Darumb ist not gewesen, diese Lere vom glauben an Christum zubredigen vnd [mit] vleis zu

selbig nicht aus euch, sondern es ist Gottes Gabe, nicht aus Werken, damit sich niemand rühme. Und Röm. 4: Darum müsse Gerechtigkeit durch Glauben und aus Gnaden kommen, dass die Verheissung fest bleibe, das ist, so wir um unsrer Werke willen Vergebung der Sünden empfangen sollten, wären wir allezeit ungewiss, ob wir Vergebung erlangt hätten. Denn wir befinden allezeit Gebrechen an unsern Werken, Darum wir müssten zweifeln, ob wir genug getan hätten. Also würde die Vergebung fallen und unmüht werden, so sie auf unser Werk gebaut wäre, und nimmer mehr könnte das Gewissen zum Frieden und zur Ruhe sein, wenn wir um unsrer Werke willen gerecht sein müssten. Darum sollen wir allezeit, auch so wir nun neugeboren sein und gute Werke tun, den Mittler Christum behalten und glauben, dass uns Gott gnädig sei und gerecht schätze, nicht darum, dass wir das Gesetz erfüllen, sondern um Christus willen, durch den uns zugesagt ist, dass uns Gott um seinetwillen gnädig sein wolle. Darum spricht Paulus weiter Rom. 5: So wir durch den Glauben gerecht geschätzt werden, haben wir Frieden mit Gott und durch Glauben haben wir einen Zugang zu Gott etc. Und dieser Sprüche ist die Schrift voll.

Unerfahrene Leute verachten und verfolgen diese Lehre, denn die Welt weiss von keiner Gerechtigkeit denn allein vom Gesetz und von vernünftigen Leben, weiss nicht, wie das Gewissen gegen Gott und in Gottes Gericht sich halten soll. Und doch, wenn Gott straft und erschreckt die

man wisse, dass man allein durch den Glauben ohne Verdienst Gottes Gnade ergreift. Es geschieht auch Unterricht, dass man hier nicht von solchem Glauben redet, den auch die Teufel oder Gottlosen haben, die auch die Historien glauben, dass Christus gelitten habe und auferstanden sei von [den] Toten; sondern man redet vom wahren Glauben, der da glaubt, dass wir durch Christum Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und wissen, dass wir einen gnädigen Gott durch Christum haben, kennen und ihn anrufen, und nicht wie die Heiden, Teufel und Gottlosen, die weder Vergebung der Sünde glauben noch Gott treulich anrufen, viel weniger [sich] Gutes zu ihm versehen. Also wird vom Glauben gelehrt zu den Hebräern 11, dass Glaube sei nicht allein die Historien wissen, sondern Zuversicht haben zu Gott, seine Zusage [the promised good] zu empfangen; und Augustinus erinnert uns auch, dass wir das Wort "Glaube" in der Schrift verstehen sollen, dass es heisst: Zuversicht zu Gott, dass er uns gnädig sei, und heisst nicht allein Historien wissen, wie auch die Teufel wissen.

Ferner wird gelehrt, dass gute Werke sollen und müssen geschehen, nicht dass man darauf vertraue, Gnade damit zu verdienen, sondern um Gottes willen und Gott

treiben, das man wisse, das man allain durch glauben on verdienst gottes gnad ergreiffet.

Es geschicht auch vnterricht, das man hie nit von solchem glauben Redet, denn [= den] auch die Teufel vnd gotlosen haben, die auch die history glauben, das Christus gelitten hab vnd auferstanden sey von todten, Sonder man redet von warem glauben, der do glaubet, das wir durch Christum gnad vnd verggebung der sunden erlangen, vnd der nu wais, das Er ain gnedigen got durch Christum hadt, kennet also got, Ruffet jne an vnd ist nit an [= without] got wie die haiden. Dan der teufel vnd gottloser [= gottlose] glauben diesen Artickel, verggebung der sunden, nit; darumb seind sy got veindt, konnen jne nit anrufen, nit guts von jme hoffen; vnd also, wie yetzt angetzaigt ist, redet die schrift vom glauben vnd haisset nit glauben ain solches wissen, das teufel vnd gotlose menschen haben. Dan also [wird] von glauben [the manuscript by mistake has the word glauben twice] geleret ad hebreos am XI., das glauben sey nit allain die historien wissen, sonder zuuersicht haben zu got, seine zusag zu emphahen. Vnd Augustinus erinnert vns auch, das wir das wort glauben in der schrift versteeen sollen, das es haist zuuersicht zu goth, das Er vns gnedig sey, vnd haisse nit al-

Gewissen, so fahren dieselbigen zu, so diese Lehr vom Glauben und Christo nicht wissen, suchen Werke und wollen mit eignen Werken Gottes Zorn versöhnen und ewiges Leben erlangen. Diese laufen in Klöster, die andern fallen aufs Messhalten und wird ein Werk über das ander erdicht, Gottes Zorn zu versöhnen. Das ist eitel Blindheit und Verachtung Christi. und fallen die Herzen für und für in grosse Ungeduld gegen Gott, bis sie zuletzt ganz verzweifeln.

Diesen Irrtum strafen wir laut des Evangelii und richten dagegen auf die Lehre vom Glauben, dass das Gewissen sich getrost darauf verlassen soll, dass wir Verggebung der Sünd ohn unser Verdienst um Christus willen haben und dass es eine Schmach Christi sei, so wir eigne Werk suchen, dadurch zu verdienen, dass uns Gott gnädig sei. Und dieweil dieser Artikel betrifft die Ehre Christi und solchen hohen Trost der Gewissen, so ist not, dass diese Lehre ernstlich in der Christenheit getrieben werde.

Hieraus ist auch zu merken, wo Glaube sei und was wir Glaube heissen. Denn wo nicht Schrecken ist vor Gottes Zorn, sondern Lust am sündlichen Wandel, da ist nicht Glaube, denn Glaube soll trösten und lebendig machen die erschrockenen Herzen. Darum auch Jesajas spricht: Gott will seine Wohnung haben in erschrockenen Herzen. Darum ist leicht zu antworten, wenn etliche sprechen: So der Glaub gerecht mache, sei [es] nicht not, gute Werke zu tun. Dagegen lehren

zu Lob. Der Glaube ergreift allzeit allein Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden, und dieweil durch den Glauben der heilige Geist Gottes gegeben wird, so wird auch das Herz geschickt, gute Werke zu tun. Denn zuvor, dieweil es ohne den heiligen Geist [ist], so ist es zu schwach, dazu ist es in des Teufels Gewalt, der die arme menschliche Natur zu Sünden treibt, wie wir sehen an den Philosophen, welche sich unterstanden, ehrlich und unsträflich zu leben, haben aber solches nicht ausgerichtet, sondern sind in viele grosse Sünden gefallen. Also geht es mit dem Menschen, so er ausserhalb des rechten Glaubens ohne den heiligen Geist ist und sich allein durch menschliche Kraft regiert. Derhalben ist diese Lehr vom Glauben nicht zu schelten, dass sie gute Werke verbietet, sondern vielmehr zu rühmen, dass sie gute Werke zu tun lere und Hilfe anbietet, wie man zu guten Werken kommen mag. Denn ausser dem Glauben und Christo ist menschliche Natur viel zu schwach, gute Werke zu tun, Gott anzurufen, Geduld zu haben im Leiden, den Nächsten [zu] lieben, befohlene Aemter fleissig auszurichten, gehorsam zu sein, böse Lust zu meiden. Solche gute Werke mögen nicht geschehen ohne die Hilfe Christi, wie er selbst spricht Jo. 15: Ohne mich könnt ihr nichts tun.

lain solch historien wissen, wie auch die teufel wissen.

Ferner wirdet geleret, Das gute werck sollen vnd müssen gescheen, nit das man darauf vertrau, gnad damit zuuerdienen, sondern vmb gottes willen vnd gott zu Lob. Der glaub ergreift altzeit allain gnad vnd verggebung der sunde; vnd dieweil durch den glauben der haylig gaist geben wirdet, so wirdet auch das hertz geschickt, gute werck zu thun. Dan zuuorn, dieweil es an den hayligen gaist ist, so ist es zu schwach; dartzu ist es jns teufels gewalt, der die Arme menschliche Natur zu vil sunden treibet, wie wir sehen in den Philosophen, Welche sich vnderstanden, Erlich vnd vnstreflich zu leben, Haben aber dannoch solchs nit ausgericht, sonder seind jn vil grosse offentliche sunde gefallen. Also geet es mit dem menschen, so Er ausser dem rechten glauben on den hayligen gaist ist vnd sich allain durch Aigne menschliche crafft regieret.

Derhalb ist die Lere vom glauben nicht zu schelten, das sy gute werck verbieten [= verbiete], sonder vil meher zu ruhmen, das sie lere, gute werck zuthun, vnd hilf anbiete, wie man zu guten wercken kumen muge. Dan ausser dem glauben vnd ausserhalb Christo ist menschliche Natur vnd vermugen vill zu schwach, gute werck zu thun, got antzuruf-

wir, dass diejenigen, so Lust an ihren Sünden haben und fortfahren im sündigen Wandel, nicht Glaube haben, denn wo nicht Schrecken ist vor Gottes Zorn, da ist nicht Glaube.

So ist auch das Argument leicht aufzulösen, dass man spricht: Die Teufel glauben auch, sind dennoch nicht gerecht. Antwort: Glauben heisst hier nicht die Historien allein wissen, sondern es heisst den Artikel glauben, Verggebung der Sünde; diesen Artikel glauben die Teufel und Gottlosen nicht. Also heisst hie glauben: im Schrecken des Gewissens sich getrost verlassen auf Gottes Zusage, dass er um Christus willen gnädig sein wolle. Und dass Glauben also soll verstanden werden, nicht die Historien allein wissen, sondern Gottes Verheissung ergreifen, lehret Paulus klar Röm. 4, da er spricht, darum werde man gerecht durch Glauben, dass die Verheissung nicht untüchtig werde. Darum will er, dass man durch Glauben die Verheissung Gottes ergreifen müsse. So schreibt auch Augustinus, dass man Glauben also verstehen soll, wie wir davon reden.

Dass man gute Werke solle und müsse tun, und wie man sie könne tun und wie sie Gott gefällt sein. Solcher Glaube, so er das erschrocken Herz tröstet, empfängt den heiligen Geist, der fähig ist an denjenigen, so Gottes Kinder geworden sind, zu wirken, wie Paulus spricht Röm. 8: Dies sind Kinder Gottes, welche der Geist Gottes leitet. So wirket nun der heilige Geist Erkenntnis der

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fen, geduld zu haben jm leiden, den nechsten lieben, beuelhene Embter vleissig austzurichten, gehorsam zu sein, bose Lust zu meiden, solche hohe vnd rechte werck mügen nit gescheen on die hilf Christi, wie Er selbs spricht Johann. 15: An mich kundt jr nichts thun etc.

Sünde und Glauben, dass wir die hohe und grosse Barmherzigkeit in Christo zugesagt, für und für klarer erkennen und stärker glauben und ewigen Trost und Leben daraus schöpfen. Darnach wirkt der heilig Geist auch andere Tugend, nämlich die Gott geboten hat in [den] Zehn Geboten, Gott fürchten, lieben, danken, anrufen, ehren, den Nächsten lieben, geduldig, keusch sein, die Oberkeit als Gottes Ordnung erkennen und ehren etc. Denn wir lehren, dass wir Gottes Gebote, welche uns aufgelegt sind, sollen und müssen tun.

Dazu lehren wir, wie man sie könne tun, auch wie sie Gott gefallen. Denn obschon die Menschen durch eigne natürliche Kräfte ausserliche ehrliche Werke zum Teil zu tun vermögen, so kann doch das Herz Gott nicht lieben, es glaube denn zuvor, Gott wolle gnädig sein. Dazu die Menschen ausser Christo und ohn Glauben und heiligen Geist sind in des Teufels Gewalt; der treibet sie auch zu mancherlei öffentlichen Sünden. Darum lehren wir zuvor vom Glauben. dadurch der heilige Geist gegeben wird, und dass Christus uns hilft und wider den Teufel behütet. Wenn also das Herz weiss, dass uns Gott gnädig will sein und uns erhören um Christus willen, so kann es Gott lieben und anrufen; und dieweil es weiss, dass uns Christus stärken und helfen will, so wartet es Hilf, verzaget nicht im Leiden und strebet wider den Teufel. Darum spricht Christus: Ohne mich könnet ihr nichts tun. Derhalben wer nicht recht vom Glauben lehret, kann auch nicht

nützlich von Werken lehren, denn ohne die Hilfe Christi kann man doch Gottes Gebote nicht halten, wie klar zu sehen an den Philosophis, die sich aufs Höchste geflissen, recht zu leben, und sind dennoch in grosse Laster gefallen. Denn menschliche Vernunft und Kraft ohne Christo ist dem Teufel viel zu schwach, der sie zu sündigen treibet.

Weiter geschieht auch Unterricht, wie gute Werke Gott gefällig sind, nämlich nicht darum, dass wir Gottes Gesetz gnug tun, denn ohne der einige Christus, sonst hat kein Mensch Gottes Gesetz gnug getan, sondern die Werke gefallen derhalben, dass Gott die Person angenommen hat und schätzt sie gerecht um Christus willen; um des willen vergibt er uns unsre Gebrechen, die noch da bleiben in Heiligen. Darum soll man nicht vertrauen, dass wir nach der Wiedergeburt gerecht sind von wegen unsrer Reinigkeit oder derhalben dass wir das Gesetz erfüllen, sondern man soll denn auch den Mittler Christum Gott vorstellen und halten, dass uns um Christus willen Gott gnädig sei und dass unsre Werke Barmherzigkeit bedürfen und nicht so würdig sind, dass sie Gott als Gerechtigkeit annehmen soll und dafür ewiges Leben schuldig sei, sondern dass sie Gott derhalben gefallen, die weil er der Person gnädig ist um Christus willen. Dass er aber der Person gnädig sei, das fasset ein jeder allein durch Glauben. Also gefallen Gott die guten Werke allein in den Gläubigen, wie Paulus lehret. Was nicht aus Glauben geschieht, ist Sünde, das

21. *Von den verstorbenen Heiligen* wird also gelehrt, dass man ihrer gedenken soll, auf dass wir unsern Glauben stärken, so wir sehen, wie ihnen Gnad widerfahren, auch wie ihnen durch Glauben geholfen ist, dazu dass man Exempel nehme von ihren guten Werken, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf, gleichwie Kaiserliche Majestät dem Exempel Davids folgen mag, Krieg zu führen wider den Türken. Denn beide sind im königlichen Amt, welches Schutz und Schirm ihrer Untertanen fordert. In der Schrift aber kann es nicht bewiesen werden, dass man [die Heiligen] anrufen soll oder Hilfe bei ihnen suchen, denn es ist ein einiger Versöhner und Mittler gesetzt zwischen Gott und den Menschen, Jesus Christus, 1 Timo. 2, welcher ist der einige Heiland, der einige oberste Prie-

ist: Wo das Herz im Zweifel steht, ob Gott uns gnädig sei, ob er uns erhöere, und gehet dahin in Zorn gegen Gott und tut Werke, wie köstlich die scheinen, so sind es doch Sünden, denn das Herz ist unrein. Darum können die guten Werke ohne Glauben Gott nicht gefallen, sondern das Herz muss vor mit Gott zu Frieden sein und schliessen, dass sich Gott unser annehme, uns gnädig sei, uns gerecht schätze, nicht von wegen unsers Verdienstes, sondern um Christus willen, aus Barmherzigkeit. Das ist rechte christliche Lehre von guten Werken.

21 *Vom hayligen dinst* wirdet von den vnsern also geleret, das man der hayligen gedenken sol, auf das wir vnsern glauben stärken, so wir sehen, wie jnen gnad widerfaren, auch wie jnen durch glauben geholffen ist. Darzu das man Exempel neme von iren guten wercken, ain yeder nach seinem beruf, gleichwie die Kay. Mt seliglich vnd gotlich dem Exempel Dauids volgen mag, Krieg wider den Turken zufuhren, Dann beide seind sie in Koniglichem Ambt, welches Schutz vnd Schirm jrer vnterthanen fodert. Durch schrift mag man aber nit beweisen, das man die hayligen anrufen oder hilf bey jnen suchen soll. Dan es ist allain ain ainiger verseuner vnd mitler gesetzt zwischen got vnd den menschen, Jesus Christus, j Timot. 2, welcher ist der Ainige hayland,

Der Einundzwanzigste. Vom Heiligendienst wird von den Unsern also gelehrt, dass man der Heiligen gedenken soll, auf dass wir unsern Glauben stärken, so wir sehen, wie ihnen Gnad widerfaren, auch wie ihnen durch Glauben geholfen ist; dazu dass man Exempel nehme von ihren guten Werken, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf, gleichwie Kaiserliche Majestät seliglich und göttlich dem Exempel Davids folgen mag, Kriege wider den Türken zu führen, denn beide sind im königlichen Amt, welches Schutz und Schirm ihrer Untertanen fordert. Durch Schrift aber mag man nicht beweisen, dass man die Heiligen anrufen oder Hilf bei ihnen suchen soll, denn es ist allein ein einiger Versühner und Mittler gesetzt zwischen Gott und Menschen, Jesus Christus 1 Tim. 2,

Dies ist ungefähr die Summa von der Lehre im Kurfürstentum zu Sachsen, darinnen nichts begriffen, das wider die heilige Schrift, gemeine christliche und auch römische Kirche ist, sofern die auf die bewährten und angenommenen Lehrer gegründet wird. Derhalben wir unbillig für Ketzer ausgeschrieen werden. Die ganze Irrung ist allein um etlicher Mißbräuch, die sich ohne der Christenheit Bewilligung haben eingedrungen, und ob hierin gleich etwas ungerade befunden wird, sollten doch billig die Bischöfe in Ansehung gegenwärtigen Bekenntnisses unseres Glaubens uns etwas gnädiger sein und nicht von der christlichen Kirche absondern und verwerfen, denn auch ihre eigenen Rechte nicht so hart sind, dass sie einerlei Gebräuch und Zeremonien an allen Orten erfordern, wie es denn nie gewesen ist.

ster, Gnadenstuhl und Fürsprecher vor Gott, und derselbe hat allein zugesagt, dass er unser Gebet erhören wolle. Das ist auch der höchste Gottesdienst nach der Schrift, dass man denselbigen Christum in allen Nöten und Anliegen von Herzen suche und anrufe. So jemand sündigt, haben wir einen Fürsprecher bei Gott, der gerecht ist, Jesum Christum.

Dies ist fast die Summa der Lehr, welche in unsern Kirchen zu rechtem, christlichem Unterricht und Trost der Gewissen, auch zur Besserung der Gläubigen gepredigt und gelehrt ist, wie wir denn unsere eigene Seele und Gewissen je nicht gern wollten vor Gott mit Missbrauchung göttlichen Namens oder Worts in höchste Gefahr setzen oder auf unsere Kinder und Nachkommen eine andere Lehr, denn so göttlichem Wort und christlicher Wahrheit gemäss ist, erben. So denn dieselbige in heiliger Schrift klar gegründet und dazu gemeiner christlicher, ja auch römischer Kirche, soviel aus der Väter Schriften zu vermerken, nicht zuwider noch entgegen ist, so achten wir auch, unsere Widersacher können in obangezeigten Artikeln nicht uneinig mit uns sein. Derhalben handeln diejenigen ganz unfreundlich, geschwind und wider alle christliche Einigkeit und Liebe, so die Unseren derhalb als Ketzer abzu-

der einig Oberst Priester, gna-
denstul vnd fursprech fur goth,
Romano. 8, vnd der hadt allain
zugesagt, das Er vnser gebett er-
horen welle [= wolle]. Das ist
auch der hochste gottes dinst nach
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Jesum Christum jn allen noten
vnd anligen von hertzen suche
vnd anrufe, j Johan. 2: So jmant
sündigt, haben wir ainen furspre-
cher bey got, der gerecht ist, Je-
sum etc.

Dieses ist fast die suma der
lere, welche jn vnsern Kirchen zu
rechtem christlichen vnterricht
vnd trost der gewissen, auch zu
besserung der glaubigen gepre-
digt vnd geleret ist, wie wir dan
vnser e eigene Selen vnd gewis-
sen ye nit gern welten fur got mit
missbreuch gotlichs Namens oder
worts jn die hochste. groste fahre
setzen, Oder auf vnser kinder
vnd nachkumen ain andere lehre,
dan so dem rainen gotlichen wort
vnd Christlicher warheit gemess,
fellen [= to let them have share
in] oder erben. So dan dieselbig
jn hayliger schrift clar gegründet
vnd darzu gemainer Christlicher,
jha auch Romischer Kirchen (so
vil auss der vatter schriften zu-
uermerken) nit zuwider noch ent-
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freundlich, geschwind vnd wider

welcher ist der einige Heiland,
der einige oberste Priester, Gna-
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und Gewissen ja nicht gern woll-
ten vor Gott mit Missbrauch
göttlichs Namens oder Worts in
die höchste, grösste Gefahr setzen
oder auf unsre Kinder und Nach-
kommen eine andre Lehre, denn
so dem reinen göttlichen Wort
und christlicher Wahrheit gemäss,
fallen oder erben. So denn die-
selbige in heiliger Schrift klar
gegründet und dazu auch gemei-
ner christlicher, ja auch römi-
scher Kirche, soviel aus der Vä-
ter Schriften zu vermerken, nicht
zuwider noch entgegen ist, so
achten wir auch, unsre Widersa-
cher können in obangezeigten Ar-
tikeln nicht uneinig mit uns sein.
Derhalben handeln diejenigen

Hernach folgen die spenigen [disputed] Artikel, darin auch die geänderten und abgetanen Missbräuche erzählt werden.

Dieweil man im Kurfürstentum Sachsen in keinem Artikel des Glaubens von der heiligen Schrift oder gemeiner christlicher Kirche ist abgewichen, sondern allein etliche Missbräuche unterlassen werden, die ohne einigen Grund in der Christenheit eingewurzelt, bitten wir kaiserliche Majestät gnädiglich zu verhören, was hierin geändert und was solche Veränderung verursacht habe, denn von uns mit keiner Wahrheit mag gesagt werden, dass wir alle alte Gebräuche und Zermonien ablegen, sondern wir begehren, die-

sondern, zu verwerfen und zu meiden ihnen selbst ohne einigen [any] beständigen Grund göttlicher Gebot oder Schrift fürnehmen. Denn die Irrung und Zank ist fürnämlich über etlichen Traditionen und Missbräuchen. So denn an den Hauptartikeln kein befindlicher [can not be found] Ungrund oder Mangel und dies unser Bekenntnis göttlich und christlich ist, sollten sich billig die Bischöfe, wenn schon der Traditionen halb ein Mangel bei uns wäre, gelinder erzeigen, wiewohl wir verhoffen, beständige Gründe und Ursachen darzutun, warum bei uns etliche Traditionen und Missbräuche geändert sind.

Artikel, von welchen Zwiespalt ist, da erzählt werden die Missbräuche, so geändert sind.

So nun von den Artikeln des Glaubens in unseren Kirchen nicht gelehrt wird zuwider der heiligen Schrift oder der heiligen christlichen Kirche, sondern allein etliche Missbräuche geändert sind, welche zum Teil mit der Zeit selbst eingerissen, zum Teil mit Gewalt aufgerichtet, fordert unsere Notdurft, dieselben zu erzählen und Ursach anzuzeigen, warum hierin Aenderung geduldet ist, damit Kaiserliche Majestät erkennen mag, dass nicht hierin unchristlich oder freventlich gehandelt, sondern dass wir

alle Christliche ainigkeit vnd lieb, so die unsern derhalben als ketzer abzusondern, zuerwerfen vnd zu meiden, jnen selbst one ainigen bestendigen grund gotlicher gebot oder schrift, vornemen. Dan die jrrung vnd zangk ist furnehmlich vber etzlichen traditionen vnd misbreuchen. So dan nu an den haupt Artickeln kain befintlicher vngrund oder mangel vnd diss vnsser bekentnus gotlich vnd Christlich ist, Solten sich billig die Bischöfe, wan schon bey vns der tradicion halben ain mangel were, gelinder ertzaigen. Wiewol wir verhoffen, bestendigen grund vnd vrsach darzutun, warumb bey vns etzlich tradicion vnd missbreuch geendert seindt.

Artickel, von welchen Zwispalt ist da ertzelet werden die missbreuch, so geandert seind.

So nun von den Artickeln des glaubens in vnsern Kirchen nitgeleret wirdet zuwider der hayligen schrift oder gemainer Christlichen Kirchen, sonder allain etzlich misbreuch geandert seind, welche zum tail mit zeit selbs eingerissen, zum, tail mit gewalt aufgericht, fordert vnser notdurft, dieselbigen zuerzelen vnd vrsach antzutzaigen, warum hierin enderung geduldet ist, Damit Kay. Mt erkennen mugen, das nit hierin vnchristlich oder freuenlich gehandelt, sonder das wir durch gottes gebot (welchs billig hoher

ganz unfreundlich, geschwind und wider alle christliche Einigkeit und Liebe, so die Unsern derhalben als Ketzer abzusondern, zu verwerfen und zu meiden ihnen selbst ohne einigen beständigen Grund göttlicher Gebot oder Schrift vornehmen. Denn so an den Hauptartikeln kein befindlicher Ungrund oder Mangel und dies unser Bekenntnis göttlich und christlich ist, sollten sich billig die Bischöfe, wenn schon bei uns der Traditionen halben ein Mangel wäre, gelinder erzeugen, wiewohl wir verhoffen, beständigen Grund und Ursach darzutun, warum bei uns etliche Traditionen und Missbräuche geändert sind.

So nun von den Artikeln des Glaubens in unsern Kirchen nicht gelehrt wird zuwider der heiligen Schrift oder gemeiner christlichen Kirche, sondern allein etliche Missbräuche geändert sind, welche zum Teil mit Gewalt aufgerichtet, fordert unsre Notdurft, dieselbigen zu erzählen und Ursach anzuzeigen, warum hierin Aenderung geduldet ist, damit Kaiserliche Majestät erkennen möge, dass nicht hierin unchristlich oder frevelig gehandelt, sondern dass wir durch Gottes Gebot, welches billig höher zu

selben so viel möglich zu erhalten; aber die gemeine Klag über die Missbräuche in der Kirche ist jetzt nicht neu; derhalben von Nöten gewesen, derselben etliche zu bessern, wie hernach folgt.

Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments. Den Laien gibt man das heilig Sakrament unter beiderlei Gestalt, denn das hat Christus geboten Matth. 26: Trinkt daraus alle. Hier gebietet Christus mit ausgedrückten Worten, dass sie alle aus dem Kelch sollen trinken. Ob aber jemand wollte sagen, Christus hätte hiemit allein die Priester gemeint, den weisen wir auf die erste Epistel Pauli zu den Korinthern am 10., daraus man sieht, wie die ganze Gemeinde beider Gestalt gebraucht hat, da er spricht: wir alle sind theilhaftig eines Brotes und eines Kelches. Dieser Gebrauch ist eine lange Zeit in der Christenheit bestanden und weiss noch niemand, wann und durch wen der geändert ist worden. Cyprianus zeigt das an vielen Orten an. So wird das auch nirgends an keinem Ort verboten, ja der Papst Gelasius verbietet ernstlich, das Sakrament nicht zu teilen; allein die Gewohnheit, so doch nicht so gar alt ist, ist dawider. Es muss aber männiglich bekennen, dass eine Gewohnheit wider Gottes Gebot nicht zu halten ist. Darum soll man also beiderlei Gestalt brauchen, dieweil das Christus selbst

durch Gottes Gebot, welches billig höher zu achten denn alle Gewohnheit, gedrungen sind, solche Aenderung zu gestatten.

Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments. Den Laien werden bei uns beide Gestalten des Sakraments gereicht aus dieser Ursach, denn dies ist ein klarer Befehl und Gebot Christi Matthäi am 26: Trinket alle daraus. Da gebietet Christus mit klaren Worten vom Kelch, dass sie alle daraus trinken sollen. Und damit niemand diese Worte anfechten und glossieren könne, als gehöre es den Priestern allein zu, so zeigt Paulus 1 Korinth. 11 an, dass die ganze Versammlung der Korinther Kirche beider Gestalten gebraucht hat, und dieser Brauch ist eine lange Zeit in der Kirchen geblieben, wie man durch die Historien und der Väter Schriften beweisen kann. Cyprianus gedenkt an viel Orten, dass den Laien der Kelch gereicht wurde. So spricht Sankt Hieronymus, dass die Priester, so das Sakrament reichen, dem Volk das Blut Christi austheilen. So gebietet Gelasius der Papst selbst, dass man das Sakrament nicht teilen soll [dist.] 2 de conse. c. Comperimus. Man findet auch nirgends keinen Canon, der da gebeut, allein eine Gestalt zu nehmen. Es kann auch niemand wissen, wann oder durch

zuachten dan alle gewonhait) gedrungen seind, solch anderung zugestatten.

achten denn alle Gewohnheit, gedrungen sein, solche Aenderung zu gestatten.

Von baiden gestalt des Sacraments. Den layen wirdet bey vns baide gestalt des Sacraments geraicht auss dieser vrsach, das diss ist ein clarer beuelch vnd gebot Christi Matth. XXVI: Trincket alle darauss; da gebeut Christus mit claren worten von dem kelch, das sye alle daraus trinken sollen.

Vnd damit niemand diese wort anfechten vnd glosiern könne, als gehore es allain den Priestern zu, So zaiget Paul j. Chorint. XI an, das die gantze versamblung der Chorint. Kirchen baide gestalt gebraucht hadt, vnd dieser brauch ist lange zeit in der kirchen blieben, wie man durch die historien vnd der vettern schriften beweisen kan. Ciprianus gedencket an vil orten, Das den layen der kelch die zeit geraicht sey. So spricht Sanct Jeronimus, das die priester, So das Sacrament raichen, dem volk das blut Christi austailen. So gebeut Gelasius der Pabst selbs, das man das Sacrament nit tailen soll, Diss: [distinctio] 2. de Consecracione Cap. Comperimus; man findet nindert auch keinen Canon, der do gebiete, allain ain gestalt zunemen. Es kan auch nimandt wissen, wen oder durch

Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments. Den Laien wird bei uns beide Gestalt des Sacraments geraicht aus dieser Ursach, denn Christus hat das heilige Sacrament also zu gebrauchen eingesetzt und geordnet Matthäi am 26.: Trinket alle daraus. Da spricht Christus mit klaren Worten von dem Kelch, dass sie alle daraus trinken sollen. Und damit niemand diese Worte anfechten und glossieren könne, als gehöre es [er] den Priestern allein zu, so zeigt Paulus 1 Kor. 11 an, dass die ganze Versammlung der Korinther Kirche beide Gestalt gebraucht hat, und dieser Brauch ist lange Zeit in der Kirche blieben, wie man durch die Historien und der Väter Schriften beweisen kann. Cyprianus gedenkt an viel Orten, dass den Laien der Kelch die Zeit gereicht sei. So spricht S. Hieronymus, dass die Priester, so daß Sacrament reichen, dem Volk das Blut Christi austailen. So gebietet Gelasius, der Papst, selbst, dass man das Sacrament nicht teilen soll, Distinct. 2 de Consecra. c. Comperimus. Man findet auch nindert keinen Canon, der da gebiete, allein eine Gestalt zu nehmen. Es kann auch nie-

gebietet, desgleichen auch die Canones, und die Christenheit solches eine lange Zeit gehalten hat. Daraus folgt, dass diese Aenderung billig geschehen ist.

Von der Priesterehe. Es ist bei männiglich eine offenbare Klage gewesen über das ärgerliche Leben der Priester, so sich nicht enthalten können. Darum auch Papst Pius der andere oftmals gesagt hat, dass man den Pfaffen die Eheweiber verboten, mag wohl Ursachen haben gehabt, aber viel mehr und grössere Ursachen sind jetzt, darum man ihnen die sollte wieder geben. Solche Aergernis zu vermeiden, haben unsere Priester sich verehëlicht und lehren, dass sie das zu tun Macht haben, dieweil Paulus sagt: ein

wen diese Gewohnheit, eine Gestalt zu nehmen, eingeführt ist, wiewohl der Cardinal Cusanus gedenkt, wann diese Weise approbiert sei.

Nun ist öffentlich, dass solche Gewohnheit wider Gottes Wort, Gebot, auch wider die alten Canones eingeführt und unrecht ist. Derhalben hat sich nicht gebührt, derjenigen Gewissen, so das heilig Sakrament nach Einsetzung Christi zu gebrauchen begehrt haben, zu beschweren und zu dringen, wider unsres Herrn Christi Ordnung zu handeln. Und dieweil die Teilung des Sakraments nach der Einsetzung Christi zu geben ist [= die Teilung des Sakraments der Einsetzung Christi zu entgegen ist], wird auch bei uns die gewöhnliche Prozession mit demselben unterlassen.

Vom Ehestand der Priester. Es ist bei jedermann hohen und niedrigen Standes eine gross mächtige Klag [in der Welt gewesen von grosser Unzucht und wildem] Wesen und Leben der Priester, so nicht vermochten Keuschheit zu halten, und war je mit solchem greulichen Laster aufs Höchste kommen. So viel hässlich gross Aergernis, Ehebruch und andre Unzucht zu vermeiden, haben sich etliche Priester bei uns in ehelichen Stand geben. Dieselben zeigen die Ursach an, dass sie dahin gedrunghen und bewegt sind,

welche diese gewohnhait, aine gestalt zunemen, eingefuert ist, Wie wol der Cardinal Cusanus gedenckt, wen diese weise approbirt sey.

Nun ist offentlich, das solch gewohnhait, wider gottes gebot, auch wider die alten Canones eingefuert, vnrecht ist. Derhalben hadt sich nit geburet, der jhenigen gewissen, so das haylige Sacrament nach Christus einsetzung zu gebrauchen begert haben, zu beschweren vnd zwingen, wider vnsers Herren Christi ordnung zu handeln; und dieweil die taylung des Sacraments der Einsetzung Christi zuentgegen ist, wirdet auch bey vns die gewondlich procession mit dem Sacrament vnterlassen.

mand wissen, wann oder durch welche diese Gewohnheit, eine Gestalt zu nehmen, eingeführt ist. Nun ist offentlich, dass solche Gewohnheit, wider die Einsetzung Christi, auch wider die alten Canones eingeführt, unrecht ist. Derhalben hat sich nicht gebührt, derjenigen Gewissen, so das heilige Sacrament nach Christi Einsetzung zu gebrauchen begehrt haben, zu beschweren und zwingen, wider unsers Herrn Christi Ordnung zu handeln. Und dieweil die Teilung des Sacraments der Einsetzung Christi zuentgegen ist, wird auch bei uns die gewöhnliche Prozeßion mit dem Sacrament unterlassen.

Vom Ehestandt der Priester.

Es ist bey jderman hochs vnd nidern standts ain gross mechtig clag jn der welt gewesen von grosser vnzucht vnd wildem wesen vnd leben der priester, so nit vermochten keuschait zuhalten, Vnd war auch jhe mit solchen greulen [= greulichen] lastern aufs hochst komen; souil hesslichs gross ergernus, Ehebruch vnd ander vnzucht zuuermeiden, haben sich etzlich briester bey vns jn Ehelichen standt begeben. Dieselben zaygen diese vrsach an, das sy dahin gedrungen vnd be-

Vom Ehestand der Priester.

Es ist bei jedermann hohen und niedern Standes eine grossmächtige Klag in der Welt gewesen von grosser Unzucht und wildem Wesen und Leben der Priester, so nicht vermochten Keuschheit zu halten. und war auch je mit solchen greulichen Lastern aufs Höchste kommen. So viel hässlich, gross Aergernis, Ehebruch und andre Unzucht zu vermeiden, haben sich etliche Priester bei uns in ehelichen Stand geben; dieselben zeigen diese Ursachen, dass sie dahin gedrungen und be-

jeder soll haben sein Weib, Unkeuschheit zu vermeiden, etc.; item: es ist besser ehelich werden denn brennen; item, als Christus spricht: sie fassen dies Wort nicht alle, damit er zu verstehen gibt, dass sie nicht alle zu der Keuschheit geschickt sind, denn Gott hat den Menschen sich zu mehren erschaffen Genesis 1. Solche Schöpfung Gottes kann kein Mensch ohne sondere Gabe und Wirkung Gottes ändern. Wer nun Keuschheit zu halten untauglich ist, soll ehelich werden, **denn** Gottes Ordnung und Gebot kann keine menschliche Satzung noch Gelübde aufheben.

Es ist auch vor Zeiten in der Christenheit also gehalten worden, wie Paulus bezeugt: Ein Bischof soll eines Weibes Mann sein, und in deutschen Landen sind die Priester erst vor 400 Jahren davon mit Gewalt gedrungen worden, des sie sich also ernstlich widersetzt, dass der Erzbischof von Mainz, als er solch Dekret wollt verkünden, gar nah von ihnen erschlagen worden. Denn man also ungeschickt dazumal gehandelt, dass man die Ehe nicht allein in künftige Zeit ihnen verboten, sondern auch die gegenwärtigen zerrissen hat wider göttliches und menschliches Recht, wider ihre eigenen Canones und vieler Konzilien Satzung.

Hier wolle Kaiserliche Majestät, zu erhalten gemeine Zucht

aus hoher Not ihres Gewissens, nachdem die Schrift klar meldet, der eheliche Stand sei von Gott dem Herrn eingesetzt, [Unzucht zu vermeiden], und wie Paulus sagt: Unzucht zu vermeiden, habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Eheweib; item, es ist besser, ehelich werden denn brennen; und nachdem Christus [sagt; Sie fassen nicht alle das Wort, da zeigt Christus] an, welcher wohl gewusst, was am Menschen sei, dass wenig Leute die Gabe haben, keusch zu leben. Denn Gott hat den Menschen Männlein und Fräulein geschaffen, Ge. 1. Ob es nun in menschlicher Macht und Vermögen sei, eine sonderliche Gabe und Gnade Gottes, durch eigenes Fürnehmen oder Gelübde, Gottes, der hohen Majestät, Geschöpf besser zu machen [oder] zu ändern, hat die Erfahrung allzu klar geben. Denn was gutes, was ehrbares, züchtiges Leben, was christlicher, ehrlicher oder redlicher Wandel an vielen daraus erfolgt ist, wie greuliche, schreckliche Unruhe und Qual der Gewissen viele an ihrem letzten End derhalben gehabt, ist am Tag und ihr viele haben es selbst bekannt. So denn Gottes Wort und Gebot durch kein menschliches Gelübde oder Gesetz mag geändert werden, haben aus diesen und anderen Ursachen und Gründen die Priester und Geistlichen Eheweiber genommen.

wegt seind auss hoch nott jrer gewissen, Nachdem die schrift clar meldet, der Eheliche Standt sey von got dem herren eingesetzt, vntzucht zuuermeiden, Wie Paulus sagt: die vntzucht zuuermeiden habe ain jtzlicher sein aygen eheweib. Item: es ist besser Ehelich werden dan brennen. Vnd nach dem Christus sagt: sie fassen nit alle das wort, Da zayget Christus an, welcher wol gewust, was am menschen sey, Das wenig leute die gabe, keusch zu leben, haben, Dan got hadt den menschen Menlein vnd freulein geschaffen, Gene. j. Ob es nun in menschlicher macht oder vermugen sey, one sonderlich gab vnd gnad gottes durch aigen furnehmen oder gelubd gottes, der hohen Majestat, geschopf besser zu machen oder zu endern, hadt die erfahrung all zu klar gegeben. Dan was guts, was erbar zuchtigs leben, was christlichs, erlichs oder redlichs Wandeln an villen daraus erfolget, wie greulich, schrecklich vnruhe vnd qual jrer gewissen vill an jrem letzten Ende derhalben gehabt, ist am tag, vnd jrer vill haben es selbs bekant; so dan gottes wort vnd gebot durch kain menschlich gelubd oder gesetz mag geandert werden, haben aus diesen vnd andern vrsachen vnd grunden die priester vnd andere gaistliche eheweiber genomen.

So ist es auch auss der Histo-

wegt sind aus hoher Not ihrer Gewissen, nachdem die Schrift klar meldet, der eheliche Stand sei von Gott dem Herrn eingesetzt, Unzucht zu vermeiden, wie Paulus saget: Unzucht zu vermeiden, habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Eheweib. Item: Es ist besser ehelich werden denn brennen. Und nachdem Christus sagt Matth. 19: Sie fassen nicht alle das Wort, da zeigt Christus an (welcher wohl gewusst hat, was am Menschen sei), dass wenig Leute die Gabe, keusch zu leben, haben, denn Gott hat den Menschen Männlein und Fräulein geschaffen, Genesis am ersten. Ob es nun in menschlicher Macht oder Vermögen sei, ohne sonde Gabe Gottes durch eignes Vornehmen oder Gelübde Gottes, der hohen Majestät, Geschöpfe besser zu machen oder zu ändern, hat die Erfahrung allzu klar geben. Denn was gutes, was ehrbar, züchtiges Leben, was christliches, ehrlichs oder redlichs Wandels an vielen daraus erfolget, wie greulich schreckliche Unruhe und Qual ihrer Gewissen viel an ihrem letzten Ende deshalb gehabt, ist am Tag, und ihrer viel haben es selbst bekennet. So denn Gottes Wort und Gebot durch kein menschlich Gelübde oder Gesetz mag geändert werden, haben aus diesen und anderen Ursachen und Gründen die Priester und andere Geistliche Eheweiber genommen.

und Ehrbarkeit, gnädiglich zu Herzen führen, dass die menschliche Natur, so sich die Welt zum Ende naht, je länger je schwächer wird, derhalb wohl von Nöten zuvor[zu]kommen, dass nicht mehr Aergernis und Laster einreissen, denn Gott hat die Ehe zu Hilf solcher menschlicher Blödigkeit verordnet. Es sagen auch die Canones, man soll nach Gelegenheit der Menschen Schwachheit die Schärfe mildern. Wollt Gott, es geschähe in dieser Sache auch. Es bringt ja die Priesterehe, besonders der Pfarrer und Kirchendiener, der Christenheit keinen Nachteil. Wie wohl nun Gott solches geboten und vor alters also gehalten worden, auch aus dem unehelichen Leben viel Aergernis, Ehebruch und andere scheussliche Laster entstehen, sieht man doch vor Augen, dass man keine Misshandlung oder Uebeltat so greulich strafft als die Priesterehe. Wer hat doch je gesehen oder gehört, dass jemand von der Ehe wegen sollte gestraft werden, die Gott zu ehren geboten hat, die bei allen rechtsgeordneten Oberkeiten auch unter den Heiden in Ehren gehalten worden. Jetzt martert und würgt man die Priester darum wider die geistlichen Rechte und ohne alle andere Ursach! Paulus nennt es Teufelslehr, so die Ehe verbieten, welches jetzt leichtlich zu verstehen ist, die-

So ist es auch aus den Historien und der Väter Schriften zu beweisen, dass in der christlichen Kirche vor alters der Gebrauch gewesen, dass die Priester und Diakonen Eheweiber gehabt. Darum sagt Paulus 1 Ti. 3: Es soll ein Bischof unsträflich sein, eines Weibes Mann. Es sind auch in deutschen Landen erst vor 400 Jahren die Priester zum Gelübde der Keuschheit vom Ehestand mit Gewalt abgedrungen [worden], welche sich dagegen sämtlich auch so ganz ernstlich und hart gesetzt haben, dass ein Erzbischof zu Mainz, welcher das päpstliche neue Edikt derhalben verkündigt, gar nahe in einer Empörung der ganzen Priesterschaft in einem Gedränge wäre umbracht worden. Und dasselbige Verbot ist bald im Anfang so geschwind und unschicklich fürgenommen worden, dass der Papst die Zeit nicht allein die künftige Ehe den Priestern verboten, sondern auch derjenigen Ehe, so schon lang im ehelichen Stand gewesen, zerrissen, welches doch nicht allein wider alle göttliche, natürliche und weltliche Rechte, sondern auch den Canonibus, so die Päpste selber gemacht, und den berühmtesten Konzilien entgegen und [zu] wider ist.

Auch ist bei viel hohen, gottesfürchtigen, verständigen [Leuten] der gleichen Rede und Bedenken auch gehört, dass solch gedrun-

rien vnd der vetterschriften zu beweisen, Das in der Christenlichen Kirchen vor alters der gebrauch gewesen, Das die Priester vnd diacon Eheweiber gehabt. Darumb sagt Paul j Thimot. 3: es soll ein Bischof vnstrefflich sein, ains weibs man. Es sind auch in Teutschen Landen erst vor vierhundert jaren die Priester zum gelubd der Keuschhait vom Ehestandt mit gewalt abgetrungen, welche sich dagegen sembtlich auch so gantz ernstlich vnd hart gesetzt haben, Das Ain Ertzbischof zu Maintz (welcher das bepstliche new Edict derhalben verkündigt), gar nahe jn ainer enterperung der gantzen Priesterschaft jn ainem gedreng were vmbracht; vnd dasselbig verbot ist bald im anfang so geschwind vnd vnschicklich furgenommen, Das der Bapst die zeit nit allain die kunftige Ehe den Priestern verboten, sonder auch der jhenigen ehe, so schon in dem Standt lang gewesen, zurrissen, Welchs doch nit allain wider alle gottliche, naturliche vnd werltliche Recht, sonder auch den Canonibus, so die Bepste selbsgemacht, vnd den berumbtisten Concilijs gantz entgegen vnd wider ist; auch ist bey vill hohen, gotfurchtigen, verstendigen Lewten dergleichen rede vnd bedencken oft gehort, Das solcher gedrungner Celibat vnd beraubung des Ehestandes, welchen got selbs einge-

So ist es auch aus der Historien und Väter Schriften zu beweisen, dass in der christlichen Kirche vor alters der Gebrauch gewest, dass die Priester und Diacon Eheweiber gehabt. Darumb sagt Paulus 1 Tim. am 3.: Es soll ein Bischof unsträflich sein, eines Weibes Mann. Es sind auch in Deutschland erst vor vierhundert Jahren die Priester zum Gelübde der Keuschheit vom Ehestand mit Gewalt abgedrungen, welche sich dagegen sämtlich auch so ganz ernstlich und hart gesetzt haben, dass ein Erzbischof zu Mainz, welcher das päpstliche neue Edikt derhalb verkündigt, gar nahe in einer Empörung der ganzen Priesterschaft in einem Gedränge wäre umbracht. Und dasselbige Verbot ist bald im Anfang so geschwind und unschicklich vorgenommen, dass der Papst die Zeit nicht allein die künftige Ehe den Priestern verboten, sondern auch derjenigen Ehe, so schon in dem Stand lang gewesen, zerrissen, welches doch nicht allein wider alle göttliche, natürliche und weltliche Rechte, sondern auch den Canonibus, so die Päpste selbst gemacht, und den berühmtesten Conciliis ganz entgegen und wider ist.

Auch ist bei viel hohen, gottfurchtigen, verständigen Leuten der gleichen Rede und Bedenken oft gehört, dass solch gedrunge-

weil solch Verbot mit Töten und Würgen muss gehandhabt werden.

Als [so] wenig nun irgend ein menschliches Gesetz Gottes Gebot mag aufheben, als [so] mögen es auch die Gelübde aufheben! Darum auch Cyprianus den Weibern, so die gelobte Keuschheit nicht halten konnten, rät, ehelich zu werden. So geben auch die Canones etwas nach denen, die vor rechtem Alter gelobt haben.

gener Zölibat und Beraubung des Ehestandes, welchen Gott selbst eingesetzt und freigelassen, nicht kein Gutes, sondern viele grosse böse Laster und [viel] Arges eingeführt habe. Es hat auch einer von den Päpsten, Pius 2. selbst, wie seine Historie anzeigt, diese Worte oft geredet und von sich schreiben lassen: Es mag wohl etliche Ursachen haben, warum den Geistlichen die Ehe verboten sei, es habe aber viel hoher, grosser und wichtiger Ursachen, warum man ihnen die Ehe soll wieder frei lassen. Ohn Zweifel, es hat Papst Pius als ein verständiger, weiser Mann dies Wort aus grossem Gedenken [= after much deliberation] geredet. Derhalben wollen wir uns in Untertänigkeit zu Kaiserlicher Majestät vertrösten, dass ihre Majestät als ein christlicher, hochlöblicher Kaiser gnädiglich beherzigen werden, dass jetzund in den letzten Zeiten und Tagen, von welchen die Schrift meldet, die Welt mehr [je] ärger und die Menschen gebrechlicher werden. Derhalben wohl hoch von nöten, nütze und christlich ist, diese fleissige Einsehung zu tun, damit, wo der Ehestand verboten, nicht ärgere und schändlichere Unzucht und Laster in deutschen Landen möchten einreissen. Denn es wird je diese Sache niemand weislicher oder besser ändern oder machen können denn Gott,

setzt vnd frey gelassen, nihe kain guts, sonder vil grosser beser laster vnd vil arges eingefurt hab. Es hadt auch Ainer von Bepsten, Pius 2, selbst, wie sein Historj antzaiget, diese wort oft geredt vnd von sich schreiben lassen: Es muge wol etzlich vrsach haben, warumb den gaistlichen die ehe verboten sey, Es habe aber vil hoher, grosser vnd wichtigerer vrsachen, warumb man jnen die Ehe soll wider frey lassen. Vngezweifelt es hat Bapst Pius als Ain verstendiger, weyser man diss wort auss grossem bedencken geredt.

Derhalben wollen wir vns jn vnterthenigkait zu Kayserlicher Majestat vertrosten, das jre Maiestat als Ain Christlicher, hochloblicher Kayser gnediglich beherztigen werden, Das jtzund jn letzten Zeiten vnd tagen, von welchen die schrift meldet, Die welt immer jhe erger vnd die menschen gebrechlicher vnd schwacher werden, Derhalben wol hoche not, nutzlich vnd Christlich ist, dise vleissige einsehung zuthun, Damit wo der Ehestandt verboten, nit erger vnd schentlicher vnzucht vnd laster jn Teutschen Landen mochten einreissen. Dan Es wirdet yhe diese sachen niemants weislicher oder besser endern oder machen kunnen dan got selbs, welcher den Ehestandt, menschlicher Gebrechlichhait zu helfen vnd vntzucht zu wehren,

ner Cölibat und Beraubung des Ehestandes, welchen Gott selbst eingesetzt und frei gelassen, nie kein gutes, sondern viel grosser, böser Laster und viel Arges eingeführt habe. Es hat auch einer von den Päpsten, Pius II, selbst, wie sein Historien anzeigt, diese Wort oft geredet und von sich schreiben lassen: Es möge wohl etliche Ursach haben, warum den Geistlichen die Ehe verboten sei; es habe aber viel hoher, grosser und wichtiger Ursachen, warum man ihnen die Ehe soll wieder frei lassen. Ungezweifelt, es hat Papst Pius als ein verständiger weiser Mann dies Wort aus grossem Bedenken geredet.

Derhalben wollen wir uns in Untertänigkeit zu Kais. Majestät vertrosten, dass ihre Majestät als ein christlicher hochloblicher Kaiser gnädiglich beherztigen werde, dass jetzund in letzten Zeiten, von welchen die Schrift meldet, die Welt immer ärger und die Menschen gebrechlicher und schwächer werden, derhalben wohl hochnötig, nützlich und christlich ist, diese fleissige Einsehung zu tun, damit, wo der Ehestand verboten, nicht ärger und schändlicher Unzucht und Laster in deutschen Landen mochten einreissen. Denn es wird ja diese Sachen niemand weislicher oder besser ändern oder machen können denn Gott selbst, welcher den Ehestand, menschlicher Gebrech-

welcher den Ehestand, menschlicher Gebrechlichkeit zu helfen, und Unzucht zu wehren, eingesetzt hat. So sagen die alten Canones [auch], man muss zu Zeiten die Schärfe und Rigorem ändern und nachlassen um menschlicher Schwachheit willen und Aergeres zu verhüten. Nun wäre das in diesem Fall auch wohl christlich und hoch von nöten. Was kann auch der Priester und Geistlichen Ehestand gemeiner christlichen Kirchen nachteilig sein, sonderlich der Pfarrherren und anderer, die der Kirche dienen sollen? Es wird wohl künftig an Priestern und Pfarrherren mangeln, so dies harte Verbot des Ehestands länger währen sollte.

So nun dieses, nämlich dass die Priester und Geistlichen mögen ehelich werden, gegründet ist auf das göttlich Wort und Gebot, dazu die Historien beweisen, dass die Priester ehelich gewesen, so auch das Gelübde der Keuschheit so viel hässliche, unchristliche Aergernisse, soviel Ehebruch, schreckliche, unerhörte Unzucht und greuliche Laster hat angerichtet, dass auch etliche redliche unter den Domherren, auch etliche Curtisane zu Rom solches oft selbst bekannt und kläglich angezogen, wie [durch] solche Laster im Clerus, zu greulich und übermässig, Gottes Zorn würde erweckt werden: So ist es ja er-

eingesetzt hadt. So sagen die Alten Canones auch, man muss zutzeiten die scherpf vnd Rigoren [= Rigorem] lindern vnd nachlassen vmb menschlicher schwachheit willen vnd Ergers zuuerhüten vnd zumeiden. Nun were das in diesem fal auch wol Christlich vnd gantz hoch von noten; was kan auch der priester vnd der gaistlichen Ehestandt gemainer Christlichen Kirche nachtailig sein, sonderlich der Pharrern vnd anderer, die der Kirchen dienen sollen? Es wirdet wol kunftig an priestern vnd Pharrern mangeln, so diss hart verbot des Ehestandts lenger weren sollt.

So nū dieses. Nemlich, das die priester vnd gaistlichen mogen ehelich werden, gegründet ist auf das gotlich wort vnd gebot, dartzu die Historien beweisen, Das die Priester ehelich gewesen, so auch das gelubd der Keuschhait souil hessliche, vnchristliche ergernus, souil Ehebruch, schrecklich vngehorte vntzucht vnd greulich laster hat angericht, das auch etzlich vnter thumbhern, Curtisan zu Rom solchs selbs oft bekand vnd cleglich angezogen, wie solch laster im clero zu grewlich vnd vbermacht gottes zorn wurd erregt werden, So ists yhe erbarmlich, das man den Christlichen ehestandt nit allain verboten, sonder an etzlichen Orten aufs geschwindest wie vmb gross vbelthat zu strafen, vnterstanden hadt,

lichkeit zu helfen und Unzucht zu wehren, eingesetzt hat. Es sagen die alten Canones auch, man müsse zu Zeiten die Schärfe und Rigorem lindern und nachlassen um menschlicher Schwachheit willen und Aergeres zu verhüten und zu meiden. Nun wäre das in diesem Fall auch wohl christlich und ganz hoch von nöten. Was kann auch der Priester und Geistlichen Ehestand gemeiner christlicher Kirchen nachteilig sein, sonderlich der Pfarrherren und anderer, die der Kirchen dienen sollen? Es wird wohl künftig an Priestern und Pfarrherren mangeln, so dies hart Verbot des Ehestands länger wahren sollte.

So nun dieses, nämlich dass die Priester und Geistlichen mögen ehelich werden, gegründet ist auf das göttliche Wort und Gebot, dazu die Historien beweisen, dass die Priester ehelich gewesen, so auch das Gelübde der Keuschheit soviel hässliche unchristliche Aergernis, soviel Ehebruch, schreckliche, ungehörte Unzucht und greuliche Laster hat angerichtet, dass auch etliche unter Domherren, auch etliche Curtisan zu Rom solches oft selbst bekannt und kläglich angezogen, wie [durch] solche Laster im Clerus zu greulich und übermacht Gottes Zorn würde erregt werden: So ist es ja erbärmlich, dass man den christlichen Ehestand nicht allein verboten, sondern an etli-

bärmlich, dass man den christlichen Ehestand nicht allein verboten, sondern an etlichen Orten aufs Geschwindeste, wie um grosse Uebeltat, zu strafen, [sich] unterstanden hat, so doch Gott in der heiligen Schrift den Ehestand in allen Ehren zu haben geboten hat. So ist auch der Ehestand in den Kaiserlichen Rechten und in allen Monarchien, wo je Gesetz und Recht gewesen, hochgelobt. Allein dieser Zeit beginnt man, die Leute unschuldig, allein um der Ehe willen, zu martern, und dazu Priester, der man vor andern schonen sollte, und geschieht nicht allein wider göttliches Recht, sondern auch wider die Canones. Paulus der Apostel 1 Ti. 4 nennet die Lehre, so die Ehe verbietet, Teufelslehre. So sagt Christus Johannes am 8., der Teufel sei ein Mörder von Anbeginn, welches dann wohl zusammen stimmt, dass es freilich Teufelslehre sein muss, die Ehe verbieten und sich unterstehen, solche Lehre mit Blutvergiessen zu erhalten. Wie aber kein menschliches Gesetz Gottes Gebot kann wegtun oder ändern, also kann auch kein Gelübde Gottes Gebot ändern. Darum gibt auch Sankt Cyprian den Rat, dass die Weiber, so die gelobte Keuschheit nicht halten, sollen ehelich werden, und sagt Epistola 11 also: So sie aber Keuschheit nicht halten wollen oder nicht vermögen,

So doch in der hayligen schrift, den Ehestandt in allen Ehren zu haben, got geboten hadt. So ist auch der Ehestandt in Kaiserlichen Rechten vnd in allen monarchien, wo jhe gesetz vnd Recht gewesen, hochgelobet. Allain dieser zeit begynnet man die Leute vnschuldig, allain vmb der ehe willen, zumartern, vnd dartzu briester, der man vor andern schonen soldt; vnd geschicht nit allain wider gotlich Recht, sonder auch wider die Canones. Paulus, Der Apostel, j. Thimot. 4 nennet die Lehre, so die ehe verbieten, teufels lere; so sagt Christus selbs Johan. viij, der Teufel sey Ain morder von anbegin, welchs dan wol zusam stimet, Das es freilich Teufels lere sein müssen, die ehe verbieten vnd sich vnderstehen, solche lere mit blutuergiesen zuerhalten. Wie aber kein menschlich gesetz gottes gebott kan wegk thun oder andern, Also kan auch kain gelubd gottes gebot endern. Darumb gibt auch Sanctus Cyprianus den Rath, das die weiber, so sie die gelobte keuschait nit halten, sollen Ehehlich werden, vnd sagt Episto. XI also: So sy aber keuschait nicht halten wellen oder nit vermugen, so ists besser, das sy ehelich werden, Dann das sy durch jre lust ins fewr fallen, vnd sollen sich wol fursehen, das sy den Brudern [vnd] schwestern kain ergernus anrichten.

chen Orten aufs Geschwindest wie um grosse Uebeltat zu strafen unterstanden hat, so doch Gott in der heiligen Schrift den Ehestand in allen Ehren zu haben geboten hat. So ist auch der Ehestand in kaiserlichen Rechten und in allen Monarchien, wo je Gesetz und Recht gewesen, hochgelobet. Allein dieser Zeit beginnt man die Leute unschuldig, allein um der Ehe willen, zu martern, und dazu Priester, der man vor andern schonen sollte. Und geschicht nicht allein wider göttliche Rechte, sondern auch wider die Canones. Paulus der Apostel 1 Tim. 4 nennet die Lehre, so die Ehe verbieten, Teufelslehre; so sagt Christus selbst Joh. am 8.: Der Teufel sei ein Mörder von Anfang, welchs denn wohl zusammenstimmet, dass es freilich Teufels Lehre sein müssen, die Ehe verbieten und sich unterstehen, solche Lehre mit Blutvergiessen zu erhalten.

Wie aber kein menschlich Gesetz Gottes Gebot kann weg tun oder ändern, also kann auch kein Gelübde Gottes Gebot ändern. Darum gibt auch Sanct Cyprianus den Rat, dass die Weiber, so die gelobte Keuschheit nicht halten, sollen ehelich werden, und sagt Epist. 11 also: So sie aber Keuschheit nicht halten wollen oder nicht vermögen, so ists besser, dass sie ehelich werden, denn dass sie durch ihre Lust ins Feuer

Von der Messe. Wir werden unbillig beschuldigt, als hätten wir die Messe abgetan, denn sie bei uns mit grosser Ehrerbietung gehalten wird. Hier hat abermals männiglich sich beklagt, dass man damit also schändlich gehandelt und einen Jahrmarkt daraus gemacht hat. Die Priester hatten keine Begierde dazu und taten es doch von Geldes wegen. Als solcher Missbrauch bei uns durch die Prediger gestraft worden, haben die sondernen Messen aufgehört, dieweil S. Paulus also schwerlich droht denen, so dies Brot und den Kelch unwürdig essen und trinken. Dieser Missbrauch war also weit eingerissen, dass gar nahe gar keine sonderliche Messe anders denn von Gelds wegen gehalten ward, welches den Bischöfen hätte gebührt zuvor [zu] kommen. Daneben ist sie auch auf anderem Weg missbraucht worden, als sollte sie fremde Sünden auslö-

ist es besser, dass sie ehelich werden, denn dass sie durch ihre Lust ins Feuer fallen, und sollen sich wohl fürsehen, dass sie den Brüdern und Schwestern kein Aergernis anrichten. Zudem so brauchen auch alle Canones grosse Lindigkeit und Aequität gegen diejenigen, so in der Jugend Gelübde getan, wie denn Priester und Mönche des mehreren Theils in der Jugend in solchen Stand aus Unwissenheit kommen sind.

Von der Messe. Man legt den Unseren mit Unrecht auf, dass sie die Messe sollen abgetan haben. Denn das ist öffentlich, dass die Messe, ohne Ruhm zu reden, bei uns mit grösserer Andacht und Ernst gehalten wird, denn bei den Widersachern. So werden auch die Leute mit höchstem Fleiss zum öftern Mal unterrichtet vom heiligen Sakrament, wozu es eingesetzt und wie es zu gebrauchen ist, als nämlich die erschrockenen Gewissen damit zu trösten, dadurch das Volk zur Kommunion und Messe gezogen wird. Dabei geschieht auch Unterricht wider andere unrechte Lehre vom Sakrament. So ist auch in [den] öffentlichen Zeremonien der Messe keine merkliche Aenderung geschehen, denn dass an etlichen Orten deutsche Gesänge, das Volk damit zu lehren und zu üben neben lateinischem Gesang, gesungen werden, seit einmal alle Zeremonien fürnämlich dazu die-

Zu dem so brauchen auch alle Canones grosser gelindigkeit vnd equitet gegen die jenigen, so in der Jugend gelubd gethan, wie dan priester vnd Moniche des mehrern theils in der Jugend in solchen standt auss vnwissenheit kumen seyendt.

Von der Messe. Man legt den vnsern mit vnrecht auf, das sy die messe sollen abgethan haben, Denn das ist offentlich, das die messe, on ruhm zureden, bey vns mit grosser (sic!) Andacht vnd Ernst gehalten wirdet dan bey den widersachern. So werden auch die Leute mit höchstem vleis zum oftern mal vnterricht vom hayligen Sacrament, wortzu es eingesetzt vnd wie es zugebrauchen sey, Als nemlich die erschrockenen gewissen damit zu trosten, dardurch das volck zur Communion vnd Messe gezogen wirdet. Darbey geschicht auch vnterricht wider andere vnrechte Lehre vom Sacrament.

So ist auch in den offentlichen Ceremonien der Messe kain mercklich andernung gescheen, Dan das an etzlichen Orten teutsch gesenge, Das volck damit zu lernen vnd zu vben, neben lateinischen gesang gesungen wirdet, sintemal alle Ceremonien fur-

fallen, und sollen sich wohl vorsehen, dass sie den Brüdern und Schwestern kein Aergernis anrichten.

Zudem so brauchen auch alle Canones grösser Gelindigkeit und Equität gegen diejenigen, so in der Jugend Gelübde getan, wie denn Priester und Mönche des mehreren Theils in der Jugend in solchen Stand aus Unwissenheit kommen sind.

Von der Messe. Man leget den Unsern mit Unrecht auf, dass sie die Messe sollen abgetan haben. Denn das ist öffentlich, dass die Messe, ohne Ruhm zu reden, bei uns mit grössrer Andacht und Ernst gehalten wird denn bei den Widersachern. So werden auch die Leute mit höchstem Fleiss zum oftermal unterrichtet vom heiligen Sacrament, wozu es eingesetzt und wie es zu gebrauchen sei, Als nämlich die erschrocknen Gewissen damit zu trösten, dadurch das Volk zur Communion und Messe gezogen wird. So ist auch in den öffentlichen Zeremonien der Messe keine merkliche Aenderung geschehen, denn dass an etlichen Orten deutsch Gesang, das Volk damit zu lehren und zu üben, neben lateinischen Gesang gesungen wird, sintemal alle Ceremonien vornehmlich dazu dienen sollen, dass das Volk daran lerne,

schen und Toten und Lebendigen nütze sein, deshalb sie sich also gehäuft und gemehrt hat. Solches haben unsere Prediger auch gestraft, dieweil die Schrift an viel Orten lehrt, dass wir allein durch den Glauben werden gerechtfertigt und nicht aus den Werken, es seien Messen oder andere Werke etc. Christus hat uns durch seinen Tod Vergebung der Sünden erworben, darum brauchen wir sie nicht in der Messe suchen. Christus hats uns auch nicht befohlen, sondern gesagt, sein dabei zu gedenken, das ist glauben, dass er uns seine Zusage wird halten, denn sonst gedenken sein auch die Juden und Ungläubigen. Also ist die Messe allein dem, der sie hält, nütze, seinen Glauben zu stärken, wie Ambrosius sagt: Dieweil ich alltag sündige, muss ich alltag Arznei nehmen. Item Christus spricht: Tut's zu meinem Gedächtnis. Daraus folgt, dass die Messe den Toten nichts nütze ist, deren Glaub und Gedächtnis dadurch nicht kann gestärkt werden. Item die Schrift sagt: Man soll von dem Tod des Herrn dabei predigen, was will man nun den Toten predigen?

Darum wird in dem Kurfürstentum zu Sachsen eine einige Messe durch den Pfarrer gehalten, gar nahe auf gewöhnliche Weise. Der reicht das Sakrament denen, so es begehren, doch dass sie zuvor

nen sollen, dass das Volk daran lerne, was ihm zu wissen von Christo not ist.

Nachdem aber die Messe auf mancherlei Weise vor dieser Zeit gebraucht, wie am Tag ist, dass ein Jahrmarkt daraus gemacht, dass man sie kauft und verkauft hat und das mehrer Teil in allen Kirchen um Geldes willen gehalten, ist solcher Missbrauch zu mehr Malen auch vor dieser Zeit von gelehrten und frommen Leuten gestraft worden. Als nun die Prediger bei uns davon gepredigt und die Priester erinnert sind der erschrecklichen Bedrohung, so billig einen jeden Christen bewegen soll, dass, wer das Sakrament unwürdiglich gebraucht, der sei schuldig am Leib und Blut Christi, darauf sind solche Kauf- und Winkelmessen, welche bis anher aus Zwang um Geld und der Präbenden willen gehalten worden, in unsern Kirchen gefallen.

Dabei ist auch der greuliche Irrtum gestraft, dass man gelehrt, unser Herr Jesus Christus habe durch seinen Tod allein für die Erbsünde genug getan und die Messe eingesetzt zu einem Opfer für die andern Sünden und also die Messe zu einem Opfer gemacht für die Lebendigen und Toten, dadurch Sünde hinwegzunehmen und Gott zu versöhnen. Daraus ist weiter gefolgt, dass man disputiert hat, ob eine Messe

nemlich dartzu dienen sollen, das das volk daran lerne, was jm zuwissen von Christo not ist.

Nach dem Aber die Messe auf manigerlay weyse vor dieser zeit misbraucht, wie Am tag ist, das Ain Jarmarckt darauss gemacht, das man sy gekauft vnd verkauft hadt vnd das meher tayl jn allen Kirchen vmb geldes willen gehalten, Ist solcher Misbrauch zu mermalen auch vor dieser Zeit von gelerten vnd fromen Lewten gestraft worden. Als nun die prediger bey vns davon gepredigt vnd die priester Erinnert seind der schrecklichen betrauung, so dan billich Ainen jden Christen bewegen soll, das, wer das Sacrament vnwürdiglich braucht, der sey schuldig Am leib vnd blut Christi, daraus seind solche Kaufmess und Winkelmess, biss anher auss zwang vmb geldes vnd der prebenden willen gehalten worden, jn vnsern Kirchen gefallen.

Darbey ist auch der grewlich Irthumb gestraft, das man gelernt hadt, vnser her Christus hab durch seinen todt allain fur die Erbsund gnug gethan vnd die Messe eingesatzt zu ainem opfer fur die Andern sunde vnd also die Messe zu ainem opfer gemacht fur die lebendigen vnd todten, dadurch sund wegk zu nemen vnd got zuuerseunen.

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was ihm zu wissen von Christo not ist.

Nachdem aber die Messe auf mancherlei Weise vor dieser Zeit missbraucht, wie am Tag ist, dass ein Jahrmarkt daraus gemacht, dass man sie gekauft und verkauft hat und das mehrer Theils in allen Kirchen um Geldes willen gehalten ist: solcher Missbrauch ist zu mehrmalen auch vor dieser Zeit von gelehrten und frommen Leuten gestraft worden. Als nun die Prediger bei uns davon gepredigt und die Priester erinnert sind der schrecklichen Bedrohung, so denn billig einen jeden Christen bewegen soll, dass, wer das Sacrament unwürdiglich braucht, der sei schuldig am Leib und Blut Christi, darauf sind solche Kaufmessen und Winkelmessen, welche bis anher aus Zwang um Geldes und der Präbenden willen gehalten worden, in unsern Kirchen gefallen.

Dabei ist auch der greuliche Irrtum gestraft, dass man gelehret hat, unser Herr Christus habe durch seinen Tod allein für die Erbsünde gnug getan und die Messe eingesetzt zu einem Opfer für die andern Sünden und also die Messe zu einem Opfer gemacht für die Lebendigen und Toten, damit Gott zu versöhnen und andern verdienen Vergebung der Sünde durch dieses Werk, ob es schon geschieht von Gottlosen. Daraus ist weiter gefolgt, dass

verhört und absolviert sind. Also ist es auch vor Zeiten in der römischen Kirchen gehalten worden, wie man geschrieben findet.

Daneben wird das Volk mit höchstem Fleiss vermahnt und gelehrt von dem Brauch und Nutz der Sakramente, wie der Glaube dadurch gestärkt wird, damit das Volk lernt Gott vertrauen und alles Gute von ihm [zu] begehren und gewarten, welches Gott das Allerangenehmste ist. Hier wird auch verworfen die unchristliche Lehre, die da verneint, dass der Leib und das Blut Christi wahrhaftig zugegen sei, und werden die Leute vermahnt, das Sakrament oft zu empfangen.

für viele gehalten, als [= so] viel verdiene, als ob man für einen jeglichen eine sondere hielte. Daher ist die grosse, unzählige Menge der Messen kommen, dass man mit diesem Werk hat wollen bei Gott alles erlangen, das man bedurft hat, und ist daneben des Glaubens an Christum, an rechten Gottesdienst vergessen worden. Darum ist davon Unterricht geschehen, wie ohn Zweifel die Not erfordert, dass man wüsste, wie das Sakrament recht zu gebrauchen wäre.

Und erstlich, dass kein Opfer für die Erbsünde und andere Sünden sei denn der einige Tod Christi, zeigt die Schrift an vielen Orten an. Zu den Ebräern steht geschrieben, dass sich Christus einmal geopfert hat und dadurch für alle Sünde genug getan. Es ist gar eine unerhörte Neuigkeit in der Kirche lehren, dass Christus Tod sollte allein für die Erbsünde und sonst nicht auch für andre Sünden genug getan haben. Derhalben zu hoffen, dass manniglich verstehe, dass solcher Irrtum nicht unbillig gestraft sei. — Zum andern, so lehrt Sankt Paulus, dass wir vor Gott Gnad erlangen durch Glauben und nicht durch Werke. Dawider ist öffentlich [= obviously] dieser Missbrauch der Messe, so man vermeint, Gnade zu erlangen durch dieses Werk, wie man denn weiss, dass man

mess für vil gehalten als vil verdienet, als so man für Ain itzlichen Ein sonderliche hielde. Daher ist die gross, vntzellig meng der messen kumen, Das man mit diesem werck hat wellen bey got alles erlangen, das man bedurft hadt, vnd ist darneben des glaubens an Christen [= Christum] vnd rechten gottesdiensts vergessen worden. Darumb ist dauon vnterricht bescheen, wie on zweifel die not gefordert, das man wuste, wie das Sacrament recht zu gebrauchen were; vnd erstlich, das kain opfer für Erbsunde vnd andre Sunde sey dan der Ainige todt Christi, zayget die schrift an vil Orten an. Dan also steet geschrieben ad Hebreos, das sich Christus ainmal geopfert hadt vnd dadurch für alle sunde gnug gethan. Es ist ain vnerhort Newigkait in der Kirchen leren, das Christus todt solte allain für die Erbsund vnd sonst nicht auch für andere sunde gnug gethan haben. Derhalben zu hoffen, Das meniglich verstee, das solcher Irthumb nit vnbillich gestraft sey.

Zum Andern, so leret Sanct Paul, Das wir für got gnad erlangen durch glauben vnd nit durch werck; dawider ist öffentlich dieser misbrauch der mess, so man vermaint, gnad zuerlangen durch dises werck, wie man dan wiiss, das man die mess darzu gebraucht, Dadurch sunde abzulegen vnd gnad vnd alle guter

man disputiert hat, ob eine Messe für viele gehalten als viel verdienet, als so man für einen jeglichen eine sonderliche hielte. Daher ist die grosse unzählige Menge der Messen gekommen. dass man mit diesem Werk hat wollen bei Gott alles erlangen, das man bedürft hat, und ist daneben des Glaubens an Christum und rechten Gottesdiensts vergessen worden.

Darum ist davon Unterricht geschehen, wie ohne Zweifel die Not gefordert, dass man wüsste, wie das Sakrament recht zu gebrauchen wäre, und erstlich, dass kein Opfer für Erbsünde und andere Sünde sei denn der einig Tod Christi, zeigt die Schrift an vil Orten an, denn also steht geschrieben zu den Ebräern, dass sich Christus einmal geopfert hat und dadurch für alle Sünde gnug getan.

Zum andern so lehret Sanct Paulus, dass wir vor Gott gerecht geschätzt werden durch glauben und nicht durch Werk. Dawider ist öffentlich dieser Missbrauch der Messe, so man vermeint, durch dieses Werk gerecht zu werden. Wie man denn weiss, dass man die Messe dazu gebraucht, dadurch Vergebung der Sünden und alle Güter bei Gott zu erlangen, nicht allein der Priester für sich, sondern auch für die ganze Welt und für andere Lebendige und Tote, und solchs durchs

die Messe dazu gebraucht, dadurch Sünde abzulegen, Gnad und alle Güter bei Gott zu erlangen, nicht allein die Priester für sich, sondern auch für [die] ganze Welt und für andere, Lebendige und Tote. — Zum dritten, so ist das heilig Sakrament eingesetzt, nicht damit ein Opfer für die Sünde anzurichten (denn das Opfer ist zuvor geschehen), sondern dass unser Glaube dadurch erweckt und die Gewissen getröstet würden, welche durchs Sakrament vernehmen, dass ihnen Gnade und Vergebung der Sünd von Christo zugesagt ist. Derhalben fordert das Sakrament Glauben und wird ohne Glaube vergeblich gebraucht.

Dieweil nun die Messe nicht ein Opfer ist für andere, Lebendige und Tote, ihre Sünde wegzunehmen, sondern soll eine Kommunion sein, da der Priester und andere das Sakrament empfangen für sich, so wird diese Weise bei uns gehalten, dass man an Feiertagen, auch sonst, so Communicanten da sind, Messe hält und etliche, so das begehren, communiciert. Also bleibt bei uns die Messe in ihrem rechten Brauch, wie sie vor Zeiten in [der] Kirchen gehalten, wie man beweisen mag aus Paulo, 1 Ko. 11, dazu auch aus vieler Väter Schriften. Denn Chrysostomus spricht, wie der Priester täglich stehe und fordert etliche zur Communion,

bey got zuerlangen. nit allain der priester für sich, sonder auch für die gantz welt vnd für andre, lebendige vnd todte.

Zum Dritten, so ist das haylige Sacrament eingesetzt, nit damit für die sunde ain Opfer antzurichten, dan das opfer ist zuvor gescheen, sonder das vnser glaub dadurch Erwecket vnd die gewissen getrostet werden, Welche durchs Sacrament vernemen, das jnen gnad vnd vergebung der sunde von Christo zugesagt ist. Derhalben fordert diss Sacrament glauben vnd wirdet on glauben vergeblich gebraucht.

Dieweil nun die messe nit Ain Opfer ist für andere, lebentige oder todte, jre sunde wegw zunemen, Sondern soll Ain Communion sein, da der priester vnd andere Das Sacrament empfahen für sich, So wirdet diese weise bey vns gehalten, Das man an feiertagen, auch sonst, so Communicanten da seind, mess heldet vnd etzlich, so das begeren, Comuniert [= communiciert]. Also bleybt die mess bey vns in jrem rechten brauch, wie sy vor zeiten jn der Kirchen gehalten, Wie man beweisen mag aus S. Paul j Chrint. XI, Dartzu auch viler vetter-schriften. Dan Chrisostimus spricht, wie der Priester teglich stehe vnd fordere etzliche zur Comunion, etzlichen verbiete Er hintzu zu treten. Auch zaygen die alten Canones an, das Ainer

Werk, ex opere operato, ohne Glauben.

Zum dritten, So ist das heilig Sacrament eingesetzt, nicht damit für die Sünde ein Opfer anzurichten (denn das Opfer ist zuvor geschehen), sondern dass unser Glaub dadurch erweckt und die Gewissen getröstet werden, welche durchs Sacrament vernemen, dass ihnen Gnade und Vergebung der Sünde von Christo zugesagt ist. Derhalben fordert dis Sacrament Glauben und wird ohne Glauben vergeblich gebraucht.

Dieweil nun die Messe nicht ein Opfer ist für andre, Lebendige oder Tote, ihre Sünde wegzunehmen, sondern soll eine Communio sein, da der Priester und andre das Sacrament empfahen für sich, so wird diese Weise bei uns gehalten, dass man an Feiertagen, auch sonst, so Communicanten da sind, Messe hält und etliche, so das begehren, communiciert. Also bleibt bei uns die Messe in ihrem rechten Brauch, wie sie vor Zeiten in der Kirchen gehalten, wie man beweisen mag aus Sanct Paulo, 1 Kor. 11, dazu auch aus vieler Väter Schriften, denn Chrysostomus spricht, wie der Priester täglich stehe und fordere etliche zur Communio, etlichen verbiete er hinzuzutreten. Auch zeigen die alten Canones an, dass einer das Amt gehalten hat und die andern Priester und diacon communiciert. Denn also lauten

etlichen verbeut er hinzuzutreten. Auch zeigen die alten Canones an, dass einer das Amt gehalten hat und die anderen Priester und Diakonen communiciert. Denn also lauten die Worte in Canone Nicaeno: Die Diakonen sollen nach den Priestern ordentlich das Sakrament empfangen vom Bischof oder Priester. So man nun keine Neuigkeit hierin, die in der Kirche vor alters nicht gewesen, fürgenommen hat, auch in den öffentlichen Zeremonien der Messen keine merkliche Aenderung geschehen, allein dass die andern unnötigen Messen, etwa durch einen Missbrauch gehalten, neben der Pfarrmesse gefallen sind, soll billig, diese Weise Messe zu halten, nicht für ketzerisch und unchristlich verdammt werden. Denn man hat vor Zeiten in den grossen Kirchen, da viel Volks gewesen, auch auf die Tage, so das Volk zusammen kommen, nicht täglich Messe gehalten, wie Tripartita Historia 3, libro 9 anzeigt, dass man zu Alexandria am Mittwoch und Freitag die Schrift gelesen und ausgelegt hat und sonst alle Gottesdienste gehalten ohne die Messe.

Von der Beichte. Die Beichte ist bei uns nicht abgestellt, denn niemand das Sakrament gereicht wird, er sei denn zuvor befragt und absolviert. Und wird dem Volk mit Fleiss fürgetragen die Kraft der Absolution, davon man

Von der Beichte. Die Beichte ist durch die Prediger dieses Theils nicht abgetan. Denn die Gewohnheit wird bei uns gehalten, das Sakrament nicht zu reichen denen, so nicht zuvor verhört und absolviert sind. Dabei wird das

das Ambt gehalten hadt vnd die andern priester vnd diacon Communicirt. Dan also lauten die wort in Canone Niceno: Die Diacon sollen nach den priestern ordentlich das Sacrament empfangen vom Bischof oder priester.

So man nun kain newigkait hierin, die in der kirchen vor alters nit gewesen, furgenumen hadt, Auch in den öffentlichen Zereemonien der Messen kain merglich Anderung gescheen, allain die andern vnnotige messen, etwa durch Ain Missbrauch gehalten, neben der pharr mess gefallen seind, soll billich dise weyse, messe zu halten, nit für Ketzerisch vnd vnchristlich verdamet werden. Dan man hadt vortzeiten auch in den grossen Kirchen, da vil volcks gewesen, auch auf die tage, so das volck zusam kame, nit teglich mess gehalten, wie Tripartita Historia lib. IX antzayget, Das man zu Alexandria am Mitwoch vnd Freitag die schrift gelesen vnd aussgelegt habe vnd sonst alle gotsdienst gehalten on die Messe.

die Worte in Canone Niceno: Die Diakonen sollen nach den Priestern ordentlich das Sacrament empfangen vom Bischof oder Priester.

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Von der Beichte. Die Beichte ist durch die Prediger dieses Teils nicht abgetan, denn diese Gewohnheit wird bei uns gehalten, das Sacrament nicht zu reichen denen, so nicht zuvor verhört und absolviert sind. Dabei wird

hievon nicht viel gewusst hat, nämlich, dass es sei eine Stimme Gottes, die aus seinem Befehl verkündet wird. Hier wird die Gewalt der Schlüssel gepriesen und erzählt, wie tröstlich das sei den erschrockenen Gewissen, und dass Gott von uns fordert, dass wir dieser Absolution als einer Stimme vom Himmel herab Glauben geben, aus welchem Glauben folgt Vergebung der Sünde. Vor dieser Zeit hat man allein von unserer Genugtuung gesagt, aber des Glaubens und Verdienstes Christi ward wenig gedacht. Derhalben man uns hie unbillig beschuldigt. Es müssen auch unsere Widersacher selbst bekennen, dass wir die Lehre von der Busse mit allem Fleiss gehandelt haben.

Von der Beichte aber lehren wir, die Gewissen nicht zu beschweren mit Erzählung aller Sünden. Denn das ist unmöglich, wie der Psalm sagt: Wer versteht die Sünden? Also haben es auch die Alten gehalten als Chrysostomus: Ich sage dir nicht, dass du dich in gemein selbst berüchtigest noch vor anderen beschuldigest, sondern ich will, dass du der Stimme des Propheten gehorchest, da er spricht: Eröffne Gott deinen Weg. Darum bekenne deine Sünde bei Gott, dem rechten Richter, und erzähle deine Uebeltat mit Gebet, nicht mit der Zunge, sondern in dem Gedächtnis deines Gewissens.

Volk fleissig unterrichtet, wie tröstlich das Wort der Absolution sei, wie hoch und teuer die Absolution zu achten, denn es sei nicht des gegenwärtigen Menschen Stimme oder Wort, sondern Gottes Wort, der die Sünde vergibt. Denn sie [wird] an Gottes Statt und aus Gottes Befehl gesprochen. Von diesem Befehl und Gewalt der Schlüssel, wie tröstlich sie sei den erschrockenen Gewissen, wird mit grossem Fleiss gelehrt, dazu auch, wie Gott fordere, der Absolution zu glauben nichts weniger, denn so Gottes Stimme vom Himmel erschalle und uns der Absolution fröhlich getröstet und vergewissert, dass wir durch solchen Glauben Vergebung der Sünde erlangen. Von diesen nötigen Stücken haben vor Zeiten die Prediger, so von der Beichte viel lehrten, nicht ein Wörtlein gerührt, sondern allein [die] Gewissen gemartert mit langer Erzählung der Sünden, mit Genugtun, Ablass, Wallfahrt und dergleichen, und viele unserer Widersacher bekennen selbst, dass dieses Theils von rechter christlicher Busse schicklicher denn zuvor in langer Zeit geschrieben und gehandelt.

Und wird von der Beichte also gelehrt, dass man niemand dringen solle, die Sünden namhaft zu erzählen. Denn solches ist unmöglich, wie der Psalm: Wer

vleissig vnterricht wie trostlich das wort der Absolution sey, wie hoch vnd teur die Absolution zu achten. Dan es sey nit des gegenwertigen menschen stim oder wort, sonder gots wort, der da die sunde vergibt, Dan sie wirdet an gottes stadt vnd in gottes beuelch gesprochen; von diesem beuelch vnd gewalt der schlüssel, wie trostlich, wie notig sy sey den Erschrockenen Gewissen, wirdet mit grossem vleis geleret, dartzu, wie got foder, dieser Absolution zu glauben nicht weniger, dan so gottes stimme vom himmel erschulle, vnd vns dero frolich trostlich [= trösten] vnd wissen, das wir durch solchen glauben vergebung der sunde erlangen; von diesen notigen stucken haben vorzeiten die Prediger, so von der Beicht vil lereten, nit Ein wortlein gerurt. sonder allain die gewissen gemartert mit langer ertzehlung der sunden, mit gnugthun, mit ablass, mit walfarten vnd dergleichen. Vnd vil vnser widersacher bekennen selbs, das dieses tails von rechter Christlicher buss schicklicher dann zuuor zu langer Zeit geschrieben vnd gehandelt sey.

Vnd wirdet von der beicht also geleret, das man niemandt tringen soll, die sunde namhaftig zuertzelen, dan sollichs ist vnmüglich, wie der Psalm spricht: Wer kennet die Missethaten, vnd Jeremias spricht: Des menschen hert-

das Volk fleissig unterrichtet, wie tröstlich das Wort der Absolution sei, wie hoch die Absolution zu achten, denn es sei nicht des gegenwärtigen Menschen Stimme oder Wort, sondern Gottes Wort, der die Sünde vergibt, denn sie wird an Gottes Statt und aus Gottes Befehl gesprochen. Von diesem Befehl und Gewalt der Schlüssel, wie tröstlich, wie nötig sie sei den erschrocknen Gewissen, wird mit grossem Fleiss gelehret. Dazu, wie Gott fordert, dieser Absolution zu glauben, nicht weniger denn so man Gottes Stimme vom Himmel höret, und uns der Absolution gewisslich trösten und wissen, dass wir durch Glauben Vergebung der Sünde erlangen. Von diesen nötigen Stücken haben vor Zeiten die Prediger, so von der Beicht viel lehren, nicht ein Wörtlein gerühret, sondern allein die Gewissen mit langer Erzählung der Sünden, mit Gnugtun, mit Ablass, mit Wallfahrten und dergleichen gemartert. Und viel unsrer Widersacher bekennen selbst, dass dieses Teils von rechter christlicher Buss schicklicher denn zuvor in langer Zeit geschrieben und gehandelt sei.

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Diese Worte zeigen an, dass die Erzählung der Sünden nicht von Nöten ist, wiewohl man die Beicht nicht unterlassen soll von wegen des grossen Nutzens der Absolution.

kennet die Missetaten? und Jeremias sagt: Des Menschen Herz ist so arg, dass mans nicht auslernen kann. Die elende menschliche Natur steckt also tief in Sünden, dass sie dieselben nicht alle sehen oder erkennen kann, und sollten wir allein von denen absolviert [werden], die wir erzählich können, wäre uns wenig geholfen. Derhalben ist nicht not, die Leute zu dringen, die Sünden namhaftig zu erzählen. Also habens auch die Väter gehalten, wie man findet dist. [1.] de poenitentia, da die Wort Chrysostomus angezogen werden: Ich sag nicht, dass du dich selbst sollst öffentlich dargeben noch bei einem andern dich selbst verklagen oder schuldig geben, sondern gehorch dem Propheten, welcher spricht: Offenbare dem Herrn deine Wege; derhalben beichte Gott dem Herrn, dem wahrhaftigen Richter, neben deinem Gebet, nicht sage deine Sünde mit der Zungen, sondern in deinem Gewissen. Hier sieht man klar, dass Chrysostomus nicht zwingt, die Sünden namhaftig zu erzählen. So lehrt auch die Glosse in decretis de poenitentia, dist. 5, dass die Beichte nicht durch die Schrift geboten, sondern durch die Kirche eingesetzt ist. Doch wird durch die Predigt dieses Teils fleissig gelehrt, dass die Beichte von wegen der Absolution, welche das

zen ist so arg, dass man nit auslernen kan. Die Elendt Menschlich natur steckt also tief in sunden, das sy jr nit alle sehen noch erkennen kan, vnd solten wir alain von denen Absoluiert werden, die wir zelen können, were vns wenig geholfen. Derhalben ist nit noth, die Lewte zudringen, die sunde namhafte zu ertzelen; also haben auch die vetter gehalten, wie man findet Dist. 1. de penitencia, da die wort Chrisostomi angezogen werden: Ich sage nit, das du dich selbs solt öffentlich dargeben noch bey Ainem andern dich selbst verklagen oder schuldig geben, sondern gehorch dem profeten, welcher spricht: Offenware [= offenbare] dem herrn deine wege. Derhalben beichte got dem herren, dem wahrhaftigen Richter, neben deinem gebet; nit sage deine Sunde mit der zungen, sonder jn deinem gewissen; hie sihet man clar, das Chrysostomus nicht zwinget, die sunde namhaftig zuertzelen. So lernt auch die glosa in Decretis de penitencia, Dist. 5, das die Beichte nit durch die schrift geboten, sonder durch die Kirchen eingesetzt sey. Doch wirdet durch die prediger dieses tails vleissiggeleret, das die beicht von wegen der Absolucion, Welche das Hauptstück vnd das furnembst darin ist, zu trost der erschrocknen gewissen, Dartzu vmb etzlicher anderer vrsachen willen, zuerhalten sey.

mias sagt: Des Menschen Herz ist so arg, dass man es nicht auslernen kann. Die elende menschliche Natur steckt also tief in Sünden, dass sie dieselben nicht alle sehen oder kennen kann; und sollten wir allein von denen absolviert werden, die wir zählen können, wäre uns wenig geholfen. Derhalben ist nicht not, die Leute zu dringen, die Sünde namhaftig zu erzählen. Also haben auch die Väter gehalten, wie man findet distinctio 1 de poenitentia, dass die Worte Chrysostomi angezogen werden: Ich sage nicht, dass du dich selbst sollst öffentlich dargeben noch bei einem andern dich selbst verklagen oder schuldig geben, sondern folge dem Profeten, welcher spricht: Offenbare dem Herrn deine Wege; derhalben beichte Gott dem Herrn, dem wahrhaftigen Richter, neben deinem Gebet. nicht sage deine Sünde mit der Zungen, sondern in deinem Gewissen. Hie sieht man klar, dass Chrysostomus nicht zwingt, die Sünde namhaftig zu erzählen. So lehret auch die Glosse in Decretis de poenitentia, distinctio 5, dass die Beichte nicht durch die Schrift geboten, sondern durch die Kirche eingesetzt sei. Doch wird durch die Prediger dieses Teils fleissig gelehrt, dass, ob schon die Erzählung der Sünden nicht not ist, dennoch privata absolutio zu Trost den erschrock-

Hauptstück und Fürnehmste darin ist, zum Trost der erschrockenen Gewissen und um etlicher anderer Ursachen willen zu erhalten sei.

Vom Unterschied der Speisen.
Man hat dafür gehalten, der Unterschied der Speisen und dergleichen sei eine Genugtuung für die Sünd und Verdienst der Gnaden. Also haben ihrer viele gelehrt und alltag etwas Neues erdacht. Solchen Irrtum hat man nicht länger dulden mögen, denn er dem Verdienst Christi und der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens ganz entgegen ist, welche man in der Christenheit für und für predigt und treiben muss. Derhalben auch Paulus schier in allen seinen Episteln solche Meinung widerficht, auf dass man sehe, wie die Gerechtigkeit nicht aus solchen Werken, sondern aus dem Glauben an Christus folgt. Etliche sagen, wiewohl mit Ungrund, wir widerfechten solches allein darum, dass wir die geistliche Gewalt schmälern möchten, etliche, dass wir wieder ein heidnisches Wesen in die Welt bringen; aber wir widerfechten und unterlassen nicht alle Menschen-satzung insgemein. Man hat aber je dem Volk müssen entdecken, was davon zu halten ist. Wir sind auch nicht die Ersten, die solcher Gestalt davon gelehrt haben. Augustinus sagt:

Vom Unterschied der Speisen.
Fort [= previously, formerly] hat man also gelehrt, gepredigt und geschrieben, dass Unterschied der Speisen und dergleichen Traditionen, von Menschen eingesetzt, dazu dienen, dass man dadurch Gnade verdiene und für die Sünden genug tue. Aus diesem Grund hat man täglich neue Fasten, neue Zeremonien, neue Orden und dergleichen erdacht und auf solches heftig und hart getrieben, als seien solche Dinge nötiger Gottesdienst, dadurch man Gnade verdiene, so man es hält, und grosse Sünde geschehe, so mans nicht hält. Daraus sind viele schädliche Irrtum in der Kirchen erfolgt. — [Erstlich ist] dadurch die Gnade Christi und die Lehr vom Glauben verdunkelt, welche uns das Evangelium mit grossem Ernst fürhält und treibt hart darauf, dass man den Verdienst Christi teuer und hoch achte und wisse, dass Glaube an Christum hoch und weit über alle Werke zu setzen sei. Derhalben hat Paulus heftig wider das Gesetz Mosi und menschliche Traditiones gefochten, dass wir lernen sollen, dass wir vor Gott nicht fromm werden aus unsern

Von vnterschied der Speis. Vorzeiten hadt man also geleret, gepredigt vnd geschrieben, das vnterschied der Speyse vnd dergleichen tradicion von Menschen eingesetzt dartzu dienen, das man dardurch gnad verdiene vnd für die sund gnug thu. Aus diesem grund hadt man teglich neue fasten, neue Zeremonien, neue Orden vnd dergleichen erdacht vnd auf solchs hart vnd heftig getrieben, als seien solche Ding notige gottes dienst, dardurch man gnad vordien, so mans halte, vnd grosse sunde geschee, so mans nit halte; daraus seind vil schedlicher Irrtumb in der Kirchen geuolget.

Erstlich ist dardurch die gnad Christi vnd die leer vom glauben vertunckelt, welche vns das Euan-gelium mit grossem ernst furhelt vnd treybet hardt darauf, das man den verdienst Christi hoch vnd tewer achte vnd wisset, das glauben an Christumb hoch vnd weyt vber alle werk zusetzen sey.

Derhalben hadt Sanct Paulus hefftig wider das gesetz Moysi vnd menschliche tradicion gefochten, das wir lernen sollen, das wir für gott nit fromb werden aus vnsern werken, sonder

nen Gewissen soll erhalten werden. So ist auch solche Beicht dazu nützlich, dass man die Leute höret, wie sie unterrichtet sind im Glauben und, wo es not ist, dass man sie besser unterrichte.

Vom Unterschied der Speisen. Vor Zeiten hat man also gelehrt, gepredigt und geschrieben, dass Unterschied der Speisen und dergleichen Traditionen, von Menschen eingesetzt, dazu dienen, dass man dadurch Vergebung der Sünden verdiene und für die Sünde genug tue und dass es Gottesdienst sind, darum uns Gott gerecht schätze. Aus diesem Grund hat man täglich neue Fasten, neue Zeremonien, neue Orden und dergleichen vorgenommen und auf solchs heftig und hart getrieben, als sind solche Dinge nötige Gottesdienst, und geschehe grosse Sünde, so mans nicht halte. Daraus sind viel schädlicher Irrtum in der Kirchen gefolgt.

Erstlich ist dadurch die Verheissung Christi und die Lehre vom Glauben verdunkelt, welche uns das Evangelium mit grossem Ernst vorhält und treibet hart darauf, dass man den Verdienst Christi hoch und teuer achte und wisse, dass glauben an Christum hoch und weit über alle Werke zu setzen sei. Derhalben hat S. Paulus hefftig wider das Gesetz Mosi und menschliche Traditiones gefochten, dass wir lernen sollen,

man soll sie halten als ein freies Ding. Gerson verbietet, die Gewissen damit zu binden, daraus sich viele fromme Leute getröstet haben, denn niemand [ist] je auf die Erde gekommen, der diese Satzungen alle gehalten hat. Daraus dann mancher in Verzweiflung gefallen, etliche ihnen selbst den Tod getan, denn sie den Trost der Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben nicht hatten. Welche aber etwas davon hielten, die vermeinten, Vergebung dadurch zu erlangen. Zudem hat man solche Satzung weit über die Gebote Gottes gehalten. Welcher zur geordneten Zeit fastet oder dergleichen tut, der meint, er wäre schon ein Christ, aber auf seinen Beruf hatte niemand keine Acht, ja es war nicht Wert, dass ein Christ sollte mit solchen Sachen umgehen, als Haushalten, Weib, Kinder und Hausgesind regieren und erziehen etc. Solche Werk, die von Gott befohlen, sagt man, gehörten den Schwachen und Unvollkommenen zu; allein die Heuchelwerke hatten den ehrlichen Namen, dass sie heilige, christliche und Gott wohlgefällige Werke genannt wurden.

Die geistlichen Rechtsgelehrten und Theologen liessen die Schrift fahren, gingen allein mit diesen Sachen ihr Lebenlang um, aber von Glauben, Hoffnung, Kreuz etc. zu handeln, waren sie

Werken, sondern allein durch den Glauben an Christum, dass wir um Christi willen Gnade erlangen. Solche Lehre ist schier ganz erloschen dadurch, dass man hat gelehrt, Gnade zu verdienen mit gesetzten [= prescribed] Fasten und Unterschied der Speisen und Kleider. — Zum andern haben auch solche Traditionen Gottes Gebote verdunkelt, denn man setzt diese Traditiones weit über die Gebote Gottes. Das hielt man allein für christlich Leben, wer die Feier also hält, also betet, also fastet, also gekleidet [wäre], das nennet man geistliches, christliches Leben. Daneben hielt man andere nötige gute Werke für ein weltliches, ungeistliches Wesen, als die, so jeder nach seinem Beruf zu tun schuldig ist, als dass der Hausvater arbeiten, Weib und Kind nähren und zu Gottesfurcht aufziehen und die Hausmutter Kinder gebären und ihrer warten, ein Fürst und Obrigkeit Land und Leut regieren etc. Solche Werke, von Gott geboten, mussten ein weltlich und unvollkommen Wesen sein; aber [die] Traditiones mussten den prächtigen Namen haben, dass sie allein heilige, vollkommene Werke hießen. Derhalben war kein Mass und End, solche Traditiones zu machen. — Zum dritten, solche Traditiones sind zu hoher Beschwerung der Gewissen gewachsen und geraten. Denn es war

allain durch den glauben an Christum, das wir vmb Christus willen gnad erlangen. Solche ler ist schier gantz verloschen, dardurch das man geleret, gnad zuuerdienen mit gesatzten fasten, ynterschied der Speys, claiden etc.

Zum Andern haben auch solche tradiciones gottes gebot vertunkelt, Dan man setzt dise tradicion weiter vber gots gebot; dis hielt man allain fur christlich leben; wer die feier also hielte, also betet, also fastet, also geclaidet were, das nennete man gaistlich, Christlich leben. Darneben hielt man andere notige gute werck fur ain weltlich, vngaistlich wesen, Nemlich diss. so jder nach seinem beruef zuthun schuldig ist, als das der hausuater Arbeit, weib vnd kindt zunehren vnd zu gottesforcht aufzuziehen, Die haus mutter kinder gebiret vnd wartet jr, Ain furst vnd Oberkait land vnd leut regiert etc.; solchs werck, von got geboten, musten ain weltlich vnd vnuolkomen wesen sein. Aber die tradiciones musten den prechtigen nahmen haben, Das sy allain haylige, vollkumene werck hiessen. Derhalben was [= war] kain mass noch endt, solch tradiciones zu machen.

Zum Dritten, Solche tradiciones seind zu hoher beschwerung der gewissen geraten. Es war nit muglich alle Tradiciones zuhalten, vnd waren doch die lewte in

dass wir vor Gott nicht fromm werden aus unsern Werken, sondern allein durch den Glauben an Christum, dass uns Gott um Christus willen ohne unser Verdienst Sünde vergebe und gerecht schätze. Solche Lehre ist schier ganz verloschen, dadurch dass man hat gelehrt, mit Gesetzen, Fasten und dergleichen Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen.

Zum andern haben auch solche Traditiones Gottes Gebot verdunkelt, denn man setzt diese Traditiones weit über Gottes Gebote. Dies hielt man allein für christliches Leben: wer die Feier also hielt, also betet, also fastet, also gekleidet war, das nennet man geistliches, christliches Leben. Daneben hielt man andere nötige, gute Werke für ein weltliches, ungeistliches Wesen, nämlich diese, so jeder nach seinem Beruf zu tun schuldig ist. Als dass der Hausvater arbeitet, Weib und Kind zu nähren und zu Gottesfurcht aufzuziehen, die Hausmutter Kinder gebiert und wartet ihrer, ein Fürst und Oberkeit Land und Leut regiert etc. Solche Werke, von Gott geboten, mussten ein weltlich und unvollkommen Wesen sein; aber die Traditiones mussten den prächtigen Namen haben, dass sie allein heilige, vollkommene Werke hiessen. Derhalben war kein Mass noch Ende, solche Traditiones zu machen.

nicht müßig. Hier sollten die Bischöfe ein Einsehen gehabt und diesem Jammer ein Ziel gesteckt haben. Jetzund gebrauchen sich des auch unsere Feind, so durch uns an den Tag gebracht worden ist, und können von allen Menschenlehren gewisser urteilen denn zuvor.

Wir lehren aber hievon also, dass Menschengebote und Satzungen vor Gott nicht verdienen Vergebung der Sünden; sie sollen auch nicht aufgerichtet werden als notwendig zu der Seelen Seligkeit. Solches beweisen wir aus der Schrift. Als die Apostel gestraft wurden, dass sie diese Gebote übertreten hätten, sagt Christus: Vergeblich dienen sie mir mit Menschengeboten. Item: Was durch den Mund eingehehet, verunreinigt den Menschen nicht. Item Paulus: Niemand soll euch urteilen um die Speise etc. Item Akt. 15: Was versucht ihr Gott und legt den Jüngern eine Bürde auf, die weder wir noch unsere Väter haben tragen mögen, sondern durch die Gnade Christi vertrauen wir [uns] selig zu werden. Item Paulus nennt es Teufelslehr, die die Speisen verbieten. Darum soll man solches von den Christen nicht als notwendig erfordern.

Nichts minder [destoweniger] werden derselben Satzungen viel bei uns gehalten, als Feiertag, Gesang und anderes, welche zu

nicht möglich, alle Traditiones zu halten, und waren doch die Leute in der Meinung, als wäre solches ein nötiger Gottesdienst, und schreibt Gerson, dass viele hiemit in Verzweiflung gefallen; etliche haben sich auch selbst umbracht derhalben, dass sie keinen Trost von der Gnade Christi gehört haben. Denn man sieht bei den [Summisten und Theologen, wie die Gewissen] verwirrt worden, welche sich unterstanden haben, die Traditiones zusammenzuziehen, und Aequität gesucht, dass sie den Gewissen hülfe, haben soviel damit zu tun gehabt, dass dieweil alle heilsame Lehre [von] nötigen Sachen, als vom Glauben, vom Trost in hohen Anfechtungen und dergleichen, darnieder gelegen ist. Darüber haben auch viele fromme, gelehrte Leute vor dieser Zeit sehr geklagt, dass solche Traditiones viel Zank in der Kirchen anrichten und dass fromme Leute damit verhindert, [zur rechten Erkenntnis Christi nicht kommen mochten]. Gerson und etliche mehr haben heftig darüber geklagt, ja, es hat auch Angustino missfallen, dass man die Gewissen mit soviel Traditiones beschwerte. Derhalben er dabei Unterricht gibt, dass man sie nicht für nötige Dinge halten soll.

Darum haben die Unsern nicht aus Frevel oder Verachtung geistlicher Gewalt von diesen Sa-

der maynung, als were solchs ain notdiger gotsdienst, vnd schreibt Gerson, das vil hiemit in verzweifelung gefallen, etzliche haben sich auch selbs vmbracht, Derhalben das sy kain trost von der gnäd Christi behort haben. Dan man sihet bey den Summisten vnd Theologen, wie die gewissen verwirrt, welche sich vnderstanden haben, die Tradiciones zusammen zu ziehen, vnd equitet zusucht [= gesucht], Das sy den gewissen hülffen, haben souil damit zu thun gehabt, Das dieweil alle hail-same Christliche lere von notigern sachen, als vom glauben, von trost in hohen anfechtungen vnd dergleichen darnider gelegen ist. Daruber haben auch vil fromer leut vor dieser zeit seer geclaget, Das solche Tradiciones vil zangcks in der Kirchen Anrichten vnd das frome leut damit verhindert zur Rechten erkanntnus Christi nit komen mochten. Gerson vnd etzliche meher haben heftig darüber geclaget. Ja es hadt auch Augustino misfallen, das man die gewissen mit souil Tradicionibus beschweret. Derhalben Er dabey vntrricht gibt, das mans nit für nothig Ding halten soll.

Darumb haben die vnsern nit aus freuel oder verachtung gaistlichs gewalts von diesen sachen geleret, sonder es hadt die hoche not gefodert, vntrricht zuthun von Obangezaigten Irthumben,

Zum Dritten. Solche Traditiones sind zu hoher Beschwerung der Gewissen geraten, denn es ist nicht möglich, alle Traditiones zu halten, und waren doch die Leute in der Meinung, als wäre solchs ein nötiger Gottesdienst, und schreibt Gerson, dass viele hiemit in Verzweifelung gefallen. Etliche haben sich auch selbst umbracht, derhalben dass sie keinen Trost gehört haben, dass wir um Christus willen gerecht sind. Denn man sieht bei den Summisten und Theologen, wie die Gewissen verwirrt, welche sich unterstanden haben, die Traditiones zusammen zu ziehen, und Aequität gesucht, dass sie den Gewissen hülffen; haben soviel damit zu tun gehabt, dass dieweil alle heilsame christliche Lehre von nötigern Sachen, als vom Glauben, vom Trost in hohen Anfechtungen und dergleichen darnider gelegen ist. Darüber haben auch viel frommer, gelehrter Leute vor dieser Zeit sehr geklaget, dass solche Traditiones viel Zanks in der Kirche anrichten und dass fromme Leut damit verhindert zu rechtem Erkenntnis Christi nicht kommen mochten. Gerson und etliche mehr haben heftig darüber geklagt, ja es hat auch Augustino misfallen, dass man die Gewissen mit so viel Traditionibus beschweret, derhalben er dabei Untrricht gibt, dass mans nicht für nötige Dinge halten soll.

einem ordentlichen Wesen in der Kirche dienstlich sind. Daneben vermahnt man das Volk, dass man sie nicht als notwendig, sondern von Friedens wegen hält und möchten wohl ohne Sünde unterlassen werden. Solcher Freiheit haben sich auch die Alten gebraucht, wie man aus vielen Dekreten und Canones spüren kann. Die Orientischen hielten die Ostern zu einer andern Zeit denn die Römischen, und hat solches keine Uneinigkeit in der Christenheit gebracht.

chen gelehrt, sondern es hat die hohe Not erfordert, Unterricht zu tun von oben angezeigten Irrtümern, welche aus Missverstand der Traditionen gewachsen sind. Denn das Evangelium zwingt, dass man die Lehre vom Glauben soll und muss in der Kirchen treiben, welche doch nicht mag verstanden werden, so man vermeint, durch eigne Werke Gnade zu verdienen. Und ist davon also gelehrt, dass man durch Haltung gedachter menschlicher Traditionen nicht kann Gnade verdienen oder Gott versöhnen oder für die Sünde genugtun. Und soll deshalb kein nötiger Gottesdienst daraus gemacht werden. Dazu wird Ursach aus der Schrift angezogen. [Christus] Matth. 15 entschuldigt die Apostel, dass sie gewöhnliche Traditiones nicht gehalten hatten, und spricht dabei: Sie ehren mich vergeblich mit Menschengeboten. So er nun dies einen vergeblichen Dienst nennt, mag er nicht nötig sein. Und bald hernach: Was zum Mund eingeht, verunreinigt den Menschen nicht. Item Paulus spricht Ro. 14: Das Himmelreich steht nicht in Speis oder Trank; Colo. 2: Niemand soll euch richten in Speis, Trank, Sabbath. Akt 15 spricht Petrus: Warum versucht ihr Gott mit Auflegung des Jochs auf der Jünger Hälse, welches weder unsere Väter noch wir haben mögen tragen, sondern wir

welche aus missverstandt der Tradicion gewachsen sein. Dan das Euangelium zwingt, das man die lehre vom glauben soll vnd muesse in der kirchen treiben, welche doch nit mag verstanden werden, so man vermaint, durch aygene gewelte werck gnad zuuerdienen, vnd ist daun also gelehret, das man durch haltung gedachter menschlicher Dradicion nit kan gnad verdienen oder got verseunen oder fur die sund gnug thun, Vnd soll derhalben kain notiger gotz dienst [= Gottesdienst] darauss gemacht werden. Dartzu wirdet vrsach auss der schrift angezogen. Christus Matth. 15 entschuldigt die Apostel, da sie gewondliche tradiciones nit gehalten haben, vnd spricht dabey: Sie ehren mich vergeblich mit menschen geboten. So Er nun diss ein vergeblichen Dienst nennet, mus Er nicht notig sein. Vnd bald hernach: was zum mund ingehet, verunreinigt den mensch nit. Item paulus Spricht Roma. 14: Das himelreich steet nit in Speis oder tranck, Sabbat etc. Actum 15 spricht Petrus: Warumb versucht jr got mit auflegung des Jochs auf der Junger helse, welchs weder vnser vetter noch wir haben mugen tragen, sonder wir glauben durch die gnad vnsers herren Jesu Christi selig zu werden. Da verbeut Petrus, das man die gewissen nit beschweren soll

Darum haben die Unsern nicht aus Frevel oder Verachtung geistlicher Gewalt von diesen Sachen gelehrt, sondern es hat die hohe Not gefordert, Unterricht zu tun von oben angezeigten Irrtümern, welche aus Missverstand der Traditionen gewachsen sind, denn das Evangelium zwingt, dass man die Lehre vom Glauben solle und müsse in der Kirche treiben, welche doch nicht mag verstanden werden, so man vermeint, durch eigene, erwählte Werke Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen. Und ist davon also gelehrt, dass man durch Haltung gedachter menschlicher Traditionen nicht kann Gott versöhnen oder für Sünde genug tun oder Vergebung der Sünde verdienen, und soll derhalben kein nötiger Gottesdienst daraus gemacht werden, gleich als möge niemand ohne solche Traditionen vor Gott gerecht sein.

Dazu wird Ursach aus der Schrift angezogen. Christus Matthäi 15 entschuldigt die Apostel, dass sie die gewöhnlichen Traditiones nicht gehalten haben, und spricht dabei: Sie ehren mich vergeblich mit Menschengeboten. So er nun dies einen vergeblichen Dienst nennt, muss er nicht nötig sein. Und bald hernach: Was zum Mund ingeht, verunreinigt den Menschen nicht. Item Paulus spricht Röm. 14: Das Himmereich steht nicht in Speise oder Trank; Coloss. 2: Niemand soll

glauben, durch die Gnade unsers Herrn Jesu Christi selig zu werden. Da verbietet Petrus, dass man die Gewissen nicht beschweren soll mit mehr äusserlichen Zeremonien, es sei Mosi oder anderer. Und 1. Ti. 4 werden solche Verbote, als Speise, Ehe verbieten, Teufelslehr genannt. Denn dies ist stracks dem Evangelio entgegen, solche Werke einsetzen oder tun, dass man damit Vergeltung der Sünde verdiene, oder als möge niemand ein Christ sein ohne solchen Dienst.

Dass man aber den Unsern hier Schuld gibt, als verbieten sie Kasteiung und Zucht, wie Jovinianus, wird sich viel anders finden aus ihren Schriften. Denn sie haben allezeit gelehrt vom heiligen Kreuz, das Christen zu leiden schuldig sind, und dieses ist rechte ernstliche und nicht erdichtete Kasteiung. Daneben wird auch gelehrt, dass ein jeglicher schuldig ist, sich mit leiblicher Uebung als Fasten und anderer Arbeit also zu halten, dass er nicht Ursach zu Sünden gebe, nicht dass er mit solchen Werken Gnade verdiene. Diese leibliche Uebung soll nicht allein etliche bestimmte Tage, sondern stetig getrieben werden. Darum redet Christus: Hütet euch, dass euer Herz nicht beschwert werde mit Völlerei. Item, die Teufel werden nicht ausgeworfen, denn durch Fasten und Ge-

mit meher eusserlichen Ceremonien, Es sey Moisi oder andern; vnd j. thimot. 4 werden solche verbot, als speis verbieten, ehe verbieten etc., teufelslere genannt. Dan diss ist stracks dem Evangelio nachgegen [= entgegen] solche werck einsetzen oder thun, Das man damit vergebung der sunde verdiene, oder als muge niemand Christen sein on solchen Dienst; das man Aber den vnsern hie schuldt gibt, als vorbieten sie kasteyung vnd zucht wie Jovinianus, wirdet sich vil anders auss jren schriften befinden. Dan sy haben altzeit geleret vom hayligen creutz, Das Christen zu leiden schuldig seind, vnd dises ist die rechte ernstliche vnd nit erdichte kasteyung. Daneben wirdet auch geleret, Das ain jtzlicher schuldig ist, sich mit leiblicher vbung, Als vasten vnd ander vbung, also zuhalten, das Er nit vrsach zu sunden gebe, nicht das Er mit solchen wercken gnad verdiene. Diese leibliche vbung soll nit allain etzliche bestimbte tag, sonder stetigs getrieben werden. Dauon redet Christus: hutet Euch, das Ewre hertzen nicht beschwert werden mit fullerey. Item, die teufel werden nit ausgeworfen dan durch vasten vnd gebet; vnd Paulus spricht, Er kasteye seinen leib vnd bring jn zu gehorsam, damit Er antzayget, das aige [= eigne] kasteyung dienen soll nicht, damit gnad zuuerdienen,

euch richten in Speise, Trank, Sabbath etc. Akt. 15 spricht Petrus: Warum versucht ihr Gott mit Auflegung des Jochs auf die Jünger, welches weder unsre Väter noch wir haben mögen tragen, sondern wir glauben durch die Gnade unsers Herrn Jesu Christi selig zu werden, gleicher Weise wie auch sie. Da verbeut Petrus, dass man die Gewissen nicht beschweren soll mit mehr äusserlichen Zeremonien, es sei Mosis oder der andern. Und 1 Tim. 4 werden solche Traditiones Teufelslehre genannt, denn also lauten S. Paulus Worte: Der Geist aber sagt deutlich, dass in den letzten Zeiten werden etliche vom Glauben abtreten und anhangen den irrigen Geistern und Lehren der Teufel durch die, so in Gleisnerei Lügner sind und Brandmal in ihren Gewissen haben und verbieten, ehelich zu werden und zu meiden die Speise, die Gott geschaffen hat, mit Danksagung zu nehmen den Gläubigen und denen, die die Wahrheit erkannt haben. Denn dies ist stracks dem Evangelio entgegen, solche Werke einsetzen oder tun, dass man damit Vergebung der Sünde verdiene, oder als möge niemand Christen sein ohne solche Dienste.

Dass man aber den Unsern hie schuld gibt, als verböten sie Kasteiung und Zucht wie Jovinianus, wird sich viel anders aus ihren Schriften befinden. Denn sie ha-

bet. Und Paulus spricht, er kasteie seinen Leib und bringe ihn zu Gehorsam, damit er anzeigt, dass Kasteiung dienen soll, nicht damit Gnade zu verdienen, sondern den Leib geschickt zu halten, dass er nicht verhindere, was einem jeglichen auf seinem Beruf zu schaffen befohlen ist. Und wird also nicht das Fasten verworfen, sondern dass man einen nötigen Dienst daraus auf bestimmte Tage und Speisen zur Verwirrung der Gewissen gemacht hat. Auch werden dieses Teils viele Zeremonien und Traditionen gehalten, als Ordnung der Messe und andere Gesänge, Feste, etc., welche dazu dienen, dass in der Kirchen Ordnung gehalten werde. Daneben aber wird das Volk unterrichtet, dass solcher äusserlicher Gottesdienst nicht fromm macht vor Gott und dass mans ohne Beschwerung der Gewissen halten soll, also dass, so man es nachlässt ohne Aergeris, nicht daran gesündigt wird. Diese Freiheit in äusserlichen Zeremonien haben auch die alten Väter gehabt. Denn im Orient hat man das Osterfest auf andre Zeit denn zu Rom gehalten, und da etliche diese Ungleichheit für eine Trennung in der Kirchen halten wollten, sind sie vermahnt [worden] von andern, dass nicht not in solchen Gewohnheiten [Gleichheit] zu halten und spricht Irenäus: Ungleichheit im Fasten

sonder den leib geschickt zu halten, das er nit verhindere, was ainem itzlichem nach seinem beruf zu schaffen bevolhen ist, vnd wirdet also nit das fasten verworfen, Sonder das man ein notigen Dienst daraus auf bestimpte tag vnd Speyse zu verwirrung der gewissen gemacht hadt.

Auch werden dieses tayls viel Ceremonien vnd tradicion gehalten, als ordnung der Messe vnd andere geseng, fest etc., welche dartzu dienen, das jn der kirchen ordnung gehalten werde. Daneben aber wirdet das volck vntericht, das solcher eusserlicher gotz dienst nit fromb mache vor got vnd das man on beschwerung des gewissens halten soll, Also das, so man es nachlest on ergerus, nit davon gesündigt wirdet. Diese freyhait jn eusserlichen Ceremonien haben auch die Alten vetter gehalten, Dan in Orient hadt man das Osterfest auf andere zeit dan zu Rom gehalten, vnd da etzliche dise vngleichait fur ain trennung jn der kirchen halten welten, seind sy vermanet von andern, Das nit noth in solchen gewonhaiten gleichait zu halten. Vnd spricht Ireneus also: vngleichait im fasten trennet nit die ainigkait des glaubens. Wie auch Dist. 12 von solcher vngleichait in menschlichen ordnungen geschrieben, das sie der Ainigkeit der Christenhait nit zuwider sey. Vnd Tripartita Historia

ben allezeit gelehrt vom heiligen Kreuz, das Christen zu leiden schuldig sind. Und dieses ist rechte, ernstliche und nicht erdichtete Kasteiung. Daneben wird auch gelehrt, dass ein jeglicher schuldig ist, sich mit leiblicher Uebung als Fasten und andere Arbeit also zu halten, dass er nicht Ursach zu Sünden gebe, nicht dass er durch solche Werke Vergebung der Sünden verdiene oder darum vor Gott werde gerecht geschätzt. Und diese leibliche Uebung soll nicht allein etliche bestimmte Tage, sondern stetigs getrieben werden. Davon redet Christus Lucä am 21.: Hütet euch, dass eure Herzen nicht beschweret werden mit Fressen und Saufen. Item: Die Teufel werden nicht ausgeworfen denn durch Fasten und Gebet. Und Paulus spricht: Er kasteie seinen Leib und bringe ihn zu Gehorsam, damit er anzeigt, dass Kasteiung dienen soll, nicht damit Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen, sondern den Leib geschickt zu halten, dass er nicht verhindere, was einem jeglichen nach seinem Beruf zu schaffen befohlen ist, und wird also nicht das Fasten verworfen, sondern dass man einen nötigen cultum daraus auf bestimmte Tage und Speisen zur Verwirrung der Gewissen gemacht hat.

Auch werden dieses Teils viele Zeremonien und Traditionen

trennt nicht die Einigkeit des Glaubens, wie auch Dist. [12] von solcher Ungleichheit in menschlicher Ordnung geschrieben, dass sie der Einigkeit der Christenheit nicht zuwider sei. Und Tripartita Hist. li. 9 zieht zusammen viele ungleiche Kirchengewohnheiten und setzt einen nützlichen Spruch: Der Apostel Meinung ist nicht gewesen, Feiertage einzusetzen, sondern Glauben und Liebe zu lehren.

Von den Klostergelübden. Die
ser Handel betrifft nicht die

Von Klostergelübden. Von Klo-
stergelübden zu reden ist not,

Lib. 9 zeucht zusam vil vngleicher Kirchen gewonhait vnd setzet Ein nützlichen Christlichen spruch: Der Apostel Maynung ist nit gewesen, feiertag einzusetzen, sonder glaub vnd lieb zu leren.

gehalten, als Ordnung der Messe und Feste etc., welche dazu dienen, dass in der Kirche Ordnung gehalten werde. Daneben aber wird das Volk unterrichtet, dass wir um Christus willen durch Glaube gerecht geschätzt werden, nicht von wegen dieser Werk, und dass man sie ohne Beschwerung des Gewissens halten soll, also dass, so man es nachlässt ohne Aergernis, nicht daran gesündigt wird. Diese Freiheit in äusserlichen Zeremonien haben auch die alten Väter gehalten, denn im Orient hat man das Osterfest auf andre Zeit denn zu Rom gehalten. Und da etliche diese Ungleichheit für eine Trennung in der Kirche halten wollten, sind sie vermahnet von andern, dass nicht not in solchen Gewohnheiten Gleichheit zu halten, und spricht Irenaus also: Ungleichheit in Fasten trennet nicht die Einigkeit des Glaubens. Wie auch Distinctio 12 von solcher Ungleichheit in menschlichen Ordnungen geschrieben, dass sie der Einigkeit der Christenheit nicht zuwider sei. Und Tripartita Historia lib. 9 zeucht zusammen viel ungleicher Kirchengewohnheiten und setzt einen nützlichen christlichen Spruch: Der Apostel Meinung ist nicht gewesen Feiertag einzusetzen, sondern Glaube und Liebe zu lehren.

Von Clostergelubden. Von clostergelubden zu reden ist not,

Von Klostergelübden. Von Klostergelübden zu reden ist not,

ganze Versammlung, sondern etliche wenige Sonderpersonen, von deretwegen die ganze Versammlung nicht billig verworfen wird, obgleich etwas Unrechtes in dieser Aenderung befunden würde. Aber nichts minder wollen wir jetzt auch erzählen, was wir von diesem Stück lehren und halten.

Männiglich ist unverborgen, in was Wesen die Klöster bisher gewesen sind, wieviel darin geschehen ist, das den geistlichen Rechten entgegen gewesen. Zu St. Augustinus Zeiten waren es freie Versammlungen. Als aber die Zucht darin abgegangen, hat man die Gelübde erdacht und vermeint, der Sachen damit zu helfen. Bald hernach hat man über die Gelübde noch andere Fündlein hinzugesetzt. In diesen Stricken ist mancher vor seinem vollkommenen Alter wider Ordnung der geistlichen Rechte gefangen worden, mancher auch aus Unwissenheit darzu gekommen, ob er gleich alt genug gewest, doch sich selbst und sein Vermögen nicht genugsam erkannte. Welche also gefangen worden, haben bleiben müssen, ob sie gleich vermöge der geistlichen Rechte hätten mögen ledig werden. Und das ist mehr in Jungfrauen- denn in Mönchsklöstern geschehen, so man doch denselben von wegen ihrer Schwachheit billig mehr sollte nachgegeben haben. [An] solcher Härteigkeit haben viele

erstlich zu bedenken, wie es anher damit gehalten, welch Wesen in Klöstern gewesen, und dass sehr viel darin täglich nicht allein wider Gottes Wort, sondern auch päpstlichen Rechten zugegen [= against] gehandelt ist. Denn zu S. Augustins Zeiten sind Klosterstände frei gewesen; folgend [= later], da die rechte Zucht und Lehre zerrüttet, hat man Klostergelübde erdacht und damit eben als mit einem Gefängnis die Zucht [wiederum aufrichten] wollen. Ueber das hat man neben den Klostergelübden viel] andere Stück mehr aufbracht, und mit solchen Banden und Beschwerden hat man ihrer viel auch vor gebührenden Jahren beladen. So sind auch viele Personen aus Unwissenheit zu solchem Klosterleben kommen, welche, wiewohl sie sonst nicht zu jung gewesen sind, haben doch ihr Vermögen nicht genugsam ermessen noch verstanden. Dieselben alle also verstrickt und verwickelt sind gezwungen worden, in solchen Banden zu bleiben, ungeacht dass auch päpstliches Recht ihrer viele frei gibt. Und das ist beschwerlicher gewesen in Jungfrauen- denn Mönchsklöstern, so sich doch geziemt hat, der Weibsbild als der Schwachen zu verschonen. Dieselb Streng [the manuscript by mistake writes Sterung] und Härteigkeit hat auch viel frommen Leuten vor Zeiten missfallen.

erstlich, zu bedencken, wie es biss anher damit gehalten, welch wesen in clostern gehabt, vnd das ser vil darin taglich nit allain wider gottes wort, sonder auch bebstlichen rechten zuentgegen gehandelt ist. Dan zu Sanct Augustinus zeiten sein closter stendt frey gewesen; volgend [= later], da die rechte Zucht vnd lere zurruttet, hadt man closter gelubd erdacht vnd damit Eben als mit Ainem erdachten gefengknus die zucht widerumb aufrichten wellen; vber das hadt man neben den closter gelubden vil ander stuck meher Aufbracht vnd mit solchen banden vnd beschwerden, jr vil auch vor geburenden jaren, beladen; so seind auch vil personen auss unwissenheit zu solchem closter leben kumen, welche, wiewol sy sunst nit zu jung gewesen, haben doch jr vermugen nit gnugsam ermessen vnd verstanden. Dieselben alle, also verstrickt vnd verwickelt, seind gezwungen vnd gedrungen gewesen, jn solchen banden zu bleiben, vngeacht des, das auch Babstlich recht jr vil frey gibt.

Vnd das ist beschwerlicher gewesen in jungfraw Clostern dan Monich Clostern, so sych doch geziemet hette, der weibsbilder als der schwachen zuuerschonen. Dieselb strenge vnd hertigkait hat auch vil fromen leuten in vortzeiten misfallen, dan sy haben wol gesehen, das baide, knaben

erstlich zu bedenken, wie es bis anher damit gehalten, welch Wesen im Kloster gewesen und dass sehr viel darin täglich nicht allein wider Gottes Wort, sondern auch päpstlichen Rechten entgegen gehandelt ist. Denn zu S. Augustinus Zeiten sind Klösterstände frei gewesen. Folgend, da die rechte Zucht und Lehre zerrüttet, da hat man Klostergelübde erdacht und damit eben als mit einem erdachten Gefängnis die Zucht wiederum aufrichten wollen. Ueber das hat man neben den Klostergelübden viel andre Stück mehr aufgebracht, und mit solchen Banden und Beschwerden hat man ihrer viel auch vor gebührenden Jahren beladen. So sind auch viele Personen aus Unwissenheit zu solchem Klosterleben kommen, welche, wiewohl sie sonst nicht zu jung gewesen, haben doch ihr Vermögen nicht gnugsam ermessen noch verstanden. Dieselben, also verstrickt, sind gedrungen und gezwungen worden, im Klosterleben zu bleiben, wiewohl sie die Canones selbst ledig sprechen. Und dies ist härter gehalten worden mit den Jungfrauen denn mit den Mönchen, so man doch billig der Jungfrauen als des schwächern Geschlechts sollte verschont haben. Diese Härte hat viel frommen Leuten vor dieser Zeit missfallen, die gesehen haben, dass man das junge, unerfahne,

fromme Leute auch vor dieser Zeit ein Missfallen gehabt, dieweil sie sahen von zeitlicher Nahrung wegen die jungen Knaben und Meidlein also in die Klöster verstossen, auch was Jammers, Aergernis und Stricke der Gewissen daraus erfolgten. Es ist auch erbärmlich zu hören, dass die geistlichen Rechte in diesem Stück so gar verachtet wurden. Zudem hat man die Gelübde allzu hoch erhoben und aufgemutzt, wiewohl das auch nicht jedermann gefallen hat. Nämlich, sagten sie, die Klostergelübde wären der Taufe gleich und man verdiente dadurch Vergebung der Sünde und Gerechtigkeit vor Gott und etwas mehr, dieweil sie nicht allein die Gebote, sondern auch die Räte hielten. Daraus vermeinten sie, das Klosterleben wäre viel besser denn die Taufe und weit verdienstlicher denn der Oberkeit und Pfarrherren Leben, die nach Gottes Befehl ihren Beruf auswarten. Was tut man aber jetzt in den Klöstern? Vor Zeiten waren sie Schulen, darin man die heilige Schrift und andere Künste der Christenheit zu nutz lernte. Daraus erwählte man dann Pfarrherren und Bischöfe. Zur selben Zeit fügten sie sich von Studierens wegen zusammen. Jetzt sagen sie, es sei ihr Leben angefangen, Gnade und Gerechtigkeit zu verdienen, ja sie rühmen sich, sie seien in

Denn sie haben wohl gesehen, dass beide, Knaben und Meidlein, um Unterhaltung willen des Leibs in die Kloster versteckt sein worden. Sie haben auch wohl gesehen, wie übel dasselb Fürnehmen geraten ist, was Aergernis, Beschwerung der Gewissen es gebracht, und haben viele Leute geklagt, dass man in solcher gefährlichen Sache die Canones so gar nicht achtet. Zudem, so hat man eine solche Meinung von den Klostergelübden, die unverborgen auch viel Mönchen übel gefallen hat, die wenig einen Verstand gehabt. Denn sie gaben für, dass Klostergelübde der Taufe gleich wären und dass man mit dem Klosterleben Vergebung der Sünde und Rechtfertigung vor Gott verdienete; ja sie setzten noch mehr dazu, dass man mit dem Klosterleben verdient nicht allein Gerechtigkeit und Frommkeit, sondern dass man damit auch hielt die Gebote und Räte, im Evangelio verfasst, und wurden also die Klostergelübde höher gepreist, denn die Taufe. Item, dass man mehr damit verdiene, denn mit allen Ständen, so von Gott geordnet sind, als Pfarrherr-, Predigeramt, Obrigkeit, Fürsten-, Herrenstand und dergleichen, die alle nach Gottes Gebot, Wort und Befehl ihrem Beruf ohne erdichtete Geistlichkeit dienen, wie denn dieser Stücke keins mag verneint werden, denn

vnd maydlein, vmb vnterhaltung willen des leibs in die closter versteckt seind worden. Sy haben auch wol gesehen, wie vbel dasselb furnemen geraten ist, was Ergernus, was beschwerung der gewissen es gebracht, vnd haben vil lewt geklagt, das man in solcher farlicher Sache die Canones so gar nit geachtet. Zu dem so hadt man Ain solche maynung von den Closter gelubden, die vnuerborgn, die auch [= die vnuerborgn auch] vil Monichen vbel gefallen hadt, die wenig Ain verstandt gehabt. Dan sie gaben fur, das Clostergelubd der Tauf gleich weren vnd das man mit dem Closterleben vergebung der sunde vnd Rechtfertigung fur gott verdienet, ja sie setzen noch mer dartzu, das man mit dem closter leben verdient nit allain gerechtigkeit vmb [= vnd] frombkait. sonder auch das man damit hielte die gebot vnd Rethe ym Euangelio verfasst. Vnd wurden also die Clostergelubde hoher gepreiset dan die tauf; Item, das man mer verdienet mit dem closterleben dan mit allen andern Stenden, so von gott geordent seind, als pfarrer vnd prediger Standt, Oberkait, Fursten, herrenstandt vnd dergleichen, Die alle nach gottes gebot, wort vnd beuelch jrem beruf on erdichte gaistlichkait dienen. Wie dan dieser stuck kains mag vernaint wer-

ungelehrte Volk in die Klöster um der Nahrung willen versteckt hat, daraus hernach viel Sünde und Aergernis gefolgt, und sind die Gewissen in grosse Gefahr und Strick gefallen. Da haben viel frommer Leut geklagt über der Monchtyrannei, die hierin nicht allein kein Evangelium, sondern auch keine Canones haben hören wollen.

Ueber diese Beschwerde haben sie auch die Gewissen mit unrechter Lehre verführt, dass ihr Klosterleben sollte Vergebung der Sünden verdienen, sollte der Taufe gleich sein, sollte christliche Vollkommenheit sein, nicht allein Gottes Gebot erfüllen, sondern auch darüber die Räte im Evangelio halten. Also rühmen sie das Klosterleben und setzens viel höher denn die Taufe und sonst äusserliche göttliche Stände, als über Oberkeit, Predigtamt, Ehestand.

Vorzeiten sind die Klöster Schulen gewesen, darin man junge Leute in christlicher Lehre und andern nützlichen Künsten aufgezogen hat. dass sie hernach zur Regierung der Kirchen und zu predigen gebraucht worden. Aber jetzund machen sie viel ein ander Wesen aus dem Klosterleben, dass es Gottesdienst, Cultus und Opfer sei für die Sünde, dass es christliche Heiligkeit und Vollkommenheit sei. Wie aber die Mönche dies ihr heilig Leben, da sie von

dem vollkommenen Stand, und setzen sich weit vor andere Stände, die Gott geordnet hat. Dies haben wir aufs Glimpflichst erzählt, damit man desto besser verstehe, was die Unseren davon lehren.

Erstlich von denen, so sich verhehlichen, lehren sie, dass alle, so Keuschheit zu halten ungeschickt sind, sollen ehelich werden, denn die Gelübde können Gottes Gebot und Ordnung nicht aufheben. Dies ist aber Gottes Gebot: Zu vermeiden Hurerei, soll ein jeder sein Weib haben; und werden nicht allein durch das Gebot, sondern durch die Schöpfung und Ordnung Gottes zu der Ehe gezwungen, die aus sonderer Schickung Gottes davon nicht *ausgezogen* [excepted] sind. Wie die Schrift sagt: Es ist dem Menschen nicht gut, dass er *allein sei*. Darum sündigen die nicht, so solcher Ordnung und Gebot Gottes gehorsam sind. Was will man nun hiewider aufbringen? Man nutze das Gelübde so hoch auf, als man wolle, so kann es doch je Gottes Gebot nicht aufheben. Die geistlichen Rechte lehren, ein jegliches Gelübde soll dem Oberherrn an seinen Rechten unschädlich sein; wie können dann diese Gelübde wider Gottes Ordnung kräftig sein?

Sollten denn diese Gelübde nicht mögen aufgelöst werden, so hätten freilich die Päpste hierin

man findets in ihren eigenen Büchern.

Ueber das, wer also gefangen in das Kloster kommen war, lernt wenig von Christo. Etwa [= formerly] hatte man Schulen der heiligen Schrift und anderer Künste, so der christlichen Kirchen dienstlich sind, in Klöstern, dass man daraus Pfarrherren und Bischöfe genommen. Jetzt hats viel eine andere Gestalt, denn vor Zeiten kamen sie in der Meinung zusammen im Klosterleben, dass man die Schrift lernte; jetzt geben sie für, es sei das Klosterleben ein solch Wesen, dass man Gottes Gnad und Frommkeit vor Gott damit verdiene, ja es sei ein Stand der Vollkommenheit, und setzens den andern Ständen, so von Gott eingesetzt, weit für. Das alles wird darum angezogen ohne alle Verunglimpfung, damit man je desto besser vernehmen und verstehen mag, was und wie die Unseren lehren und predigen.

Erstlich lehren sie bei uns von denen, die zur Ehe greifen, also, dass alle die, so zum ledigen Stand nicht geschickt sind, Macht und Recht haben, sich zu verhehlichen. Denn die Gelübde vermögen nicht Gottes Ordnung und Gebot aufzuheben. Nun lautet Gottes Gebot also 1 Co. 7: Um der Hurerei willen habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Weib und eine jegliche habe ihren eigenen Mann. Dazu treibt, dringt und

den, dan man findets in jren aigen Buchern.

Vber das, wer also gefangen vnd ins Closter komen, lernet wenig von Christo; etwo [= formerly] hadt man schulen der hayligen schrift vnd Anderer kunste, so der Christlichen Kirchen Dienstlich seind, in den clostern. Das man auss den Clostern Pfarrer vnd Bischoue genumen hadt, jetzt aber hadts vil ain Andere gestalt. Dan vortzeiten kamen sie der maynung zusam jm Closterleben, das man die schrift lernet. Itzt geben sy fur, das Closterleben sey Ain solch wesen, das man gots gnad vnd frombkait vor gott damit verdiene, jha es sey ain Stand der volkumenhait, vnd setzens den Andern Stenden, so von got eingesetzt, weyt fur. Das alles wirdet darumb angetzogen on alle verunglimpfung, damit man yhe dester bass vernemen vnd versteen muge, was vnd wie die vnsern predigen vnd leren.

Erstlich lehren sy bey vns von denen, die zur Ehe greifen, also, das alle die, so zum ledigen standt nit geschickt seind, macht, fug vnd recht haben, sich zuuorehelichen, Dan die gelubd vermugen nit, gottes ordnung vnd gebot aufzuheben. Nu lautet gots gebot also j Chorint. 7: vmb der Hurrerey willen hab Ain jtzlicher sein aigen weib vnd Ain jtzliche hab jren aigen man. Dartzu dringet. zwinget vnd treibet nit

rühmen, halten, wollen wir hie um Glimpfs willen fallen lassen.

Erstlich aber von denjenigen, so sich aus dem Klosterleben in Ehestand begeben haben, wird bei uns also gelehrt, dass der Ehestand allen frei soll gelassen werden, welche zu ewiger Keuschheit nicht geschickt sind. Denn kein Gelübde kann Gottes Ordnung und Gebot aufheben. Nun ist dieses ein klar Gebot: Unzucht zu vermeiden, soll ein jeder sein Eheweib haben. Und nicht allein durch Gebot, sondern auch durch die Natur und Gottes Werk werden solche zum Ehestand getrieben, welchen Gott nicht sonderliche Gabe zu ewiger Keuschheit geben hat. Derhalben diejenigen, die sich zum Ehestand begeben, dieweil sie Gottes Gebot und Ordnung folgen, tun sie nicht unrecht.

Was kann man doch dagegen aufbringen? Das Gelübde binde, wie es wölle, so kann es doch Gottes Gebot nicht aufheben und soll nicht wider Gottes Gebot binden. Canones lehren selbst, dass in allen Gelübden autoritas superioris soll ausgenommen sein, dass kein Gelübde der Oberkeit ihre Macht wehren soll. Darum soll in diesen Gelübden auch autoritas Dei ausgezogen [= ausgenommen] sein, dass sie wider Gottes Befehl nicht binden.

Wenn alle Gelübde binden sollten, so hätten die Päpste auch nicht Macht gehabt, Gelübde zu

nicht so oft dispensiert, denn was Gott verbindet, kann kein Mensch auflösen. Aber die Päpste haben hierin fast weislich gehandelt, dass sie etwas nachgegeben und nicht nach der Strenge gehandelt haben.

Item, warum erhebt man die Verbündnis [the binding force] der Gelübde also hoch und schweigt doch still von der Art und Natur des Gelübdes, die da erfordert, dass es möglich ist, willkürlich [of free choice] und wohlbedächtig [well considered] geschehe. Wie möglich [es] aber einem Menschen ist, ewige Keuschheit zu halten, ist männiglich unverborgen. Item, wie viel sind derer, die willkürlich und wohlbedächtig geloben? Wahrlich gar wenig. Die Knaben und Meidlein werden, ehe sie zu rechtem Verstand kommen, überredet zu geloben, zu Zeiten auch genötigt. Darum soll man nicht also streng von den Gelübden reden, dieweil jedermann bekennen muss, dass kein Gelübde ist noch heisst, ja ganz wider die Art und Natur eines Gelübdes, was nicht möglich, willkürlich und wohlbedächtig gelobt wird. Etwa viele [not a few] Canones zerreißen die Gelübde, so vor dem 15. Jahr geschehen, denn vor solcher Zeit vermutet man sich nicht so viel Verstandes, dass einer seines ganzen künftigen Lebens gewiss ist. Ein anderer Canon gibt

zwingt nicht allein Gottes Gebot, sondern auch Gottes Geschöpf und Ordnung alle die zum Ehestand, die ohn sonderliches Gotteswerk mit der Gabe der Jungfrauschaft nicht begnadet sind, laut dieses Spruches Gottes Gene. 2: Es ist nicht gut, dass der Mensch allein sei; wir wollen ihm einen Gehilfen machen, der um ihn sei. Was mag man nun dawider aufbringen? Man rühme das Gelübde oder Pflicht, wie hoch man wolle, man nutze es auf, als hoch als man wolle, so mag man dennoch nicht erzwingen, dass Gottes Gebot dadurch aufgehoben werde. Die Doktores sagen, dass die Gelübde auch wider des Papstes Rechte unbündig sind, wieviel weniger sollen sie dann binden, Statt und Kraft haben wider Gottes Gebot! Und wo die Pflicht der Gelübde keine andre Ursache hätte, dass sie möcht aufgehoben werden, so hätten die Päpste auch nicht dawider dispensiert und erlaubt. Denn es gebührt keinem Menschen, die Pflicht, so aus göttlichen Rechten erwächst, zu zerreißen. Darum haben die Päpste wohl bedacht, dass in dieser Pflicht eine Aequität solle gebraucht werden, und haben zum öftermal dispensiert, als mit einem König von Arragon und viel andern. So man nun zur Erhaltung zeitlicher Dinge dispensiert hat, sollte viel billiger dis-

allain gottes gebot, sonder auch gots geschopf vnd Ordnung alle die zum Ehestandt, die on sonder gottes werck mit der gabe der Jungkfrawschaft nicht begnadet seindt, lauts dieses spruchs gottes selbs Gene. 2: Es ist nit gut, das der mensch allain sey; wir wellen jme ein gehilfen machen, der vmb jme sey.

Was mag man dawider aussbringen [= aufbringen]? man rume das gelubd vnd die phlicht, wie hoch man welle, man mutze es auf, als hoch man kan, so mag man dannoch nit erzwingen, das gottes gebot dardurch aufgehaltten [= aufgehoben] werde. Die Doctores sagen, das die gelubd Auch wider des Bapsts Recht vn- bundig seind; wiewil weniger sollen sy dan binden, stadt vnd kraft haben wider gottes gebot?

Wo die phlicht der gelubd kain ander vrsachen hette, das sy mecht aufgehoben werden, so hetten die Bepst auch nit darwieder disspensirt oder erlaubt, dan es geburet kainem menschen, die phlicht, so auss gotlichen Rechten herwechst, zurreissen. Darumb haben die Bepste wol bedacht, das in diser phlicht Ain Equitet soll gebraucht werden, vnd haben zum oftern mal disspensirt, Als mit Ainem Kunig von Arragon vnd vilen Andern. So man nun zu Erhaltung zeitlicher Ding disspensirt hadt, soll vil pillicher dis-

relaxieren. Nun weiss man, dass die Pápste viele aus den Klöstern ledig gelassen haben, als einen König von Aragonia und andere. Darum muss folgen, dass sie selbst bekennen, dass etliche Gelübde unbündig und nicht rechte Gelübde sind.

Weiter ist unbillig, dass man treibt aufs Gelübde und siehet nicht zuvor, ob dieses Gelübde sind oder nicht. Gelübde soll von rechten und möglichen Dingen und freiwillig geschehen. Nun stehet ewige Keuschheit nicht in eines jeden Macht, so weiss man auch, dass junge Leute zum Teil zum Klosterleben gedrungen werden, zum Teil sich als unerfahrene aus Unverstand darein begeben, die ihr Vermögen nicht gewusst, haben auch nicht verstanden, ob solch Leben göttlich sei oder nicht. Was nun aus Zwang und Unverstand geschieht, das heisst nicht freiwillig geschehen. Darum so solches nicht Gelübde sind, ist nicht not zu disputieren, ob sie binden oder nicht binden. Denn so es nicht Gelübde sind, so binden sie nicht. Derhalben auch Canones die Gelübde relaxieren, so geschehen sind von denen, die noch nicht über fünfzehn Jahr kommen sind, darum dass in dem Alter noch niemand sein Vermögen weiss. Und ein andrer ist noch linder, der verbeut, Gelübde zu tun vor achtzehn Jahren. Durch diese Canones werden viele

menschlicher Blödigkeit noch 3 Jahre zu und setzt es auf 18 Jahr. Welchem wollen wir nun folgen? Ein grosser Teil derer, so aus den Klöstern kommen, haben die Entschuldigung, dass sie vor dieser Zeit gelobt haben.

Item, obgleich der Gelübde Bruch sollte sträflich sein, so folgt doch nicht, dass die Ehe zwischen diesen Personen unkräftig ist, wie Augustinus schreibt, dem man hierin billig Glauben gibt, wiewohl andere hernach einer anderen Meinung gewesen sind.

Und wiewohl Gottes Gebot der Ehe halben manchen von dem Klostergelübde entledigt, so setzen wir doch noch eine andere Ursache, warum sie unbündig [not binding] und kraftlos sind, nämlich dass aller Gottesdienst, so ohne Gottes Befehl erdacht [ist], Gnade und Rechtfertigung zu verdienen, unchristlich und wider Gott ist, wie Christus spricht: Sie ehren mich vergeblich mit Menschenlehren. Und Paulus vermahnt überall, man soll die Gerechtigkeit nicht suchen aus Werken und Verdiensten durch uns erdacht, sondern durch den Glauben an Christum etc. Nun haben die Mönche ohne Scheu gelehrt, dass ihr Klosterleben genug tue für die Sünde und verdiene Gnade und Rechtfertigung. Was ist das anders, denn Christus Ehre verkleinern und die Gerech-

pensiert werden um Notdurft der Seelen etc. Folgend warum treibt der Gegenteil so hart, dass man die Gelübde halten müsste, und siehet nicht an zuvor, ob das Gelübde seine Art habe. Denn das Gelübde soll in möglichen Sachen und willig, ungezwungen sein. Wie aber die ewige Keuschheit in des Menschen Gewalt und Vermögen steht, weiss man wohl; auch sind wenig, beide Manns- und Weibspersonen, die von ihnen selbst willig und wohlbedacht das Klostergelübde getan haben. Ehe sie zum rechten Verstand kommen, so überredet man sie zum Klostergelübde; zuweilen werden sie auch dazu gedrungen und gezwungen. Darum ist es je nicht billig, dass man so geschwind und hart von der Gelübdepflicht disputiere, angesehen, dass sie alle bekennen, dass solche wider Natur und Art der Gelübde ist, dass es nicht williglich und mit gutem Rat und Bedacht gelobt wird. Etliche Canones und päpstliche Rechte zerreißen die Gelübde, die unter 15 Jahren geschehen sind. Denn sie halten dafür, dass man vor derselbigen Zeit soviel Verstandes nicht hat, dass man die Ordnung des ganzen Lebens, wie dasselbe anzustellen, beschliessen könnte. Ein anderer Canon gibt der menschlichen Schwachheit noch mehr Jahre zu, denn er verbietet, das Klostergelübde unter 18 Jahren

pensirt werden vmb notdurft willen der seelen.

Volgends warumb treibet der gegentail so hardt, das man die gelubd halten muss, vnd sihet nit An zuuor, ob das gelubd sein Art hab? Dan das gelubd soll in muglichen sachen vnd willig, vngezwungen sein; wie Aber die Ewige keuschhait in des menschen gewelt vnd vermugen stehe, wais man wol. Auch seind wenig, baide, mans vnd weibspersonen, die von jnen selbs willig vnd wolbedacht das clostergelubd gethan haben. Ehe sieh zu rechtem verstandt kumen, so vberred man sy zum Clostergelubd; zuweilen werden sie Auch dartzu gezwungen vnd getrungen. Darumb ist yhe nit billig, das man so schwindt vnd hart von der gelubd phlicht disputire, Angesehen, das sie alle bekennen, das solchs wider die Natur vnd Art des gelubdes ist, Das Es nit williglich vnd mit gutem Rath vnd bedacht gelobt wird. Etzlich Canones vnd Bepstliche Recht zurreissen die gelubd, die vnter funfzehn Jaren gescheen sein, dan sy haltens darfur, das man vor derselben zeit souil verstands nicht hadt, Das man die Ordnung des gantzen lebens, wie dasselb anzustellen, beschliessen konne. Ein ander Canon gibt der Menschlichen Schwachait noch meher Jare zu, Dan er verbeutet das Clostergelubd vnter achtzehn Jaren zu

ledig gesprochen, die jetzund in Klöstern sind. So schreibet auch Augustinus 27 q. 1 Cap. Nuptiarum, dass man die Ehe derer, so zuvor Keuschheit gelobt haben, nicht zerreißen soll. Darum, ob schon jemand das strafen wollte, dass die Gelübde gebrochen sind, so folget doch daraus nicht, dass man solcher Personen Ehe zerreißen soll.

Wiewohl nun Gottes Gebot, den Ehestand belangend, viele vom Klosterleben ledig macht, so zeigen doch die Unsern andre mehr Ursach an, der halben diese Vota nicht tüchtig noch bündig sind. Denn aller Gottesdienst, von Menschen erdichtet und erwählet, dadurch Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen und dass sie Gott annehmen soll als Gerechtigkeit und uns darum gerecht schätzen und ewiges Leben zu geben schuldig sein — solche Werke und Stände, solcher Meinung gehalten, sind wider Gott, denn Christus spricht: Sie ehren mich vergeblich mit Menschengebot. Und Paulus streitet das ernstlich an vielen Orten, dass man Vergebung der Sünde nicht durch unsre Werke und Gottesdienste von uns erwählt erlange, dass auch niemand vor Gott gerecht geschätzt werde von wegen solcher erdichteter Gottesdienste, sondern dass wir haben Vergebung der Sünde um Christus willen, dass wir auch um Christus wil-

tigkeit, so aus dem Glauben kommt, verleugnen? Daraus unwidersprechlich folgt, dass diese Gelübde ein unchristlicher Gottesdienst und derhalben unkräftig sind. Es soll kein Gelübde zu einigem [any] Uebel verbinden. Als [f. i.] so einer gelobt, einen Totschlag zu tun, der tut unrecht; so er aber dies Gelübde zerreisst und nicht hält, tut er recht daran. Item, Paulus sagt: So ihr durch das Gesetz wollt gerechtfertigt werden, so seid ihr von Christo abgesondert und habt der Gnade gefehlt. Also auch die, so durch Gelübde wollen gerechtfertigt werden, haben der Gnade und Christi gefehlt.

Ueber das alles haben sie auch andern ihre gute Werke mitgeteilt und anderes mehr, des sie sich jetzund selbst schämen. Es ist wahrlich nicht ein geringes Aergernis, einen Gottesdienst, durch Menschen erdacht, ohne Gottes Befehl dem Volk vorzumalen und zu lehren, dass man dadurch gerechtfertigt wird. Denn hiemit wird die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, die man vornehmlich predigen soll, desgleichen Gottes Gebot und der wahrhaftige Gottesdienst verfinstert, wo dem Volk vorgesetzt wird, wie allein die Mönche in einem vollkommenen Stand seien, darin doch alle die sind, die Gott von Herzen fürchten und ein gewisses Vertrauen haben, dass er

zu tun. Daraus hat der meiste Teil Entschuldigung und Ursach, dass sie aus den Klöstern gehen, denn sie des mehreren Theils in der Kindheit vor diesen Jahren ins Kloster kommen sind. Endlich, wenn gleich das Brechen des Klostergelübdes möchte getadelt werden, so könnte aber dennoch daraus nicht folgen, dass man derselben Ehe zerreißen sollte. Denn Sankt Augustin sagt 27 q. [1] c. Nuptiarum, dass man solche Ehe nicht zerreißen solle. Nun ist Sankt Augustin nicht in geringem Ansehen in der christlichen Kirchen, obgleich etliche hernach anders gehalten etc.

Wiewohl nun Gottes Gebot vom Ehestand ihrer sehr viele vom Klostergelübde frei und ledig gemacht, so wenden doch die Unsern noch mehr Ursach für, dass das Klostergelübde nichtig und unbindig [not binding] sei. Denn aller Gottesdienst von Menschen ohne Gottes Gebot und Befehl eingesetzt und erwählt, Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Gnad zu erlangen, ist wider Gott und dem heiligen Evangelio und Gottes Befehl entgegen, wie denn Christus selbst sagt Matthäi am 15: Sie dienen mir vergeblich etc. So lehrt auch Sankt Paulus überall, dass man Gerechtigkeit nicht soll suchen aus unsern Geboten und Gottesdiensten, so von Menschen erdichtet sind, sondern dass Gerechtigkeit und Frommkeit bei

thun. Darauss hadt der Maiste taile entschuldigung vnd vrsachen, auss den Clostern zu geen, Dan sy des merern tails in der Kinthait, vor disen Jaren, in kloster kumen seind. Entlich wan gleich die verbrechung des Clostergelubds mecht getadelt werden, so kont aber dennoch daraus nit eruolgen, das man derselbigen Ehe zurreissen solt. Dan Sanct Augustin sagt XXVII q. j. ca. Nuptiarum, das man solche Ehe nicht zurreissen soll. Nun ist yhe sanct Augustin nit in geringem Ansehen in der Christlichen kirchen, obgleich etzliche hernach anderst gehalten.

Wiewol nun gottes gebot von dem Ehestandt so seer vil vom closter gelubd frey vnd ledig macht, so wenden doch die vnsern noch meher vrsachen fur, dass Closter gelubd nichtig vnd vnbindig sey. Dan aller gots dienst, von den menschen on gottes gebot vnd beuelch eingesetzt vnd Erwehlet, gerechtigkayt vnd gottes gnad zu erlangen, sey wider gott vnd dem Euangelio vnd gottes beuelch entgegen, Wie dan Christus selbs saget Math. 15: Sie dienen mir vergeben mit menschen geboten. So lerets Auch Sanct Paul vberall, das man gerechtigkait nit soll suchen auss vnsern geboten vnd gottes diensten, so von menschen erdicht seind, sonder das gerechtigkait vnd frombkait von got kumbt

len gerecht geschätzt werden, so wir glauben.

Nun ist am Tage, dass die Menschen gelehrt und gehalten haben, dass ihre erdichteten Gelübde und Gottesdienste verdienen sollten Vergebung der Sünden, dass sie damit für die Sünde genugtun, dass sie derhalben vor Gott gerecht geschätzt würden. Was ist nun das anders als ihre Möncherei an Christus Statt setzen und verleugnen der verheissenen Barmherzigkeit in Christo? Daraus folgt, dass solche Gelübde, der Meinung geschehen und gehalten, wider Gott und unbündig sind. Denn, wie auch die Rechte sprechen, Gelübde sollen nicht vincula iniquitatis sein, das ist, sie sollen nicht verbinden zu Sünden. Darum alle Gelübde, so wider Gottes Befehl und Gebot sind, sollen billig unbündig gesprochen werden.

Paulus spricht auch also: Wollt ihr gerecht werden durchs Gesetz, so seid ihr abe von Christo und habt Gnade verloren, das ist, diejenigen, so mit eignen Werken Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen vorhaben und vermeinen Gott zu gefallen um ihrer Werke willen und Erfüllung des Gesetzes und nicht darauf feststehen, dass sie Vergebung der Sünden um Christus willen, allein aus Barmherzigkeit, durch Glauben empfahen, dass sie auch um Christus willen Gott gefallen, nicht

uns um Christi willen gnädig ist, auch in allem Anliegen Hilfe von Gott begehren und hoffen. Dies ist ein vollkommener Stand, nicht unehelich leben, betteln und ein närrisch geschmiertes Kleid tragen.

Es werden auch dem Volk viele schädliche Meinungen durch diese falsche Erhebung [praise] des Klosterlebens eingebildet. Denn so man das uneheliche Leben also über die Massen lobt, macht man den Ehelichen ein schwer Gewissen. Sagt man dann, wie die Bettler allein vollkommen sind, so kann man schwerlich mit gutem Gewissen zeitliche Güter behalten und damit hantieren. Sagt man, es sei allein geraten und nicht geboten, sich nicht zu rächen, so vermeint ein jeder, so nicht ein Mönch ist, er habe Macht sich zu rächen. Es folgt auch daraus, dass man meint, es mag kein Christ weder Oberkeit noch andere zeitliche Sachen verwalten.

Man hat auch mehrmals gesehen, wie etliche ihr Ehegemahl und das Regiment oder Oberkeit verlassen und sich in ein Kloster gesteckt haben. Solches nannten sie aus der Welt fliehen und ein Leben suchen, das Gott gefälliger wäre, und sahen nicht, dass sie schuldig waren, Gott in seinen eigenen Geboten zu dienen, nicht in Menschenfündlein. Ein jeglicher Stand, der ein Wort und Be-

Gott kommt aus dem Glauben und Vertrauen, dass wir glauben, dass uns Gott um seines einigen Sohnes willen zu Gnaden [an]nimmt. Nun ist je am Tag, dass die Mönche gelehrt und gepredigt haben, dass die erdichtete Geistlichkeit genug tue für die Sünde und Gottes Gnad und Gerechtigkeit erlange. Was ist nun das anders, denn die Herrlichkeit und Preis der Gnade Christi vermindern und die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens verleugnen? Darum folgt aus dem, dass solche Gelübde unrechte, falsche Gottesdienst gewesen. Derhalben sind sie auch unbindig. Denn ein gottlos Gelübde und das wider Gottes Gebot geschehen, [ist] unbindig und nichtig, wie auch die Canones lehren, dass der Eid nicht soll ein Band zur Sünde sein. Sankt Paulus sagt zu den Galatern am 5: Ihr seid abgefallen von Christo, die ihr durch das Gesetz gerechtfertigt werden wollt, und habt der Gnade gefehlt [fell from the state of grace]. Derhalben auch die, so durch Gelübde wollen gerechtfertigt werden, sind von Christo abgefallen und fehlen der Gnade Gottes. Denn dieselben rauben Christo seine Ehre, der allein gerecht macht, und geben sie ihren Gelübden und Klosterleben. Man kann auch nicht leugnen, dass die Mönche gelehrt und gepredigt haben, dass sie durch ihre Gelübde und Kloster-

auss dem glauben vnd vertrauen, das wir glauben, das vns gott vmb seines Ainigen sons Christus willen zu gnaden nimbt. Nun ist es yhe am tage, das die Monich geleret vnd gepredigt haben, das die Erdachte gaistlichkait gnug thun fur die sunde vnd gottes gnad vnd gerechtigkeit erlangen; was ist nun das Anderst dan die herlichkeit vnd preise der gnaden Christi vermindern vnd die gerechtigkeit des glaubens verlaugnen? Darumb volget auss dem, das solche gewondliche gelubd vnrechte, falsche gottesdienst gewesen. Derhalb seind sy auch vnbundig, Dan Ain gotloss gelubd vnd das wider gots gebot gescheen, ist vnbundig vnd nichtig, wie Auch die Canones leeren, das der Aid nit soll Ein bandt zur sunde sein.

Sanctus Paulus sagt zum Galatern am 5: jr seit ab von Christo, die jr durch das gesetz rechtfertigt werden welt vnd habt der gnaden gefelet. Derhalben auch die, so durch gelubd wellen rechtfertigt werden, sein von Christo abe vnd felen der gnad gottes, Dan dieselben rauben Christo seine Eer, der allein gerecht macht, vnd geben solche Eer jren gelubden vnd Closter leben.

Man kan Auch nit laugnen, das die Moniche geleret vnd gepredigt haben, das sie durch jre gelubd vnd Closter wesen vnd weyse gerecht werden vnd vergebung der

von wegen eigner Werk, die verlieren Christum, ja sie verstossen ihn. Denn sie setzen ihr Vertrauen, das Christo allein gehört, auf ihre eignen Werke. Item, sie halten ihre eignen Werke gegen Gottes Zorn und Gericht, nicht den Mittler und Versöhner Christum. Darum rauben sie Christo seine Ehre und gebens ihren Orden. Denn das ist öffentlich, dass die Mönche vorgeben, sie verdienen mit ihren Gelübden Vergebung der Sünden und gefallen Gott um solcher Werke willen. Also lehren sie Vertrauen auf eigne Werke, nicht auf Christus Versöhnung. Solch Vertrauen ist öffentlich wider Gott und ist vergeblich, wenn Gott richtet und das Gewissen erschreckt. Denn unsre Werke können nicht bestehen wider Gottes Zorn und Gericht, sondern allein also wird Gottes Zorn versühnt, wenn wir ergreifen Gottes Verheissung, in Christo zugesagt, und glauben, dass uns Gott, nicht von wegen unsrer Werk, sondern aus Barmherzigkeit um Christus willen gnädig sein wolle. Derhalben diejenigen, so auf eigne Werke vertrauen, die verstossen Christum und wollen sein nicht, denn sie wollen nicht auf ihn vertrauen.

Weiter rühmen die Mönche, dass ihre Orden seien christliche Vollkommenheit, denn sie halten die Gebote und Räte. Das heisst ja auf Werk vertraut! Und die-

fehl Gottes hat, ist gut und vollkommen; welcher kein Wort und Befehl Gottes hat, ist gefährlich. Solches ist hoch von Nöten den Menschen einzubilden. Es hat hievor Gerson die Mönche gestraft, dass sie ihren Stand vollkommen genannt haben; sagte, es sei zu seinen Zeiten noch ganz neu und ungewöhnlich gewesen. Also viele irrige, unchristliche War hängt an den Klostergeübden, dadurch sie billig für unkräftig geachtet wurden.

wesen und Weise gerecht werden und Vergebung der Sünde verdienen, ja sie haben noch wohl ungeschicktere und ungereimtere Dinge erdichtet und gesagt, dass sie ihre guten Werke den andern mitteilten. Wenn nun einer dies alles wollt unglimpflich treiben und aufnutzen, wie viele Stücke könnte er zusammenbringen, deren sich die Mönche auch jetzt selbst schämen und nicht wollen getan haben. Ueber das alles haben sie auch die Leute des überredet, dass ihre erdichteten geistlichen Ordensstände sind rechte christliche Vollkommenheit. Dies ist ja die Werke rühmen, dass man dadurch gerecht werde. Nun ist es nicht ein gering Aergernis in der christlichen Kirchen, dass man dem Volk solchen Gottesdienst fürträgt, den die Menschen ohne Gottes Gebot erdichtet haben und lehren, dass ein solcher Gottesdienst die Menschen vor Gott fromm und gerecht mache. Die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, die man am meisten in der christlichen Kirche treiben soll, wird verdunkelt, wenn den [Leuten] die Augen aufgesperrt werden mit dieser seltsamen Engelgeistlichkeit und falsch Vorgeben der Armut, Demut und Keuschheit. [Ueber das] werden die Gebote Gottes und der rechte und wahre Gottesdienst auch dadurch verdunkelt, so die Leute hören, dass allein die

sunde verdienen, jha sy haben noch wol vngeschickter Ding erdicht vnd gesaget, das sie jre gute werk den andern mittailen. Wan nun ainer diss alles wolt vnglimpflich treiben vnd aufnutzen, wievil stuck kundt Er zusam bringen, der sich die Monich jetzt selbs schemen vnd nit wellen gethan haben. Vber das alles haben sy auch die leuthe vberredt, das die erdichte gaistliche Orden stend seind Christlicher volkommenheit. Diss ist jha die werck ruhmen, das man dadurch gerecht werde. Nun ist es nit Ain geringe Ergernus in der Christlichen kirchen, das man dem volck Ain solchen gots dienst furtregt, den die menschen on gottes gebot erdicht haben vnd leeren, das Ain solcher gots dienst die menschen vor got fromb vnd gerecht macht. Dan Gerechtigkeit des glaubens, die man am meisten in der kirchen treiben soll, wirdet verdunkelt, wan den leuten die Augen aufgesperret werden mit dieser Seltzamen Engel gaistlichkeit vnd falschem furgeben des armuts, demuth vnd keuschheit.

Vber das werden auch die gebot gots vnd der recht vnd ware gotsdienst dardurch verdunkelt, wen die leute horen, Das allain die Moniche in standt der volkommenheit sein sollen, Dann die Christlich volkommenheit ist, das man got von hertzen vnd mit Ernst

ser Irrtum ist zum höchsten dem Evangelio entgegen, dass sie vorgeben, sie erfüllen Gottes Gesetz, dass daran nicht Mangel sei, ja dass sie noch Uebermass haben, die sie hernach applicieren als Genugtuung und Bezahlung für andere, machen sich also selbst zu Christo und wollen durch ihre übrigen Werke andre selig machen. Das heisst ja Christum weggeworfen, denn so sie Gottes Gesetz erfüllen und dem genug tun, bedürfen sie Christi nicht und hat Gott nicht an ihnen zu strafen und zu richten.

Ueber das ist dieses ein grosser, schädlicher, heidnischer Irrtum, dass christliche Vollkommenheit stehen soll in Weis und Werken, die Menschen selbst erwählen, als nämlich in diesen äusserlichen Werken, als nicht ehelich sein, nicht Eignes haben, Gehorsam in sonderlichen Kleidern und Speisen. Diese Dinge haben nicht Gottes Gebot. Sondern christliche Vollkommenheit ist ernstlich Gott fürchten und doch vertrauen, dass wir einen gnädigen Gott haben um Christus willen und in solchem Glauben zunehmen und ihn üben, Gott anrufen, Hilfe von Gott warten in allen Sachen und äusserlich gute Werke, so Gott geboten hat, tun, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf. In diesen Stücken steht christliche Vollkommenheit, nicht in ehelosem Stand, in Betteln, Kappen, Gürteln und

Mönche im Stand der Vollkommenheit sein sollen. Denn die christliche Vollkommenheit ist, dass man Gott von Herzen und mit Ernst fürchte und doch auch eine herzliche Zuversicht, Glauben und Vertrauen fasse, dass wir um Christus willen einen gnädigen, barmherzigen Gott haben, dass wir mögen und sollen von Gott bitten und begehren, was uns not ist, und Hilfe von ihm in allen Trübsalen gewisslich nach eines jeden Beruf und Stand gewarten, dass wir auch in derselben sollen äusserlich mit Fleiss gute Werke tun und unseres Berufes warten. Darin steht die rechte Vollkommenheit und der rechte Gottesdienst, nicht zu betteln in einer schwarzen oder grauen Kappen etc. Aber das gemeine Volk fasst viel schädlicher Meinung aus falschem Lob des Klosterlebens. So es hört, dass man den ledigen Stand ohne alle Masse lobt, [folget], dass es mit Beschwer der Gewissen im Ehestand ist. So der gemeine Mann hört, dass die Bettler allein vollkommen seien, kann er nicht wissen, dass er ohne Sünde Güter haben und handtieren möge. So das Volk hört, es sei nur ein Rat, nicht Rache zu üben, folgt, dass etliche vermeinen, es sei nicht Sünde, ausserhalb des Amtes Rache zu üben. Etliche meinen, Rache gezieme den Christen gar nicht, auch nicht der Ober-

furchtet vnd doch Auch Ain hertzliche zuuersicht vnd glauben, auch vertrauen fasset, das wir vmb Christus willen Ein gnedigen, barmhertzigem goth haben, Das wir mugen vnd sollen von got bitten vnd begeren, was vns noth ist, vnd hulf von jme in allen trub-salen gewislich nach Ains jden beruf vnd standt gewarten, Das wir auch in des sollen eusserlich mit vleis gute werk thun vnd vn-sers berufs warten; darin steet die rechte volkumenhait vnd der rechte gotsdienst, nit in betteln oder in ainer schwartzen oder grawen kappen etc. Aber das ge-main volck fasset vil schedlicher maynung auss falschem lob des Closterlebens, so er horet, das man den ledigen stand on alle mass lobet, volget, das Es mit beschwertem gewissen im Ehe-standt ist. Dan daraus der ge-main man horet, Das die betler allain sollen volkomen sein, kan Er nit wissen, Das er on sunde guter haben vnd hantieren muge; so das volck horet, es sey nur Ain Rath, nit Rach vben, volget, das etzlich vermainen, es sey nit sundt, ausserhalb des Ambts rach zu vben. Etzliche mainen, Rach gezieme den Christen gar nit, auch nit der Oberkait. Man liset auch der Exempel vil, das etzlich weib vnd kind, auch jr Regiment verlassen vnd sich in Closter gesteckt haben. Dasselb haben sy gesagt, haist auss der

dergleichen. Darum ist es ein schädlich Aergernis in der Christenheit, einen eignen Gottesdienst mit solchen Orden anrichten und denselben rühmen, dass man dadurch Vergebung der Sünden verdiene, dass diese Werke seien Vollkommenheit vor Gott.

Damit wird Christus Amt und Verheissung verdunkelt, denn die Leute werden dadurch von Christo auf Vertrauen eigener Werk abgewandt. Dazu werden Gottes Gebot verdunkelt, so man solche falsche, erdichtete Werk neben und über Gottes Gebot setzt, so man das für engelisch Leben ausruft: nicht ehelich sein, nicht Eigenes haben. Kappen tragen, und dagegen Stände von Gott geboten geringer macht, dass mans dafür hält, als seien sie sündlich oder als achte Gott solcher Werke nicht, wie denn geschehen ist, dass viele mit Beschwerde ihrer Gewissen in Ehestand, in Oberkeit, in Gütern und Hantierung gewesen sind, allein derhalben, dass sie nicht Bericht gehabt haben, dass diese Stände und Werk von Gott geordnet und recht sind und haben der Mönche Wesen allein für hohe, christliche Heiligkeit gehalten. Derhalben etliche, wie man liest, ihren Ehestand, etliche andre löbliche Aemter verlassen und haben Mönche leben angenommen. Darum fordert die hohe Notdurft, dass rechte Prediger die Leute

keit. Man liest auch der Exempel viel, dass etliche Weib und Kind, auch ihr Regiment verlassen haben und sich in Klöster gesteckt. Dasselbig hat man fargesagt [put forth or used as a pretext], es heisse aus der Welt fliehen und ein solch Leben suchen, das Gott besser gefiele, denn der anderen Leben. Sie haben auch nicht können wissen, dass man Gott dienen soll in den Geboten, die er geben hat, und nicht in Geboten, die von Menschen erdichtet sind. Nun ist je das ein guter und vollkommener Stand des Lebens, welcher Gottes Gebot für sich hat, und das ein gefährlicher Stand, wo man Gottes Gebot nicht für sich hat.

Von solchen Ursachen ist von nöten gewesen, den Leuten guten Bericht zu tun. Es hat auch Gerson in Vorzeiten den Irrtum der Mönche von der Vollkommenheit gestraft und zeigt an, dass bei seinen Zeiten dies eine neue Rede gewesen sei, dass das Klosterleben ein Stand der Vollkommenheit sein soll. So viel gottloser Meinungen und Irrtümer kleben in den Klostergelüben, dass sie sollen rechtfertigen und fromm vor Gott machen, dass sie die christliche Vollkommenheit sein sollen, dass man damit beide, des Evangeliums Räte und Gebote, halte, dass sie haben die Uebermass-Werke, die man Gott nicht schuldig sei. Dieweil denn

welt fliehen vnd Ain solch leben suchen, das gott bass gefiele Dan der andern leben. Sy haben auch nit können wissen, das man got dienen soll in den geboten, die Er geben hadt, vnd nit in den geboten, die von menschen erdicht seind. Nun ist yhe das Ain guter vnd volkumener standt des lebens, welcher gots gebot fur sich hadt; das Aber ist Ain ferlicher standt des lebens, der gots gebot nit fur sich hadt.

Von solchen sachen ist von noten gewesen, den leuten guten bericht zu thun. Es hadt auch Gerson in vortzeiten den Irthumb der Moniche von der volkumenhait gestraft vnd zaigt an, das bey seinen zeiten dises ein newe rede gewesen sey, das das Closter leben ain standt der volkumenhait sein soll; souil gotloser maynung vnd Irtumb kleben in den klosterge-lubden, das sie sollen rechtfertigen vnd frumb vor got machen. Das sy die Christlich volkumenhait sein sollen, Das man damit baide, des Euangeliums rethe vnd gebot, halte, das sie haben die vbermass werk, die man got nyt schuldig sey. Dieweil dan solchs alles falsch, eitel vnd erdicht ist, so macht es auch die Closter gelubde nichtig vnd vnbündig.

mit Fleiss lehren, dass christliche Vollkommenheit in Glauben und Werken von Gott geboten stehe, nicht in Möncherei und Gelüben, die Gott nicht geboten hat. Also hat auch Gerson vor dieser Zeit die gestraft, so Möncherei für christliche Vollkommenheit rühmten.

Dieweil nun die Gelübde in solchen grossen Irrtümern geschehen, nämlich dass man durch eigne erdichtete Mönchwerke Vergebung der Sünde verdienen sollte, dass man darum gerecht vor Gott geschätzt werde, dass sie Gottes Gesetz genug tun, dass sie halten Gottes Gebote und Räte, dass sie Uebermass Werke haben und anderen applicieren, für sie genug zu tun. so kann ein jeder Verständiger leicht richten, dass solche Gelübde, die mit viel Irrtum vorgenommen, unbündig und nicht Gelübde sind.

Von der Gewalt der Kirchen. Man hat vor Zeiten mancherlei disputiert von der Gewalt der Bischöfe, darunter etliche ungeschickter Weise die Gewalt der Kirche und das Schwert ineinander vermischet haben, daraus viel Krieg und Aufruhr erwachsen, dieweil die Bischöfe durch Vertröstung [relying upon] ihrer Gewalt der Schlüssel nicht allein neue Gottesdienste erdachten und die Gewissen mit Vorbehaltung etlicher Fälle und gewaltigem Bann beschwerten, sondern auch sich weltliche Reich zu verändern und den Kaisern zu entziehen unterstunden. Dies haben hievor viele fromme und gelehrte Leute in der Christenheit widerfochten. Derhalben wir zur Tröstung der Gewissen gezwungen wurden, einen Unterschied zwischen geistlichem und weltlichem Regiment anzuzeigen, und lehren hievon also: dass die Gewalt der Bischöfe oder die Gewalt der Schlüssel sei eine Gewalt oder Gebot Gottes, zu predigen das Evangelium und die Sünde zu vergeben oder zu behalten und zu reichen die Sakrament. Denn also schickt Christus seine Apostel aus: Wie mich der Vater hat ausgesandt, also sende ich auch euch; empfängt den heiligen

solches alles falsch, eitel und erdichtet ist, so macht es auch die Klostersgelübde nichtig und unbindig.

Von der Bischöfe Gewalt. Von der Bischöfe Gewalt ist vorzeiten viel und mancherlei geschrieben und haben etliche unschicklich die Gewalt der Bischöfe und das weltliche Schwert in einander gemengt und sind aus diesem Gemeng sehr grosse Kriege, Aufruhr und Empörung gefolgt, aus dem, dass die Bischöfe im Schein ihrer Gewalt, der ihnen von Christo gegeben, nicht allein neue Gottesdienste angericht haben und mit Vorbehaltung etlicher Fälle und gewaltsamem Bann die Gewissen beschwert, sondern auch sich unterwunden, König und Kaiser zu setzen und entsetzen ihres Gefallens, welchen Frevel auch lange Zeit hievor gelehrte und gottesfürchtige Leute in der Christenheit gestraft haben. Derhalben die Unsern zum Trost der Gewissen gezwungen sind worden, den Unterschied der geistlichen und weltlichen Gewalt, Schwerts und Regiments anzuzeigen, und haben gelehrt, dass man beide Regiment und Gewalt um Gottes Gebot willen mit aller Andacht ehren und wohl halten soll als zwei höchste Gaben Gottes auf Erden. Nun lehren die Unsern also, dass die Gewalt der Schlüssel oder Bischöfe sei, laut des Evangelii, eine

Von der Bischouen gewalt. Von der Bischouen gewalt ist vortzeiten vil vnd manicherlai geschriben, vnd haben etzlich vnschicklich gewalt der Bischouen vnd das weltlich Schwert vntereinander gemenget, vnd sein auss disem vnordentlichen gemenge seer grosse kriege, aufrur vnd entborung eruolgt. Auss dem, das die Bischouen im schein jres gewalts, der jnen von Christo gegeben, nit allain Newe gots dienst angericht haben vnd mit furbehaltung etzlicher felle vnd mit gewaltsamen Bann die gewissen beschwert, sonder auch sich vnderwunden, Kayser vnd Kunige zusetzen vnd entsetzen jrs gefallens, welchen freuel auch lange zeit hieuor gelerete vnd gotfurchtige leute in der Christenhait gestraft haben. Derhalben die vnsern zu trost der gewissen gezwungen seind worden, die vnterschied des gaistlichen vnd weltlichen gewalts, schwerts vnd Regiments antzuzaigen, vnd haben geleret, das man baide Regiment vnd gewalt vmb gottes gebots willen mit aller Andacht Eehren vnd wol halten soll als zwo hochste gaben gottes auf erden.

Nun lernen [= lehren] die vnsern also, das der gewalt der schlussel oder der Bischouen sey

Von der Bischöfe Gewalt. Etliche haben geistliche und weltliche Gewalt sehr unschicklich durcheinander gemenget, haben gelehrt, dass der Papst aus Christus Befehl ein monarcha und Herr sein soll aller weltlichen Güter, Königreich und Herrschaften, der Könige zu setzen und zu entsetzen Gewalt habe. Und sind daraus oftmals Krieg entstanden, dass die Päpste haben Kaiser und andre Könige entsetzen wollen. So haben sie auch im geistlichen Regiment die Schlüssel dahin gedeutet, der Papst möchte neue Gottesdienste gebieten, die Gewissen zu beschweren mit reservatione casuum, sind auch ins Fegfeuer damit gefahren, habens auch sonst mancherlei Weis mit der excommunicatio missbraucht. Davon haben vor dieser Zeit etliche fromme, gelehrte Leute geschrieben. Derhalben auch die Unsern verursacht worden, die Gewissen von beiderlei Gewalt weltlich und geistlich, zu unterrichten und Unterschied anzuzeigen, der allen Christen merklich nützlich und not ist zu wissen, und haben allezeit gelehrt, dass beide Gewalten die höchsten und besten Gaben Gottes sein auf Erden, darum man sie beide in höchster Demut und Dankbarkeit ehren soll.

Geist; wenn ihr die Sünde vergebt etc. Marci 16: Gehet hin, predigt das Evangelium allen Kreaturen etc. Diese Gewalt braucht man allein, so man das Evangelium predigt und die Sakramente reicht einem oder mehr, wie man berufen wird, denn hie werden nicht leibliche, sondern ewige Dinge gegeben, als ewige Gerechtigkeit, der heilige Geist, ewiges Leben. Diese Dinge kann man nicht anders erlangen als durch Mittel des Worts und der Sakrament, wie Paulus sagt: Das Evangelium ist eine Kraft Gottes zum Heil allen Gläubigen, und Psalm 118 [119]: Dein Wort macht mich lebendig. Darum, dieweil die geistliche Gewalt allein geistliche, ewige Dinge austheilt und allein durchs Wort gebraucht wird, verhindert sie das äusserliche und weltliche Regiment gar nicht, wie auch singen oder rechnen können an dem äusserlichen Regiment nicht verhindert, denn es mit anderen Sachen umgethet denn das Evangelium. Die weltliche Oberkeit schützt nicht das Herz, sondern den Leib und leibliche Dinge vor offener Beschädigung und zwingt die Leut mit dem Schwert und leiblicher Strafe, damit sie bürgerliche Gerechtigkeit und Friede erhalte.

Darum soll man geistliche und weltliche Gewalt nicht in einander vermischen. Die geistliche

Gewalt und Befehl Gottes, das Evangelium zu predigen, die Sünde zu vergeben und zu behalten und die Sakrament zu reichen und handeln. Denn Christus hat die Apostel mit diesem Befehl ausgesandt: Gleichwie mich mein Vater gesendet hat, also sende ich euch auch. Nehmet hin den heiligen Geist, welchen ihr ihre Sünden erlassen werdet. denen sollen sie erlassen sein, und denen ihr sie vorbehalten werdet, denen sollen sie vorbehalten sein, Joh. 20. Denselben Gewalt der Schlüssel oder der Bischöfe übet und treibet man allein mit der Lehre und Predigt Gottes Worts und mit Handreichung der Sakramente gegen viele oder einzelne Personen, da[nach der] Beruf ist. Denn damit werden gegeben nicht leibliche, sondern ewige Ding und Güter, als nämlich ewige Gerechtigkeit, der heilige Geist und das ewige Leben etc. Diese Güter kann man anders nicht erlangen denn durchs Amt der Predigt und durch Handreichung des heiligen Sakraments. Denn S. Paulus spricht: Das Evangelium ist eine Kraft Gottes, selig zu machen alle, die daran glauben. Dieweil nun die Gewalt der Kirchen oder Bischöfe ewige Güter gibt und allein durch das Predigtamt geübt und getrieben wird, so hindert es die Polizei und das weltliche Regiment nichts überall. Denn welt-

lauts des Euangeliums Ain gewalt vnd beuelch gottes, das Euangelium zu predigen, die sunde zuergeben vnd zubehalten vnd die Sacrament zu raichen vnd handelen. Dan Christus hadt die Apostel mit diesem beuelch ausgesandt: gleich wie mich mein vater gesandt hadt, Also sende ich euch auch; nehmet hin den hayligen gaist; welchen jr jre sunde erlassen werde [= werdet], denen sollen sy erlassen seyn, vnd denen jr sy vorbehalten werdt, den sollen sy vorbehalten sein.

Denselben gewalt der schlussel od [= oder] Bischouen vbet vnd treibt man allein mit der lere vnd predigt gottesworts vnd mit handtreichung der Sacrament gegen vilen oder einzeln personen, darnach der beruf ist. Dan damit werden geben nit leibliche, sunder ewige ding vnd guter, Als nemlich ewige gerechtigkeit, der haylig gaist vnd das ewig leben. Dise guter kan man Anderst nit erlangen dan durch das Ambt der predig vnd durch die handtraichung der hayligen Sacrament. Dan Sanct Paul spricht: Das Euangelium ist Ain craft gottes, selig zu machen alle, die daran glauben. Dieweil nun der gwelt [= gewalt] der kirchen oder Bischouen ewige guter gibt vnd Allain durch das predig Ambt geubt vnd getrieben wirdet, so hyndert er die pollizey vnd das weltlich Regiment nichts vberall,

Und ist Bischofe Gewalt laut des Evangelii ein Befehl Gottes, das Euangelium zu predigen, Sünder strafen und binden, Sünde vergeben und die Sakramente reichen. Denn diesen Befehl gibt Christus seinen Aposteln, da er spricht. Wie mich der Vater gesendet hat, also sende ich euch. Nehmt den heiligen Geist. Wem ihr die Sünde vergebt, dem sollen sie vergeben sein; wem ihr nicht vergebt, dem soll nicht vergeben sein. Und Marci 16: Gehet hin und prediget das Euangelium in aller Welt.

Und diese Gewalt wird allein durchs Wort und Sacrament geübt, so man vielen oder einem insonderheit Gottes Wort sagt, Sünde straft, bindet oder vergibt und auflöst. Denn das Euangelium bringt uns nicht ein leiblich Reich, sondern ewige Güter, den heiligen Geist, ewige Gerechtigkeit und ewiges Leben. Diese Güter kann man nicht erlangen anders denn durch Gottes Wort und Sacrament, wie Paulus spricht: Das Euangelium ist eine Kraft Gottes, dadurch selig werden alle, so daran glauben. So nun die geistliche Gewalt ewige Güter der Seele anbietet und allein durchs Wort und Sacrament geübt wird, ist sie fern unterschieden von weltlicher Gewalt, die leibliche Güter gibt und erhält und wird mit leiblichem Zwang geübet, schützet den Leib,

Gewalt hat ihren Befehl, nämlich das Evangelium zu predigen und die Sakramente zu reichen. Sie soll sich in fremde Händel nicht schlagen noch weltlich Regiment ändern; sie soll der weltlichen Oberkeit Gesetze und Ordnung unverrückt lassen bleiben, sie soll rechtmässigen Gehorsam nicht aufheben, sie soll die Gerichte und Ordnung weltlicher und bürgerlicher Händel nicht verhindern, sie soll weltlicher Oberkeit kein Mass setzen zu regieren, wie Christus sagt: Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt; item: wer hat mich zu einem Teiler zwischen euch gemacht, und Paulus sagt: Unsre Bürgerschaft und Regiment ist im Himmel; item: die Waffen unsrer Ritterschaft sind nicht fleischlich. Solchergestalt unterscheiden wir beider Gewalt, Befehl und Amt und vermanen, sie beide in Ehren zu haben als eine Gabe Gottes.

Wo aber die Bischöfe etwa auch eine weltliche Gewalt haben, die haben sie nicht als Bischöfe aus dem Evangelio, sondern aus menschlichen Rechten, als die ihnen von Königen und Kaisern zur Handhabung ihrer Güter ist gegeben und zugestellt. Dies aber geht das Evangelium nichts an. Es haben auch die Unsern je und allezeit gelehrt zur Vermeidung von Aufruhr und Zwietracht, dass zeitliche Güter und Gewalt, es haben sie die Bi-

liches Regiment geht mit viel andern Sachen um, denn das Evangelion; weltliche Gewalt schützt nicht die Seele, sondern Leib und Gut wider äusserliche Gewalt mit dem Schwert und leiblich Pönen. Darum soll man die zwei Regiment, das geistliche und weltliche, nicht in einander mengen oder werfen. Denn die geistliche Gewalt hat ihren Befehl, das Evangelium zu predigen und die Sakramente zu reichen, soll auch nicht in ein fremdes Ampt fallen, soll nicht Könige setzen noch entsetzen, soll weltlich Gesetz und Gehorsam der Obrigkeit nicht aufheben oder zerrütten, soll weltlicher Gewalt nicht Gesetze machen und stellen von weltlichen Händeln, wie denn auch Christus selbst gesagt hat: Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt. Item: Wer hat mich zu einem Richter zwischen euch gesetzt? Und S. Paulus zu den Philippnern am 3: Unsre Bürgerschaft ist im Himmel, und in der andern zu den Korinthern am 10: Die Waffen unsrer Ritterschaft sind nicht fleischlich, sondern mächtig vor Gott, zu verstören die Anschläge und alle Höhe, die sich erhebt wider die Erkenntnis Gottes. Dieser Gestalt unterscheiden die Unsern beider Regiment und Gewalt Amt und heissen sie beide als die höchsten Gaben Gottes auf Erden in Ehren halten. Wo aber die Bischöfe weltlich Re-

Dan weltliche Regiment geet mit vil Andern sachen vmb dan das Euangelium, welch gewalt schutzt nit die seele, sonder leib vnd gut wider eusserlichen gewalt mit dem schwert vnd leiblichen penen.

Darumb soll man die zway Regiment, das gaistlich vnd weltlich nit in einander mengen vnd werfen, Dan der gaistlich gewalt hadt seinen beuelch, das Euangelium zu predigen vnd die Sacrament zu raichen, soll Auch nit in Ain frembd Ambt fallen, soll nicht konige setzen vnd entsetzen, soll weltlich gesetz vnd gehorsam der Oberkait nit aufheben oder zurutten, soll weltlicher gewalt nit gesetz machen vnd stellen von weltlichen hendeln, wie dan auch Christus selbs gesagt hadt: Mein Reich ist nit von diser welt. Item: wer hadt mich zu ainem Richter zwischen Euch gesetzt, Vnd S. Paul zu Philip. am 3: vnser Burgerschaft ist im himel, vnd in der 2 Corinth. am 10: Die waffen vnser Ritterschaft seind nit flaischlich, sonder mechtig fur got, zu verstoren die anschlege vnd alle hohe, die sich erhebt wider die erkantnus gottes.

Diser gestalt vnterscheiden die vnsern baiden Regiment vnd gewalt Ambte vnd haissen sie baide Als die hochsten gaben gots auf erden in eehren halten. Wo aber die Bischouen weltlich Regiment vnd schwerdt haben. so haben sy dieselben nit als Bischoue auss

Haus und Hof wieder äusserliche und öffentliche Beleidigung und wehret dieselbige nicht mit Worten allein, sondern mit leiblicher Straf, damit Friede und äusserliche Zucht erhalten werde. Darum hindert oder irret auch geistliche Gewalt die weltliche Oberkeit ganz nicht, denn das Euangelium schützet die Seel, weltlich Gewalt den Leib. Das Euangelium sagt von ewigen Dingen und Gütern der Seel und lässt die Oberkeit äusserliches Regiment fassen und halten von Leib und leiblichen Gütern und hat damit gar nichts zu tun, ohne allein dass es vermanet, dass wir sollen derselbigen weltlichen Gewalt gehorsam sein, und sollen wissen, dass der Stand Gott wohlgefallt. denn Gott habe ihn geordnet dem leiblichen Leben zu gut.

Derhalben soll man geistliche und weltliche Gewalt recht wissen zu unterscheiden, dass sich geistliche Gewalt nicht unterstehe weltlicher Aemter, als gehören die zu ihrem Amt aus Christus Befehl. Geistliche Gewalt hat Befehl, das Euangelium zu predigen und Sacrament zu reichen, hat nicht Befehl von Christo, dass sie sich zum Herrn setze aller Güter und Königreiche in der Welt, dass sie Könige setze oder entsetze, dass sie weltlich Recht von Zinsen oder andern weltlichen Sachen mache, denn Christus spricht also: Mein Reich ist

schöfe oder weltliche Herren, dem Gewissen nicht nachteilig sind, denn rechtmässige Teilung der Güter und Oberkeit ist nicht wider das Evangelium. Die Apostel waren Fischer, Lukas ein Arzt, Paulus ein Weber, diese Kunst und Handwerk mochten sie mit gutem Gewissen behalten und treiben, wiewohl das etwas anderes war denn das Predigtamt und wurden doch dadurch die Gewissen nicht beschwert. Also mag ein jeder Pfarrer Eigenes [property] haben, einer mehr, der andre minder, denn das Evangelium gebietet, den Pfarrherrn ehrliche Unterhaltung zu geben. Sie sollen aber mit den zeitlichen Gütern also umgehen, dass sie daneben das Predigtamt nicht unterlassen. Also sollten die Bischöfe ihres Bischofsamtes auch eingedenk sein und nicht allein weltlich regieren, wiewohl es schwer ist, beide zugleich auszuwarten. Darum wenn man von bischöflicher Gewalt reden will, muss man einen Unterschied machen zwischen weltlicher und geistlicher Oberkeit. Denn die Bischöfe haben aus dem Evangelio oder Gottes Befehl gar keine Gewalt, darum dass sie Bischöfe sind, das ist, als die, denen befohlen ist, die Predigt und Sakramente zu handeln, denn die Sünde zu vergeben, die unchristliche Lehre von der christlichen zu sondern und zu verwerfen, item

giment und Schwert haben, so haben sie dieselben nicht als Bischöfe aus göttlichen Rechten, sondern aus menschlichen, kaiserlichen Rechten geschenkt von römischen Kaisern und Königen zu weltlicher Verwaltung ihrer Güter und geht das Amt des Evangeliums nichts nicht an.

Derhalben ist das bischöfliche Amt nach göttlichen Rechten das Evangelium predigen, Sünde vergeben, Lehre urteilen und die dem Evangelium entgegen verwerfen und die Gottlosen, deren gottloses Wesen offenbar ist, aus christlicher Gemeine ausschliessen, ohne menschliche Gewalt, sondern allein durch Gottes Wort. Und des Falls sind die Pfarrleut und die Kirchen schuldig, den Bischöfen gehorsam zu sein laut dieses Spruches Christi Lucä 10: Wer euch höret, der höret mich. Wo sie aber etwas dem Evangelio zugegen lehren, setzen oder aufrichten, haben wir Gottes Befehl in solchem Fall, dass wir nicht sollen gehorsam sein, Matth. am 7: Seht euch für vor den falschen Propheten, und Sanktus Paulus Gal. 1: So auch wir oder ein Engel vom Himmel euch ein ander Evangelium predigen würde, denn das wir euch gepredigt haben, das sei verflucht. Und in der andern zu den Korinthern 13: Wir haben keine Macht wider die Wahrheit, sondern für die Wahrheit. Item.

gotlichen Rechten, sonder auss menschlichen, kayserlichen Rechten, geschenkt von Ro. [= römischen] kaisern vnd Konigen zu weltlicher verwaltung jrer guter vnd gehet das Ambt des Euangeliums gar nichts An.

Derhalben ist das Bischoflich Ambt nach gotlichen Rechten das Euangelium predigen, sund furgeben, lahr vrtailen vnd die lere, so dem Euangelio entgegen, verwerfen vnd die gotlosen, dero gotlos Wesen offenbar ist, Aus christlicher gemain ausschliessen, on menschlichen gewalt, sonder allain durch gottes wort, vnd dissfalls seind die phar leut vnd kirchen schuldig, den Bischouen gehorsam zu sein, lauts dieses Spruchs Christi [Luc.] am 10.: wer euch horet, der horet mich. Wo sy aber etwas dem Euangelio entgegen leren, setzen oder aufrichten. haben wir gots beuelch in solchem fall, dass wir nit sollen gehorsam sein, Math. am 7.: sehet euch fur fur den falschen profeten. Vnd Sanct Paul zun Galat. am j.: So Auch wir oder Ain Engel vom himel Euch ain ander Euangelium predigen wurd, dan das wir Euch gepredigt haben, das sey verflucht, vnd in der 2 Epistel zun Chorint. am 13.: wir haben kain macht wider die warhait, sunder vor die warhait. Item: nach der macht, welche mir der Her zu bessern vnd nit zuuerderben gegeben hadt. Also

nicht von dieser Welt. Item: Wer hat mich zu einem Richter ueber euch gesetzt? Und Paulus spricht: Unsre Polizei ist im Himmel, das ist, wir richten keine neue weltliche politia auf Erden an, sondern lassen weltliche politia bleiben und lehren daneben etwas vom ewigen Wesen, das ist nicht äusserlich, sondern in der Seele. Item: Unsre Waffen sind nicht leiblich, sondern sind kräftig durch Gott, die Gedanken im Herzen niederzureissen. Auf diese Weise lehren die Unsern vom Unterschied beiderlei Gewalt und heissen sie beide in aller Demut und Dankbarkeit. als die höchsten Gaben Gottes auf Erden ehren.

Haben aber Bischöfe weltliche Gewalt, so haben sie dieselbige nicht, dass Christus befohlen habe, dass das geistliche Amt weltlich herrschen soll, sondern sie haben solche Gewalt geschenkt von Kaisern, Königen und Fürsten zur Erhaltung ihrer Güter nach weltlichen Rechten. Diese weltliche Gewalt ist ein ander Amt denn das geistliche und geht das geistliche nicht an, wie S. Paulus Handwerk sein Predigtamt nicht angehört.

Wenn man nun von der Bischöfe Jurisdictio redet, soll ihre weltliche Gewalt vom geistlichen Amt und geistlicher Jurisdictio unterschieden werden, und gebührt den Bischöfen als Bischö-

die offenbaren Gottlosen und Sünder von der christlichen Gemeinschaft auszuschliessen, nicht mit menschlicher Gewalt, sondern allein durchs Wort. In Solchem ist die christliche Kirche vor Gott schuldig, ihnen gehorsam zu sein, wie geschrieben ist: Wer euch hört, der hört mich. Es wäre denn, dass sie etwas wider das Evangelium lehrten und geböten. Denn da ist uns verboten, ihnen zu gehorchen: Matth. 7: Hütet euch vor den falschen Propheten; Gal. 1: So ein Engel vom Himmel euch ein andres sagt, so sei er verflucht; item 2 Kor. 13: Wir vermögen nichts wider die Wahrheit, sondern für die Wahrheit; item an einem andern Ort: Uns ist Gewalt gegeben zu bauen und nicht zu verstören. Also sagen die geistlichen Rechte mehr denn an einem Ort und S. Augustin spricht: So auch die christlichen Bischöfe sich irrten und wider die lautere heilige Schrift handelten, soll man ihnen nicht gehorchen.

Daneben ist auch eine Frage, ob die Bischöfe Macht haben, in der Kirchen aufzurichten Zeremonien etc. und Gebot zu machen der Speisen, Feiertage und Weihe der Kirchendiener halben etc. Welche nun solches den Bischöfen zulassen und Gewalt geben, die ziehen für sich an die Worte Christi, da er sagt: Ich habe euch

nach der Macht, welche mir der Herr zu bessern und nicht zu verderben geben hat. Also gebietet auch das geistliche Recht 2. q. 7. c. Sacerdotes und im Kapitel Oves, und Sankt Augustin schreibt in der Epistel wider Petilianum, man solle auch den Bischöfen, so ordentlich gewählt, nicht folgen, wo sie irren oder etwas wider die heilige, göttliche Schrift lehren oder ordnen.

Dass aber die Bischöfe sonst Gewalt und Gerichtszwang haben in etlichen Sachen, als nämlich Ehesachen oder Zehnten, dieselben haben sie aus Kraft menschlicher Rechte. Wo aber die Ordinarien nachlässig in solchem Amt sind, so sind die Fürsten schuldig, sie tun es gleich gern oder ungern, hierin ihren Untertanen um Friedens willen Recht zu sprechen zur Verhütung [von] Unfried und grosser Unruh in Ländern.

Weiter disputiert man auch, ob Bischöfe Macht haben, Zeremonien in der Kirchen aufzurichten. desgleichen Satzungen von Speisen, von Feiertagen, von unterschiedlichen Orden der Kirchendiener. Denn die den Bischöfen diese Gewalt geben, ziehen diesen Spruch Christi an Johan. 16: Ich habe euch noch viel zu sagen, ihr aber könnt es jetzt nicht tragen. Wenn aber der Geist der Wahrheit kommen wird, der wird euch in alle Wahrheit führen.

gebeut auch das gaistlich Recht 29. 17 [= 2. q. 7] jm cap. sacerdotes Vnd im cap. Oves, vnd Sanct Augustin schreibt in der Epistel wider Petilianum: man soll auch den Bischouen, so ordentlich gewehlet, nit volgen, wo sy irren oder etwas wider die haylige gotliche schrift lernen [= lehren] oder ordnen.

Dass aber die Bischoue sonst gewalt vnd gerichtszwang haben in etzlichen sachen, als nemlich Ehesachen oder zehenden, dieselben haben sy auss Crafft menschlicher recht. Wo aber die Ordinarien nachlessig in solchem Ambt, so seind die Fursten schuldig, sie thuns auch gern oder vn gern, hierin jhren vnderthanen vmb frides willen recht zu sprechen zu verhutung vnfrieden vnd grosser vnruhe in lendern.

Weiter disputirt man, ob auch Bischoue macht haben, Ceremonien in der kirchen aufzurichten, desgleichen satzungen von speis, feiertagen, von vnterschiedlichen orden der kirchendiener. Dan die den Bischouen disen gewalt geben, ziehen diesen Spruch Christi an Johan. am 16.: Ich hab euch noch vil zu sagen, jr aber kont es jtzit nit tragen; wen aber der gaist der warhait kumen wirdet, der wirdet euch in alle warhait furen. Dartzu furen sy auch das Exampel Actum am 15., da sy Blut vnd ersticktes verboten haben. So zeucht man auch das an,

fen, das ist, denjenigen, so befohlen ist, das Evangelium zu predigen und Sacrament zu reichen, keine andere Jurisdictio aus göttlichen Rechten und dem Evangelio denn Sünde vergeben, die Lehre, so dem Evangelio entgegen ist, verwerfen und andre öffentliche Sünde mit dem Bann strafen, ohne leibliche Gewalt, sondern mit dem Wort. In diesen Fällen sind die Kirchen schuldig aus göttlichen Rechten, ihnen gehorsam zu sein, wie Christus spricht: Wer euch hört, der hört mich.

So aber Bischöfe etwas wider das Evangelium lehren oder statuieren oder gebieten, so verbietet Gott den Gehorsam, Matthai 7: Hütet euch vor den falschen Propheten, und Gal. 1: Wenn ein Engel vom Himmel ein ander Evangelium predigt, denn ich gepredigt habe, so soll er verbannt sein. und 2 Kor. 3: Wir haben nicht Gewalt der Wahrheit zuwider, sondern für die Wahrheit, item: Uns ist Gewalt gegeben zu bauen, nicht zu verderben. Also lehren auch die Canones 2 q. 7 Cap. Sacerdotes et Cap. Oves, und Augustinus spricht also wider Petilianum: Man soll auch den ordentlichen Bischöfen nicht gehorchen, wo sie irren oder etwas halten wider die heilige Schrift.

Daneben haben die Bischöfe eine andre Jurisdictio in etlichen Sachen, als Ehesachen, Kirchen-

viel zu sagen, aber ihr mögt es jetztund nicht alles tragen; wenn aber der Geist der Wahrheit kommt, so wird er euch in alle Wahrheit lehren; item, sie ziehen auch an das Exempel der Apostel, die da verbieten, Blut und Ersticktes zu essen; item, dass der Sabbath von dem Samstag auf den Sonntag verlegt sei wider ein ausdrückliches Gebot Gottes, darauf sie am allermeisten pochen, dass ein Bischof solches soll Macht gehabt haben. Hievon lehren die Unseren also, dass kein Bischof Macht habe, etwas wider das Evangelium zu gebieten oder zu ordnen. Das sei aber öffentlich wider die Schrift, Satzungen zu machen, dadurch wir zu Gnaden kommen und für die Sünde genug tun, denn hiemit wird Christus geschmäht. Aus dieser Ursach, dass man vermeint hat, viel damit zu verdienen, haben solche Satzungen als Feiertag, Fasten, Heiligen Ehr etc. sich also merklich gemehret und zugenommen. Es ist auch ohne Mittel [immediately, directly] wider Gott, eine Sünde aus der Speise und Feiertagen zu machen, als wären wir noch unter dem Alten Testament. Daraus dann vielleicht etliche Bischöfe verursacht worden, solche Satzung zu machen. Daher kommt es auch, dass man [es] für eine Todsünde hielt, wo einer am Feiertag, gleichwohl ohne Aergernis,

Dazu führen sie auch das Exempel Akt. 15, da sie Blut und Ersticktes verboten haben. So zog man auch das an, dass der Sabbath in [den] Sonntag verwandelt ist worden wider die Zehn Gebote, dafür sie es achten, und wird kein Exempel so hoch getrieben und angezogen als die Verwandlung des Sabbaths, und wollen darum erhalten, dass die Gewalt der Kirche gross sei, die weil sie mit den Zehn Geboten dispensiert und daran etwas verändert hatten etc.

Aber die Unseren lehren in dieser Frage also, dass die Bischöfe nicht Macht haben, etwas wider das Evangelium zu setzen und aufzurichten, wie denn oben angezeigt ist und die geistlichen Rechte durch die ganze 9. Distinktion lehren. Nun ist dieses öffentlich wider Gottes Befehl und Wort, der Meinung Gesetze zu machen oder zu gebieten, dass man dadurch für die Sünde genug tue und Gnade erlange. Denn es wird die Ehre des Verdienstes Jesu Christi verlästert, wenn wir uns mit solchen Satzungen unterwinden Gnade zu verdienen. Es ist auch am Tag, dass um dieser Meinung willen in der Christenheit menschliche Aufsätze unzählig überhand genommen haben und die Lehre vom Glauben und die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens gar unterdrückt ist gewesen. Man hat täglich neue Feiertage,

das der sabbat in Sontag verwandelt ist worden wider die zehen gebot, darfur sie es achten, vnd wirdet kain Exempel so hoch getrieben vnd angezogen Als die verwandlung des sabbats, vnd wellen damit erhalten, das die gewalt der kirchen gross sey, dieweil sy mit den zehen geboten dispensirt vnd daran etwas verendert hadt.

Aber die vnsern lernen [= lehren] in dieser frag also, das die Bischouen nit macht haben, Etwas wider das Euangelium zu setzen vnd aufzurichten, wie dan obangezaigt ist, vnd die gaistlichen Rechte durch die gantze Neundte Distinction lernen [= lehren]. Nuhn ist dieses offentlich wider gottes beuelch vnd wort, der maynung gesetze zu machen oder zu gebieten, das man dardurch fur die sunde gnug thu vnd gnad erlange, dan es wirdet die Ehre des verdiensts Christi verlestert, wenn wir vns mit solchen satzungen vnterwinden, gnad zuuerdienen.

Es ist auch am tag, das vmb dieser maynung willen in der Christenhait menschliche aufsatzung vntzeliich vberhandt genomen haben Vnd in des die Lehre vom glauben vnd die gerechtigkeit des glaubens gar vntertruckt gewesen; man hadt teglich neue Feiertag, neue fasten geboten, neue Ceremonien vnd neue ererbietung der hayligen eingesetzt,

gütern etc. In diesen Sachen haben sie ein sonder Gericht und Jurisdictio durch menschliche Rechte und nicht dass Christus dieselbigen Sachen zu ihrem Amt gezogen habe. Dieweil sie nun diese Jurisdictio von menschlichen Rechten haben, folget, wenn sie die nicht handhaben, dass sich weltliche Oberkeit dieser Sachen annehmen und Recht sprechen müssen, Friede zu erhalten.

Weiter fragt man, ob Bischöfe und Pfarrherren Macht haben, neue Gottesdienste anzurichten und zu gebieten, als Fasten, Feiern und andre Zeremonien? Und diejenigen, so den Bischöfen diese Macht geben, ziehen an die Worte Christi: Ich habe noch viel zu sagen, aber ihr könnt es noch nicht tragen; wenn aber der Geist der Wahrheit kommen wird, der wird euch leiten zu aller Wahrheit. Auch ziehen sie an der Apostel Exempel, die Blut und Ersticktes zu essen verboten haben; ziehen an den Sabbath, der auf einen andern Tag gelegt ist, denn er in den Zehn Geboten eingesetzt ist. Und dieses Exempel rühmen sie sehr, wollen dadurch beweisen, dass sie auch Macht haben, Gottes Gesetz zu ändern.

Aber auf diese Frage tun die Unsern diesen Bericht, dass die Bischöfe nicht Gewalt haben, etwas zu ordnen oder gebieten, das dem heiligen Evangelio entgegen

mit der Hand arbeitete oder seine Tagzeit [hora canonica] unterliess. Wer hat nun den Bischöfen Gewalt gegeben, die Gewissen mit diesen Satzungen zu beschweren, so doch Petrus verbietet, solche Bürde den Jüngern aufzulegen, und Paulus sagt: ihnen ist Gewalt gegeben zur Erbauung, nicht zur Verstörung etc.; item: So ihr mit Christo den Elementen dieser Welt seid abgestorben, was macht ihr dann noch Satzungen, als ob ihr in der Welt lebtet, und sprecht: Das sollst du nicht essen, das nicht anrühren, so doch diese Dinge alle verbraucht werden, und nichts anderes denn Menschenlehre [sind], die ein vernünftig Ansehen haben etc.; item ad Titum: Ihr sollt nichts achten auf die jüdischen Fabeln und Menschensatzungen, so von der Wahrheit abweichen; item Christus sagt Matth. 15 von denen, die solche Aufsätze erfordern: Lasst sie fahren, sie sind blind und Blindenführer; item: Eine jede Pflanze, so mein himmlischer Vater nicht gepflanzt hat, wird ausgerottet etc. Aus diesem allen erscheint, dass die Bischöfe solchs keine Gewalt noch Macht haben, denn uns der heilige Geist nicht vergeblich davor gewarnt hat, insonderheit so man die für notwendig hält oder aber vermeint, Gnade damit zu erwerben. Denn man in der Christenheit in allweg muss die christliche Frei-

neue Fasten geboten, neue Zeremonien und neue [Ehr]erbietung der Heiligen eingesetzt, mit solchen Werken Gnade und alles Gute bei Gott zu verdienen.

Item, die menschliche Satzungen aufrichten, tun auch damit wider Gottes Gebot, dass sie Sünde setzen in der Speis, in Tagen und dergleichen Dingen und beschweren also die Christenheit mit der Knechtschaft des Gesetzes, eben als müsste bei den Christen ein solcher Gottesdienst sein, Gottes Gnade zu verdienen, der gleich wäre dem levitischen Gottesdienst, welchen Gott sollte den Aposteln und Bischöfen befohlen haben aufzurichten, wie denn etliche davon schreiben. Steht auch wohl zu glauben, dass etliche Bischöfe mit dem Exempel des Gesetzes Mose sind betrogen worden, daher so unzählige Satzungen kommen sind, dass eine Todsünde sein soll, wenn man am Feiertag eine Handarbeit tut, auch ohne Aergernis der andern; dass eine Tod[sünde sei, wenn man die sieben Zeiten nachlässt; dass etliche Speisen das Gewissen] verunreinigen; dass Fasten ein solches Werk sei, damit man Gott versöhne; dass die Sünde in einem vorbehaltenen Fall werde nicht vergeben, man ersuche denn zuvor den Vorbehalter des Falls, unangesehen, dass die geistlichen Rechte nicht von Vorbehaltung der [Schuld, sondern von

mit solchen wercken gnad vnd alles guts bey got zuuerdienen.

Item, die Menschliche satzungen aufrichten, thun auch damit wider gottes gebot, das sie sunde setzen jn der Speis, in Tagen vnd dergleichen dingen vnd beschweren Also die Christenhait mit der knechtschaft des gesetzes, Eben als musse bey den Christen Ain solcher gotsdienst sein, gots gnad zuuerdienen, der gleich were dem Leuitischen gotsdienst, welchen got solt den Aposteln vnd Bischouen beuolhen haben aufzurichten, wie dan etzliche davon schreiben. Steet auch wohl zu glauben, Das etzliche Bischoue mit dem Exempel des gesetzes Moysi sind betrogen worden, daher so vntzelig satzungen kumen seind, das ain todt sunde sein soll, wan man an feiertagen ain Handt-Arbait thut, auch on ergerus der andern; das Ain todt sund sey, wan man die sieben zeit nachlässt; das etzlich speise das gewissen verunrainig; Das fasten ain solch werck sey, damit man got versune; das die sunde in ainem furbehaltenem fall werde nicht vergeben, man ersuche dan zuuor den vorbehalter des fals, vnangesehen das die gaistlichen Rechte nit von furbehaltung der schuld, sonder von furbehaltung der kirchen pen [= poena] reden.

Welcher [= woher] haben dan

ist, wie wir droben angezeigt haben und die Canones lehren, Distinctio 9. Nun ists wider das Evangelium, Traditiones machen oder gebieten der Meinung, dass wir dadurch sollen Gott versühnen, Vergebung der Sünden verdienen und für die Sünde gnug-tun, denn damit wird Christo seine gebührende Ehre genommen und diesen Werken, von Menschen erdichtet, zugeeignet. Nun ist am Tage, dass aus dieser Meinung Traditiones in der Kirche für und für gemacht und gehäuft sind, und ist dadurch unterdrückt die Lehre vom Glauben an Christum, dass man ohne Verdienst um Christus willen Vergebung der Sünden erlange und dass wir gerecht geschätzt werden durch Glauben. Dagegen hat man Fasten, Feier, Genugtuung, Heiligungsdienst und dergleichen für und für mehr gemacht, dass man dadurch wollt Vergebung der Sünden verdienen. Und ist ein gemeiner Irrtum gewesen, dass im Neuen Testament müsse ein solcher äusserlicher Gottesdienst sein mit gesetzten Tagen, Speisen, Opfern wie im Gesetz Mosi, und dass Christus den Aposteln und Bischöfen soll befohlen haben, solche Ceremonien also zu ordnen, dass sie Gottesdienst sein sollten und nötig, dass ohne sie niemand Christen sein sollte, und dass christliche Heiligkeit ein solch äusserlich Wesen wäre.

heit erhalten, damit männiglich wisse, dass man nicht durch das Gesetz oder Werk, sondern aus Gnaden durch den Glauben an Christum gerechtfertigt wird.

Was sollen wir denn zu der Veränderung des Sabbaths in den Sonntag sagen? Antwort: Wir gestehen, dass die Bischöfe mögen Ordnung machen, dass alle Dinge in der Kirche ordentlich zugehen und gehandelt werden, nicht dass man dadurch Gnade, Gerechtigkeit oder anderes verdient noch die Gewissen damit beschwert, ob sie gleich unterlassen werden. Also will Paulus, dass die Weiber mit bedecktem Haupt in der Kirche sind, item, dass einer nach dem anderen lehre oder predige. Solche Ordnung soll man von Frieds und Einigkeit wegen und damit alle Dinge ordentlich zugehen, auch niemand geärgert wird, halten und handhaben und gar nichts von Gewissens wegen.

Also ist es mit dem Sonntag, Ostern, Pfingsten und anderen Festen. Denn welche meinen, sie seien als notwendig also geordnet, die irren sich weit. Denn durch das Evangelium ist der Sabbath und alle anderen jüdischen Zeremonien gänzlich aufgehoben, und war doch von Nöten, einen gewissen Tag zu bestimmen, daran das Volk zusammenkomme; darzu die Christenheit den Sonntag erwählt hat,

Vorbehaltung der] Kirchenpönen reden. Woher haben die Bischöfe Recht und Macht, solche Aufsätze der Christenheit aufzulegen, die Gewissen zu verstricken? Denn S. Peter verbietet Aktorum 15, das Joch auf der Jünger Hälse zu legen, und S. Paulus sagt zu den Korinthern, dass ihnen die Gewalt zu bessern und nicht zu verderben geben sei. Warum mehren sie die Sünde mit solchen Aufsätzen? Doch man hat helle Sprüche der göttlichen Schrift, die da verbieten, solche Aufsätze aufzurichten, die Gnade Gottes damit zu verdienen, oder als sollten sie von nöten zur Seligkeit sein. S. Paulus sagt zu den Kolossern am 2: So lasst nun niemand euch Gewissen machen über Speis oder über Trank oder über bestimmte Tage, nämlich die Feiertage oder Neumonde oder Sabbathe. Item, so ihr denn nun gestorben seid mit Christo von den weltlichen Satzungen, was lasst ihr euch denn fangen mit Satzungen, als wäret ihr lebendig, die da sagen: Du sollst das nicht anrühren, du sollst das nicht essen noch trinken, du sollst das nicht anlegen, welches sich doch alles unter Händen verzehrt und sind Menschengebote und Lehren und haben einen Schein der Weisheit. Item, Paulus Tit. 1 verbietet öffentlich, man soll nicht achten auf die jüdischen Fabeln und

die Bischouen Recht vnd macht, solche aufsetze der Christenhait aufzulegen, die gewissen zuuorstricken etc.? Dan S. Peter verbeutet in geschichten der Apostel am 15. das Joch auf der junger hellsse zu legen, vnd S. Paul sagt zum Corinth., das jnen der gewalt zu bessern vnd nit zuuerderben gegeben sey. Warumb mehren sy dan die sunde mit solchen aufsetzen? Doch hadt man helle spruche der gotlichen schrift, die da verbieten, solche aufsetze aufzurichten, die gnad gots damit zuuerdienen, oder als solten sie von noten zur seligkait sein. So sagt Sanct Paul zum Colosern am 2.: so last nun niemandt Euch gewissen machen vber speise oder vber Tranck oder vber bestimbten tagen, Nemlich den Feyertagen oder Newenmonden oder Sabbaten, welcher ist der schatten von dem, dertzuekunftig were, Aber der Corper selbs ist in Christo. Item: so jr dan gestorben seit mit Christo von den weltlichen satzungen, Was lasset jr Euch dan fangen mit satzungen, als werend jr lebendig, die da sagen: du solt das nicht anrurren, du solt das nit essen noch trincken, du solt das nit anlegen, welchs sich doch alles vnder handen verzeret.

Vnd seind menschen gebot vnd lere vnd haben ein schein der warhait. Item S. Paul zum Tito am j. verbeut offentlich, man soll

Daher hat man die Gewissen beschwert, dass solten eitel Tod-sünden sein: verbotene Speisen essen, horas canonicas unterlassen, nicht alle Sünden erzählen in der Beichte, und sind dieser Tod-sünden so viele, dass noch kein Summa so gross geschrieben, darin sie alle zusammengebracht sind.

Woher haben die Bischöfe diese Macht, die Kirchen und Gewissen also zu beschweren, so doch viele klare Sprüche verbieten, Traditiones zu machen als Gottesdienste und nützlich zu verdienen Vergebung der Sünden oder als nötige Stücke zur Seligkeit?

Paulus spricht zu den Kolosern: Niemand soll euch richten in Speis, Trank, Feiertagen etc. Item: So ihr mit Christo den äusserlichen Ordnungen abgestorben seid, warum macht ihr wiederum Gesetz, nämlich: Das sollt nicht angreifen, das sollt nicht kosten, das sollt nicht anrühren, so doch alle diese Stücke sich verzehren unter den Händen, und sind Menschengebote, die nur einen Schein haben der Weisheit. Item zu Tito: Ihr sollt nicht acht geben auf jüdische Fabeln und Menschengebot, die die Wahrheit nicht annehmen. Und Christus Matth. 15 verwirft solche Gottesdienst, sagt, es sind unnütze Gottesdienst und nennt die

vielleicht auch von christlicher Freiheit wegen, damit man sehe, dass man an den Sabbath nicht gebunden war.

Es möchten aber die Bischöfe das Volk leichtlich in rechtem Gehorsam behalten, wo sie nicht so gar hart dringen auf die Satzungen, die man mit gutem Gewissen nicht halten kann. Jetzt aber gebieten sie Keuschheit, item. sie gestatten keinem zu predigen, er schwöre denn, er wolle die reine evangelische Lehre nicht predigen. Wir begehren nicht, dass die Bischöfe mit ihrem Nachteil Einigkeit machen, wiewohl ein guter Hirte das zu tun schuldig wäre, sondern allein, dass sie die unbilligen Beschwerden, die neulich und wider altes Herkommen der christlichen Kirchen sind eingerissen, abschaffen und nachlassen. Es mögen vielleicht etliche Satzungen im Anfang gemacht sein aus guten Ursachen, welche aber jetztund nicht mehr vor Augen sind. Etliche sind auch aus Unverstand angenommen. Darum, dieweil das der Christenheit keinen Nachteil brächte, sollten die Bischöfe solche Härteigkeit gnädiglich mildern, wie denn aus den geistlichen Rechten offenbar, dass der hievor viel geändert worden. Mag es denn je nicht erhebt [obtained] werden, dass die Satzungen, so ohne Nachteil der Gewissen nicht können gehalten wer-

Menschengebote, welche die Wahrheit abwenden. So redet auch Christus selbst Matthäi am 15. von denen, so die Leute auf Menschengebote treiben: Lasst sie fahren; sie sind der Blinden blinde Leiter, und verwirft solche Gottesdienste und sagt: Alle die Pflanzen, die mein himmlischer Vater nicht gepflanzt hat, die werden ausgeredet. So die Bischöfe Macht haben, die Kirchen mit unzähligen Aufsätzen zu beschweren und die Gewissen zu verstricken, warum verbietet dann die göttliche Schrift so oft, die menschlichen Satzungen zu machen und zu hören? Warum nennt sie dieselben Teufelslehre? Sollte denn der heilige Geist solches alles vergeblich verwarnt haben?

Derhalben, dieweil solche Ordnung als nötig aufgerichtet, um damit Gott zu versöhnen und Gnade zu verdienen, dem Evangelio entgegen sind, so ziemt sich keineswegs den Bischöfen, solche Gottesdienste zu erzwingen. Denn man muss in der Christenheit die Lehre von der christlichen Freiheit behalten, als nämlich, dass die Knechtschaft des Gesetzes nicht nötig ist zur Rechtfertigung, wie denn Paulus sagt Gal. 5: So besteht nun ihr auf der Freiheit etc. Denn es muss der fürnehme Artikel des Evangeliums erhalten werden, dass wir die Gnade Gottes durch den Glauben

nit achten auf jüdische fabeln vnd menschen gebot, welche die warhait abwenden.

So redet auch Christus selbs Matth. Am 15. von denen, so die leute auf menschen gebot treiben: last sie faren; sy seindt der blinden Blinden laiter, vnd verwirft solche gotsdienst vnd sagt: Alle phlanzen, die mein himlischer vatter nicht phlantzet hadt, die werden aussgereut. So nun die Bischouen macht haben, die kirchen mit vntzeligen aufsetzen zu beschweren vnd die gewissen zu vorstricken, warumb verbeut dan die gotlich schrift so oft, die menschliche aufsatze zu machen vnd zu horen; warumb nehmen [= nennet] sie dieselben teuffels leren? solt dan der haylig gaist solchs alles vergeblich verwarnet haben?

Derhalben dieweil solche ordnung als notig aufgericht, damit got zuuersunen vnd gnad zuverdien, dem Euangelio entgegen seind, So ziemet sich kainiswegs den Bischouen, solche gotsdienst zuerzwingen. Dan man muss in der Christenhait die lere von der Christlichen Freyhait behalten, Als nemlich, das die Knechtschafft des gesetzes nit notig ist zur Rechtfertigung, wie dan Sanct Paul zun Galatern schreibt am 5.: So besteet nun in der Freyhait, damit vns Christus gefreyet hadt,

Blinde und Blindenführer, so aus diesen Dingen Gottesdienst machen, und spricht, man soll sie fahren lassen.

So die Bischöfe Macht haben, solche Gottesdienste zu machen und zu gebieten und Gewissen zu beschweren, warum verbietet die Schrift solche Gottesdienste und nennt sie *doctrinas daemoniorum*, Teufelslehre? Der heilige Geist hat uns ja nicht vergeblich also verwarnet.

Darum folgt, nachdem Menschengebot, so mans gebietet, Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen oder nötige Gottesdienst daraus zu machen, dem Evangelio entgegen sind, dass Bischöfe nicht Macht haben, solche Traditiones zu gebieten, denn man muss in der Kirche diesen vornehmsten Artikel des Evangelii rein und klar behalten, dass wir nicht Vergebung der Sünde verdienen durch unser Werk, werden auch nicht gerecht geschätzt von wegen unsrer erwählten Gottesdienst, sondern um Christus willen, durch Glauben. Weiter muss man auch diese Lehre wissen und behalten, dass im Neuen Testament kein solcher Gottesdienst mit gesetzter Speise und Kleidung und dergleichen not ist wie im Gesetz Mosi, und dass niemand die Kirche soll beschweren und Sünde machen in solchen Stücken. Denn also

den, abgelegt und nachgelassen werden, so müssen wir der Regel der heiligen Apostel nachfolgen, die uns lehret, Gott mehr gehorchen denn den Menschen. Petrus verbietet den Bischöfen zu herrschen und die Christenheit zu zwingen. Jetzt begehrt man, den Bischöfen ihre Herrschaft nicht zu entziehen, sondern allein dass sie gedulden, das Evangelium lauter zu predigen, und etliche wenige Satzungen nachlassen, die ohne Sünde nicht können gehalten werden. Werden sie das nicht tun, so sehen sie, wie sie [es] gegen Gott wollen verantworten, dass sie mit dieser Härtigkeit eine Zertrennung verursachen.

an Christum ohne unser Verdienst und nicht durch Gottesdienste, von Menschen eingesetzt, verdienen.

Was soll man denn halten vom Sonntag und dergleichen andern Kirchenordnungen und Zeremonien? Dazu geben die Unsern diese Antwort, dass die Bischöfe oder Pfarrer mögen Ordnungen machen, damit es ordentlich in der Kirche zugehe, nicht damit Gnade zu erlangen, auch nicht damit für die Sünde genug zu tun oder die Gewissen damit zu verbinden, solches für nötige Gottesdienste zu halten und es dafür zu achten, dass sie Sünde täten, wenn sie ohne Aergeris der andern dieselben brechen. Also hat Sankt Paulus zu den Korinthern verordnet, dass die Weiber in der Versammlung ihr Haupt sollen bedecken. Item, dass die Prediger in der Versammlung nicht zugleich alle reden, sondern ordentlich einer nach dem andern. Solche Ordnung gebühret der christlichen Versammlung um der Lieb und Friedens willen zu halten und den Bischöfen und Pfarrherren in diesen Fällen gehorsam zu sein und dieselben sofern zu halten, dass einer den andern nicht ärgere, damit in der Kirche keine Unordnung oder wüstes Wesen sei. Doch also, dass die Gewissen nicht beschwert werden, dass man sie für solche Dinge halte, die nötig sein sollten zur Seligkeit,

vnd last euch nit widerumb in das knechtische Joch verknupfen, Dan es muss yhe der furneme Artikel des Euangeliums erhalten werden, Das wir die gnad gots durch den glauben an Christum on vnser verdienst erlangen Vnd nit durch dienst, von menschen eingesetzt, verdienen.

Was soll man dan halten vom Sonntag vnd dergleichen andern kirchen Ordnungen vnd Ceremonien? dartzu geben die vnsern die Antwort: Das die Bischouen oder Pharrern mugen ordnung machen, damit es ordentlich in der kirchen zugee, nit damit gottes gnad zuerlangen. Auch nicht damit fur die sunde gnug zuthun oder die gewissen damit zuuorbinden, solchs fur notige gotsdienst zu halten vnd es dafur zu achten, das sie sunde theten, wenn sie on ergernuss dieselben brechen. Also hadt S. Paul zum Corinth verordent, das die weiber in der versamblung ire haupt solten decken; Item, das die Prediger in der versamblung nicht zugleich alle reden, sonder ordentlich Ainer nach dem andern.

Solch ordenung geburt der Christlichen versamblung vmb der lieb vnd frides willen zu halten vnd den Bischouen vnd Pharrern in diesen fellen gehorsam zu sein vnd dieselben so ferne zu halten, das ainer den andern nicht

spricht Paulus zu den Galatern 5: Ihr sollt euch nicht wiederum unter das Joch der Knechtschaft dringen lassen.

Aber von Feiern und andern Kirchenordnungen soll man also halten, dass Bischöfe oder Pfarrherren mögen Ordnung machen, nicht dass es Gottesdienst sind oder Vergebung der Sünde verdienen, sondern um äusserer Zucht willen, dass es ordentlich und friedlich in Kirchen zugehe, und sollen die Bischöfe solche Ordnung nicht auf die Kirchen legen als nötige Dinge zur Seligkeit und die Gewissen zu beschweren und Sünde machen, so mans ausser des Falls der Aergernis nicht hält. Also hat Paulus geordnet, dass die Weiber sollen ihr Haupt bedecken in der Kirche; item, dass die, so Schrift auslegen, unter sich eine Ordnung halten.

Solche Ordnung sollen die Kirchen um Friedens willen halten, damit keiner den andern ärgere, und dass ordentlich zugehe, nicht dass die Gewissen beschwert werden, dass sie es für nötige Gottesdienste halten und sündigen, so sie es ohne Aergernis unterlassen. Wie man nicht für Sünde hat, [= hält] so ein Weib ohn Aergernis mit unbedecktem Haupt in der Kirche stund, also soll man von Sonntag, Ostern, Pfingsten und dergleichen Ordnung halten.

und es dafür achte, dass sie Sünde täten, wenn sie dieselben ohne der andern Aergernis brechen, wie denn niemand sagt, dass das Weib Sünde tue, die mit blossen Haupt ohne Aergernis der Leute ausgeht.

Also ist die Ordnung vom Sonntag, von der Osterfeier, von den Pfingsten und dergleichen Feier und Weise. Denn die es dafür achten, dass die Ordnung vom Sonntag für den Sabbath als nötig aufgerichtet sei, die irren sehr. Denn die heilig Schrift hat den Sabbath abgetan und lehrt, dass alle Zeremonien des alten Gesetzes nach Eröffnung des Evangelii mögen nachgelassen werden, und dennoch, dieweil von Nöten [gewesen] ist, einen gewissen Tag zu verordnen, auf dass das Volk wüsste, wann es zusammen kommen sollte, hat die christliche Kirche den Sonntag dazu verordnet und zu dieser Veränderung desto mehr Gefallens und Willens gehabt, damit die Leute ein Exempel hätten der christlichen Freiheit, dass man wüsste, dass weder die Haltung des Sabbaths noch eines anderen Tages von Nöten sei.

Es sind viele unrichtige Disputationen von der Verwandlung des Gesetzes, von den Zeremonien des Neuen Testaments, von der Veränderung des Sabbaths, welche alle entsprungen sind aus falscher und irriger Meinung, als

ergere, damit in der Kirchen kain vnordnung oder wustes wesen sey. Doch also. das die gewissen nicht beschwert werden, das mans vor solche Ding halte, die noten sein solten zur Seligkait, vnd es darfur achten, das die [= sie] sund theten, wen sy dieselben on der andern ergernus brechen, wie dan niemants sagt, das das weib sund thue, die mit blosser haupt on ergernus der leute Ausgeet.

Also ist die ordenung vom Sonntag, von der Osterfeyer, von den Phingsten vnd dergleichen feyer vnd weyse. Dan die es dafur achten, das die Ordnung vom Sonntag fur den Sabaath als notig aufgericht sey, die irren seer. Dan die haylig schrift hadt den Sabath Abgethan vnd leret, Das alle Zeremonien des alten gesetz nach eroffnung des Euangeliums mogen nachgelassen werden, vnd dannoch, weil von noten gewest ist, ain gewissen tag zuuerordnen, vf das das volck wuste, wan es zusammen komen solt, hadt die Christlich Kirch den Sonntag dartzu verordent vnd zu diser verenderung dester meher gefallens vnd willens gehabt, Damit die Leute Ein Exempel hetten der christlichen freihait, das man wuste, das wider [= weder] die haltung des Sabaths noch eins andern tags von noten sey. Es seind vil vnrichtige disputation von der verwandlung des gesetzts, von den Zeremonien des Newen Testa-

Denn die Kirche hat den Sabbath nicht verrückt oder aufgehoben, sondern Gott hat selbst gelehrt, dass wir im Neuen Testament nicht sollen verbunden sein zum Gesetz Mosi. Darum haben die Apostel den Sabbath fallen lassen, uns damit zu erinnern, dass wir nicht zum Gesetz Mosi verbunden sind. Und dieweil es doch not ist, damit das Volk wisse, wann es zusammenkommen soll, einen gewissen Tag zu bestimmen, haben sie den Sonntag geordnet, dass man daran Gottes Wort hören und lernen soll. Dergleichen sind auch Feste ordniert, als Weihnacht, Ostern, Pfingsten etc., daran die wunderbaren und heilsamen Historien zu lehren. So hilft auch bestimmte Zeit, dass man solcher grosser Ding Gedächtnis fester behält, und ist nicht die Meinung, dass solche Feiern auf jüdische Weise müssen gehalten werden, als sei die Feier an ihr selbst ein nötiger Kultus im Neuen Testament, sondern sollen um der Lehre willen gehalten werden.

Vor dieser Zeit ist viel ungeheimerer Lehre von Veränderung des Sabbaths und andern Zeremonien getrieben worden, dass Christus den Aposteln und Bischöfen befohlen habe, Zeremonien anzurichten als Gottesdienst nötig zur Seligkeit, wie im Alten Testament Zeremonie nötig gewe-

müsste man in der Christenheit einen solchen Gottesdienst haben, der dem levitischen oder jüdischen Gottesdienst gemäss wäre, und als sollte Christus den Aposteln und Bischöfen befohlen haben, neue Zeremonien zu erdenken, die zur Seligkeit nötig wären. Dieselben Irrtümer haben sich in die Christenheit eingeflochten, da man die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens nicht lauter und rein gelehrt und gepredigt hat. Etliche disputieren vom Sonntag, dass man [ihn] halten muss, wiewohl nicht aus göttlichem Recht, stellen Form und Mass, wiefern man am Feiertag arbeiten möge. Was sind aber solche Disputationen anders denn Fallstricke des Gewissens? Denn wiewohl sie sich unterstehen, menschliche Aufsätze zu lindern, so kann man doch keine Linderung treffen, solange die Meinung steht und fällt, als sollten sie von nöten sein. Nun muss dieselbe Meinung bleiben, wenn man nicht weiss von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens und von der christlichen Freiheit.

Die Apostel haben geheissen, man soll sich enthalten des Bluts und Ersticken. Wer hält's aber jetzt? Aber dennoch tun die keine Sünde, die es nicht halten. Denn die Apostel haben auch selbst die Gewissen nicht wollen beschweren mit solcher Knechtschaft, sondern habens um Aer-

ments, von der veränderung des Sabaths, welche alle entsprungen seint Auss falscher vnd jrriger maynung, Als muss man in der Christenhait Einen solchen gotsdienst haben, der dem Leuitischen oder Judischen gotsdienst gemess were. Und also solt Christus den Aposteln vnd Bischöfen beuolhen haben Newe Zeremonien zuerdenken, die zur seligkait nötig weren. Dieselbigen jrthumb haben sich in die Christenhait eingeflochten, do man die gerechtigkeit des glaubens nit lauter vnd rein gelert vnd gepredigt hadt. Etzlich Disputiren also vom Sontag, das man [jn] halten müsse, wiewol nicht aus gotlichen rechten, stellen form vnd mass, wie ferne man am feyertag arbeiten moge. Was seind aber solche Disputacion anders dan fahlstricke des gewissen? Dan wiewol sy sich vndersteen, menschliche aufsetze zu lindern vnd epikeiziren, so kan man doch kaïne epikeia oder linderung treffen, So lang die Maynung stehet vnd bleibet, als solten sie vonnoten sein; nun muss dieselb maynung bleiben, wen man nichts weis von der gerechtigkeit des glaubens vnd von der Christlichen freyhait.

Die Aposteln haben geheissen, man soll sich enthalten des Bluths vnd ersticken; wer helts aber ytzo? Aber dennoch thun die kain sund, die es nicht halten,

sen. Dieser Irrtum ist eingerissen, da man des Glaubens vergessen hat und hat wollen durch solche Werke verdienen, dass Gott gnädig wäre. Darum hat man nötige Dinge daraus gemacht, als wollte Gott niemand ohne solchen Gottesdienst zu Gnaden nehmen, und wäre christliche Heiligkeit solches äusserliche Werk und Zeremonie. Und sind die Gewissen damit also geängstet worden, dass sie viel mehr mit diesen unnötigen Dingen zu tun gehabt denn mit Gottes Geboten, wie Gerson mit klaren Worten klagt. Und wiewohl etliche Doktores Linderung und Epikias gesucht haben, kann dennoch das Gewissen nicht aus den Stricken kommen, solange es solche Dinge für nötige Gottesdienste hält, dadurch man muss vor Gott gerecht werden und ohne die man nicht könne gerecht werden.

Die Apostel haben verboten, Blut und Ersticktes zu essen; das hält man jetzund nicht mehr, und wird dieses Verbot ohne Sünde gebrochen, denn die Apostel haben die Gewissen nicht wollen beschweren und ein nötig Ding zur Seligkeit aus dieser Zeremonia machen und Sünde machen, wer es nicht hielt, sondern haben um Aergernis willen der schwachen Juden diese Ordnung auf eine Zeit gemacht. Denn man muss gegen dies Verbot andre Sprüche

gernis willen eine Zeitlang verboten. Denn man muss Achtung haben in dieser Satzung auf das Hauptstück christlicher Lehre, das durch [dieses] Dekret nicht aufgehoben wird. Man hält schier keinen alten Canon, wie sie lauten; es fallen auch derselben Satzung täglich viel weg auch bei denen, die solche Aufsätze aufs Fleissigste halten. Da kann man den Gewissen nicht raten noch helfen, wo diese Linderung nicht gehalten wird, dass man wisse, solche Aufsätze also zu halten, dass mans nicht dafür achtet, dass sie nötig seien, dass dem Gewissen unschädlich sei, wo gleich solche Aufsätze fallen.

Es würden aber die Bischöfe leichtlich den Gehorsam erhalten, wo sie nicht darauf dringen [würden], die Satzung zu halten, so doch ohne Sünde nicht [in the manuscript "nit" is stricken out, but this is apparently a mistake] mögen gehalten werden. Jetzt aber tun sie ein Ding und verbieten beide Gestalten des Sakraments, item den Geistlichen den Ehestand, nehmen niemand auf, er tue denn zuvor einen Eid, er wolle diese Lehre, so doch ohne Zweifel dem Evangelio gemäss ist, nicht predigen.

Unsere Kirchen bitten nicht darum, dass die Bischöfe mit Nachteil ihrer Ehre und Würden wiederum Fried und Einigkeit machen, wiewohl solches den Bi-

dan die Aposteln haben auch selbst die gewissen nicht wellen beschweren mit solcher knechtschaft, sunder habens vmb erger-nus willen Ein zeitlang verboten. Dan man muss achtung haben in dieser satzung auf das Hauptstück Christlicher Lere, das durch dieses Decret nicht aufgehoben [= aufgehoben] wirdt, das wir wissen, solche aufsetze also zu halten, das mans nicht darfur achte, das sie notig sein, das auch den gewissen vnschedlich sey, obgleich solche aufsetze fallen.

Es wurden aber die Bischof leichtlich gehorsam erhalten, wo sy nicht darauf drungen, die yhe-nige satzungen zu halten, so doch on sund nicht mogen gehalten werden.

Itzo aber thun sy ain Ding vnd verbieten beyde gestalt des hay. Sacraments, Item den gaistlichen den Ehestandt, Nemen niemandts auf, eher du dan zuuor ain eydt, er welle dise Lere, so doch on zweuel dem hay. Euangelio gemess ist, nicht predigen.

Vnsere Kirchen begern nicht, das die Bischoffen mit nachtail jhrer ehre vnd wurden widerumb frydt vnd Ainigkait machen, wie-wol solchs den Bischouen in der not auch zu thun geburt; allein bitten sy darumb, das die Bischo-

der Schrift und der Apostel Meinung halten. Man hält wenige Canones, wie sie lauten, und sind viel mit der Zeit abgangen, als Canones poenitentiales. So man nun dieses alles für nötige Dinge halten sollte, welche Beschwerde der Gewissen würde daraus folgen? Darum ist not, die Gewissen zu unterrichten, dass man Traditiones so fern halte, Aergernis zu vermeiden, und dass man ausserhalb der Aergernis nicht Sünde mache in Dingen, die das Evangelium frei haben will.

Es möchten auch die Bischöfe ihre gewöhnliche Obedienz leichtlich erhalten, so sie nicht auf etliche Traditiones dringen, die ohne Sünde nicht mögen gehalten werden. Denn in dieser Sache wird in keinem Weg gesucht, den Bischöfen ihre Herrlichkeit oder Gewalt zu nehmen. Aber sie sollen auch ihre Gewalt zur Besserung und nicht zur Verderbung der armen Gewissen brauchen und rechte Lehre nicht verhindern und unbillige Traditiones lindern und relaxieren, wie denn zum öftermal Traditiones in der Kirche von wegen Gelegenheit der Läufe und Zeit geändert sind, wie ein jeder Verständiger in canoni-bus sehen kann. Wo man aber dies bei den Bischöfen nicht erlangen mag, so müsse man wissen, dass man Gott mehr denn den Menschen gehorsam sein solle,

schöfen in der Not auch zu tun gebühret. Allein bitten sie darum, dass die Bischöfe etliche unbillige Beschwerde nachlassen, die doch vor Zeiten auch in der Kirchen nicht gewesen und angenommen sind wider den Gebrauch der christlichen gemeinen Kirchen, welche vielleicht im Anheben etliche Ursach gehabt, aber sie reimen sich nicht zu unsern Zeiten. So ists auch unleugbar, dass etliche Satzungen aus Unverstand angenommen sind. Darum sollten die Bischöfe der Gütigkeit sein, dieselben Satzungen zu mildern, sintemal eine solche Aenderung nichts schadet, die Einigkeit christlicher Liebe zu erhalten. Denn viele Satzungen, von Menschen aufgekomen, sind mit der Zeit selbst gefallen und nicht nötig zu halten, wie die päpstlichen Rechte selber zeigen. Kanns aber je nicht sein oder ist es bei ihnen nicht zu erhalten, dass man solche menschliche Satzungen mässige und abtue, welche man ohne Sünde nicht kann halten, so müssen wir der Apostel Regel folgen, die uns gebietet, wir sollen Gott mehr gehorsam sein denn den Menschen. S. Peter verbietet den Bischöfen die Herrschaft, als hätten sie nicht Gewalt, die Kirchen, wozu sie wollen, zu zwingen. Jetzt geht man nicht damit um, wie man den Bischöfen ihre Gewalt nehme, sondern man bittet und begehrt,

fen etzlich vnbillige Beschwe-
rung nachlassen. die doch vortzei-
ten auch in der kirchen nicht ge-
west vnd angenömmen sein wider
den gebrauch der Christlichen ge-
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im anheben etzlich vrsach gehabt;
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laugkbar, das etzlich satzung vnd
[= aus] vnverstandt angenoh-
men seindt. Darumb solten die
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selbige satzungen zu multern [=
mildern], sindemal ein solche en-
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kan halten, So müssen wir der
Apostel Regel folgen, die vns ge-
beut, wir sollen gott meher gehor-
sam sein dan den menschen. S.
Peter verbeut den Bischofen die
herrschaft, als hetten sy gewalt.
die kirchen, worzu sie wollten, zu
zwingen. Itzo gehet man nicht
damit vmb, wie man den Bischo-
fen jr gewalt nehme, sunder man
bitt vnd begert, sit wolten die ge-
wissen nicht zu sunden zwingen;
wenn sy aber sollichs nicht thun
werden vnd diese bitt verachten,

und werden die Bischöfe Gott
Rechenschaft für die Spaltung, so
durch ihre Härtigkeit in der Kir-
chen anhangt, geben müssen.

sie wollten die Gewissen nicht zu Sünden zwingen. Wenn sie aber solches nicht tun würden und diese Bitte verachten, so müssen sie gedenken, wie sie deshalb vor Gott werden Antwort geben müssen, dieweil sie mit solcher ihrer Härte Ursach geben zu Spaltung und Schisma, das sie doch sollten verhüten helfen.

so mogen sie gedenken, wie sie des halben got werden Antwort geben muessen, dieweil sie mit solcher jrer hertigkeit vrsach geben zu spaltung vnd Schisma, Das sy doch billig sollen verhuten helfen.

Diss seind die Furnemsten Artickel, die fur streitig geacht werden. Dan wiewol man vil mehr misbreuche vnd vnrichtigkait hett antziehen können, so haben wir doch, die weitleufigkait vnd lenge zuerhuten, allein die furnemsten vermeldet, Daraus die andern leichtlich zu ermessen, Dan man [hat] in vortzeiten ser geclagt vber den Abblas, vber walfarten, vber missbreuch des Banns. Es hetten auch die pharrer vntliche getzengke mit den Munichen von wegen des Beicht horens, des begrebnus, der beypredigten vnd vntzellicher anderer stuck mehr. Solchs alles haben wir jm besten vnd vmb gelimpfs willen vbergangen. Damit man die furnembsten stücke jn dieser sachen dester bas vermercken mocht.

Darauf [= dafür] soll es auch nicht gehalten werden, das in dem yemants ichtes zu hass wider oder vnglimpf geredt oder angezogen sey, sonder wir haben allain die stuck ertzelet, die wir fur notig antzuziehen vnd zuuermelden geacht haben, Damit man darauss dester bas zuuernemen habe, das bey vns nichts weder mit lere noch

Wir haben die vornehmlichen Artikel unserer ganzen Lehre erzählt. Wiewohl aber etliche mehr Missbräuche anzuziehen gewesen, als von Indulgentien, von Wallfahrten, von Missbrauch des Bannes, Unruhe in Pfarren durch Mönche und Stationarios an vielen Orten angerichtet wird,—diese und dergleichen Stücke haben wir fallen lassen, denn was wir davon halten, ist leichtlich aus den erzählten Artikeln abzunehmen. Wir haben auch niemand mit dieser schrift zu schmähen gedacht, sondern allein unser Bekenntnis getan, daraus männiglich erkennen mag, dass wir in Lehre und Zereemonien nicht halten zuwider Gottes Wort oder der heiligen gemeinen und catholica christlichen Kirche. Denn das ist öffentlich, dass wir mit höchstem Fleiss gewehret haben, dass nicht neue unchristliche Lehre bei uns gelehrt oder angenommen werden möchte.

Diese obgeschriebenen Artikel übergeben wir Kaiserlicher Majestät, unserm allernädigsten Herrn, wie Ihre Kaiserliche Majestät begehrt hat, darin in Summa zu sehen Bekenntnis unsres Glaubens und

mit Zeremonien angenommen ist, das entweder der hayligen schrift oder gemainer Christlichen kirchen zuentgegen were. Dan es ist yhe ain tag vnd offentlich, das wir mit allem vleis, mit gottes hilf (on ruem zureden) verhut haben, damit ye kain newe vnd gotlose lere sich in vnsern Kirchen einflochte, einreise vnd vberhandt neme.

Die obgemelten Artickel haben wir dem ausschreiben nach vbergeben wellen zu einer antzeigung vnser bekenntnus vnd der vnsern lere, vnd objmants befinden wurde, der daran mangel hett, dem ist man ferrer [= fernerer] bericht mit grundt gotlicher hayliger geschrift zu thun vrpittig [= erbietig].

unserer Prediger und Pfarrer Lehre, und erbieten uns weiter Bericht von dieser Lehre, wo solches begehrt wird, durch Gottes Gnade aus heiliger, göttlicher Schrift von allen Artikeln und jedem insonderheit nach Notdurft zu tun.

Eurer Kaiserlichen Majestät Untertänige

Johannes, Herzog zu Sachsen, Kurfürst.

Georg, Markgraf zu Brandenburg.

Ernst, Herzog zu Lüneburg.

Philipps, Landgraf zu Hessen.

Johann Friedrich, Herzog zu Sachsen.

Franciscus, Herzog zu Lüneburg.

Wolfgang, Fürst zu Anhalt.

Die Stadt Nürnberg.

Die Stadt Reutlingen.

41. THE REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LEGATE, CAMPEGIUS, END OF JUNE, 1530⁴³

Most Invincible, Imperial and Catholic Majesty! Although I am sure that it is not necessary for me to state my opinion to your Catholic Majesty in regard to the answer to be given to the proposition made by certain illustrious princes regarding the matters of faith and our holy religion. For I see that by your singular wisdom and by your exceptional good judgment, together with the faithful and excellent counsels of many of the illustrious Prince-Electors and other Princes and Lords, you can supply what is needed without me. Upon your Highness' command, however, and upon the wish of the aforementioned illustrious Princes, I will—since moreover it is not incompatible with my duty by virtue of the office I hold—with all respect say what I think, subject to the correction of Your Majesty and of any other man who holds a better and sounder opinion.

In the first place, I say that in order to facilitate this business it will be very much to the point if your Catholic Majesty with your very great authority, and then with the help of such Catholic Princes as shall seem best to you, should with great care try and strive to bring into the right and Catholic road some of these Princes, even if you cannot bring all who have subscribed to these articles and propositions; and also some of the imperial Cities which indeed, as your Serene Highness will see in the reply which will be given to you, being desirous of persevering in the articles they have proposed, have strayed far and entirely from the truth and the pure faith in Christ.

In the second place, there are in this city about twenty most excellent doctors and theologians of holy, good and exemplary life. Your Highness can have these summoned or, if it be your pleasure, I will undertake the task of calling them and giving them the articles proposed. We would have them carefully read and study these articles and then, having exercised all prudence, moderation, and Christian charity, let them, as soon as they can, proceed in the manner set forth below: First, let them extract the heads and assertions contained in the articles or propositions, not only those which are expressed and openly called propositions, but also those which are surreptitiously implied.

Then, such articles as are Catholic and well founded on the Gospel, sacred Scripture, and the teaching of the holy doctors, and are ap-

proved by the holy Church, if there be such, let them be accepted, praised, and approved. But such as shall be found to be heretical, false, seditious, disorderly, erroneous, scandalous, and offensive to pious Catholic ears, let them be demolished, destroyed, and totally annihilated, after it has been shown whence such assertions have been derived, and how in former times they were held by other heretics, and were diligently examined by the holy Council, and finally justly condemned and burnt together with the same heretics, in order that every one should understand and know that there must be no more disputing or gainsaying or reviving of doubt about that which has been so justly, with excellent reason and true understanding of the holy Scripture, rejected and condemned, such disputing of the truth leads to the gravest dangers, as Saint Maximus, the bishop, says in one of his sermons: "Noverimus itaque quia non sine magno discrimine de religionis veritate disputamus, quam tantorum sanguine confirmatam videmus. Magni periculi res est si post prophetarum oracula, post apostolorum testimonia, post martyrum vulnera, veterem fidem quasi novellam discutere praesumas, et post tam manifestos duces in errore permanear, et post morientium sudores otiosa disputatione contendas." The Imperial Law also declares the same thing: "Nemo: c. de *summa Trinitate et fide Catholica*; Nemo clericus vel militans vel alterius cuiuslibet conditionis de fide Christiana publice turbis coadunatis et audientibus tractare conetur in posterum, ex hoc tumultus et perfidiae occasionem requirens. Nam et iniuriam facit iudicio reverendissimae Synodi, si quis semel indicata ac recte disposita revolvere ac publice disputare contendit, cum ea quae nunc de Christiana fide a sacerdotibus qui Chalcedone convenerunt per nostra praecepta statuta sunt, iuxta apostolicas expositiones et instituta sanctorum patrum trecentorum decem et octo et centum quinquaginta, in hac regia Urbe definita esse noscuntur. Nam in contemptores huius legis poena non deerit, quia non solum contra fidem vere expositam veniunt, sed etiam Iudaeis et paganis ex huiusmodi certamine profanant veneranda mysteria. Igitur si clericus erit qui publice tractare de religione ausus fuerit, a consortio clericorum removebitur; si vero militia praeditus sit, cingulo spoliabitur; ceteri etiam huiusmodi criminis rei, siquidem liberi sint, de hac sacratissima Urbe expelluntur pro vigore iudiciario etiam competentibus suppliciis subiugandi; sin vero servi, severissimis animadversionibus plecentur."

And inasmuch as it is stated in the articles and propositions in

question that their preachers have neither preached, nor said, nor written, many things which are attributed to them—which, however, is false—it is, in my opinion advisable to instruct our doctors and theologians to note the places where they have said, taught, and preached the contrary, and the many contradictions and scandals they have disseminated in the Church of Christ, to the destruction of quiet, peace, and holy religion; and, for better satisfaction, let our doctors adduce their authorities, and show their true sense and meaning, which, with their erudition, will be an easy matter. Furthermore, it would appear to me necessary for the clearer elucidation of the truth that our doctors should, over against their heretical, false, seditious, disorderly, erroneous, and scandalous articles and propositions, set forth the truth in articles and propositions suited and attuned to the pious ears of Catholics; and should confirm and establish them by holy Scripture and the authority of holy doctors that are approved by the Church.

When all these things have been done, drawn up in proper form in German as well as in Latin as was done by them, I think the whole matter should be presented to your Catholic Majesty, who, if it seem good to you, will be able to summon all the Catholic Princes and, with their counsel and consent, deliberate whether to convoke the whole Diet and let these things be publicly read and understood by all.

And since, O Sacred Majesty, after the reading of the Catholic and true propositions and articles, it may very easily happen that they should ask for a copy, and time in which to answer, it would be well first to consult and deliberate with the Catholic Christian Princes what should be done and what course should be followed in that case. And, although I do not doubt that your Highness and the illustrious Princes would adopt the best course and measures, yet with all due reverence, and subject to your correction, I will state my opinion. Your Highness must be aware that it was, and always will be, in the nature of heretics to be stubborn and hard, never willing to give way or consent to reason, nor to any authority, however clear and approved. This I am convinced will be the same with these from the protestation they make and propound at the beginning. For though they try to cover it up and soften it down with fine words, yet it seems to me to say nothing else in the end than that, if the matter is not settled to their liking, they mean to persist in their opinion and in their appeal to a future Council—

not because they are to be determined, either to accept a faith or to give way, by any Council; but that they might be able to persist in their wrong opinion and evade the coming of Your Highness for their great good, and in this way (which God avert) reduce all Germany to their perverse opinions, fill it with tumults and seditions, as they have done up to now, and so also be able to contaminate the rest of Christendom.

Wherefore I should think that your Highness and the Catholic Princes should consider together the two cases which I will now state. The first is that, if they should accept and approve the Christian assertions and such things as shall be laid down by our Catholic doctors and theologians (which I do not believe, and would to God I might be wrong); in this case let them consult and deliberate as to the ways and means to be observed and followed, and how matters should be brought to a conclusion so that men may live in a Christian way and in the truth of the Faith—which, if God grant us this grace, it will then be easy to consult and deliberate upon.

The second is that of their not consenting to or accepting the sound counsel and doctrine which shall be shown them (which I greatly fear), but rather obstinately insisting upon wishing to reply, and in these disputations and vain controversies prolonging matters with a wish never to end them, as I am sure they intend to do. In this case let your Majesty be well advised not to consent to it, nor, on this point to promise or concede to them anything whatever, because you would then enter into a labyrinth from which you could never emerge any more, and so they would have gained their will, which is, by such means, to spin the matter out so that the Diet which, owing to the very great expense, cannot last very long, may come to an end with the matter still not settled. But let your Catholic Majesty with your illustrious Princes and good and true Christians, after having established a complete understanding and confederation, prepare to decide to extirpate these heresies thoroughly, proceeding against them with order and system by means of reason and justice, using your temporal arms and I the spiritual, and thus zealously punish them as is right; which, with the help of God, will be easy for you. And in this glorious, holy, and very truly Catholic undertaking, your Serene Highness would show yourself to all the world to be as in name so in deeds, as I told you before, the true and undoubted successor of that Charles the Great amongst whose other greatest undertakings there still resounds the fame of the conquest

he made of the Saxons, whereby was then established the holy Catholic Christian Faith. And Your Serenity may be sure that, this enterprise having been dispatched, if you wish shortly to take the field—as I think, you will wish it because you ought to wish it on account of the very high position and office you hold—an ample, quick, and broad way will be made to victories against the Turk, and against all such as may wish to presume to oppose your holy and virtuous works.

As for the abuses and disorders, once the affair of the Faith is settled as was said above, it will then be the right time for Your Majesty to try and contrive that all should return to the true path and way, and become true and Catholic Christians, in which I also, as long as my strength lasts, promise not to fail as to the duty of my office and the position that I hold. Nothing else occurs to me but once more to submit all I have said to the most wise counsel and judgment of your Majesty, to whom I humbly commend myself.—Your humble servant, Car. Campegius Legatus.

42. FOUR LETTERS FROM AUGSBURG, JUNE 25-26, 1530.⁴⁴

Jonas to Luther, June 25, 1530: . . . Yesterday (June 24th) the Emperor met with the electors and estates of the realm in the town hall and heard Cardinal Campegius speak. His address was not long. He admonished the Germans to peace, and that they should fight the Turks. He did not allow anything adverse to the Lutherans to enter his speech. Just about this time an embassy from Austria appeared showing how their property and families were placed in peril of their life every moment through the Turk. Their complaint was read while Ferdinand was sitting by.

This day had also been set apart for our princes that they might bring in the articles of their Confession; and they have subscribed it: our Elector, the young prince, then the Margrave George, Duke Ernst of Lueneburg, the prince of Hesse, the prince and lord of Anhalt, the council of Nuremberg, the council of Reutlingen.

The Landgrave insisted strongly that the articles should be read loud and clearly before His Majesty and the estates, but King Ferdinand, during the session, brought first this and then that item upon the tapis. He whispered into the ears of others, and did not cease until the reading was hindered for this day.

Nevertheless this afternoon at two o'clock, when the meeting will not be largely attended, our articles are to be read before some of the princes in the imperial chamber.

We still hope, if his Majesty will graciously investigate the matter, although I do not know whether it will happen, since he has so many cardinals about him; yet we still hope that you, dearest father, will be summoned hither by a herald. I cannot say how many words of fleshly prudence are being used, as though you would not be safe here from secret plots and violence; but as God has already done great wonders we will now not let our courage sink. Although I myself would not like to cause you suffering in such a difficult affair and to undertake the dangerous journey, but the Lord will rule everything.

There are six cardinals here, and many theologians and Spanish bishops. The cardinals and bishops of Trient and Salzburg, the cardinal of Mainz, the bishop of Liege and the Pope's legate to King Ferdinand: these all are in the Emperor's palace every day, and besides these there is a whole swarm of clergy who encircle his Majesty like bees and are daily enkindled with new hatred against us and you, and do nothing else but burn like fire among the thorns. . .

The Elector to Luther, June 25: . . . We had to consent to deliver our Opinion and Confession of Faith in common with the other princes and estates. The opposite party, it is reported, will not deliver a Confession, but will announce their intention to abide by the Edict, and by the faith which they have inherited from their fathers. But if the Pope or his legate, together with the Majesty, should direct them to accept a new faith, they would be willing obediently to do so.

Accordingly we appeared on the day of John the Baptist with ours before the Emperor and the King of Bohemia and the Electors and estates in open audience, and offered our Articles in Latin and German, the German to be read publicly.

In spite of our persistent appeal, we could not attain to the point of having the Articles read openly. The King and the other party most actively opposed us, but we gained so much, that his Majesty will hear these same Articles in his palace. This is arranged thus to prevent the presence of a multitude.

Almighty God may grant us His grace, that matters will result to His honor. Pray God diligently for us, as we do not doubt you do without request.

We will let you know further how matters develope, for we are most favorably disposed toward you. Datum, Augsburg, June 25th, 1530.

The Nuremberg Representatives to the Mayor and Councillors of Nuremberg, June 25, 1530.—Gracious, dear Sirs!—Your Honors' letter of yesterday was delivered to us yesterday before breakfast. Since our last report nothing has occurred here except that last Wednesday the Elector, the Princes, and the Estates had a meeting at which the Emperor's purpose was discussed and it was decided that the matters pertaining to religion should be disposed of prior to the Turkish question. The cities agreed with this decision, and the Elector, the Princes, and the Estates so informed His Imperial Majesty who acceded to this request. Furthermore, last Wednesday nearly all princes have appeared at the court on behalf of Duke Ulrich of Wuerttemberg, imploring His Majesty most urgently to permit the Duke to return to his home and vouching for the Duke's proper conduct in the future etc. His Imperial Majesty decided to take this problem under advisement until Friday but no answer has been given to date.

Last Thursday morning we and the delegates of Reutlingen were summoned to a conference with Saxony, Hesse, Margrave George, and Lueneburg. At this time, in the presence of their princely highnesses and their councillors and theologians (there were twelve theologians, not counting various other learned men and doctors), the statement of our faith was read and discussed and it was decided to have it presented and read to His Imperial Majesty and the Imperial Estates yesterday afternoon. For although the Elector and the Princes had petitioned His Imperial Majesty for a postponement when the copying and the formulation of the preface and the conclusion was somewhat delayed, their request was refused; and so yesterday at three o'clock in the afternoon His Imperial Majesty and the Estates assembled at the city hall. First the papal legate having presented his credentials delivered a Latin oration concerning the dissension in the faith and concerning the Turkish danger. Next a delegation from Lower Austria appeared which presented their credentials and a written appeal to the Emperor and the Estates for help against the Turks. His Imperial Majesty took both matters under advisement. Thirdly, Saxony, the Margrave, Lueneburg, and Hesse stepped forward with their confession of faith,

signed by their electoral and princely graces and by our representatives and those of Reutlingen, and in their name Doctor Brueck most obediently petitioned His Imperial Majesty to allow the confession to be read in German and to be presented in both German and Latin to His Imperial Majesty for the purpose of examination.

After some discussion with the Elector and the Princes, the Emperor first flatly refused to allow the confession to be read and simply commanded them to deliver it to His Majesty. Even when the Princes declared that it was positively necessary to read the confession because it was a matter of gravest concern to them and because it pertained to their lives, their honor and reputation, and when they insisted that their defense should be made publicly because many evil reports had been spread concerning them as though they had tolerated improper teaching and preaching in their countries, nevertheless His Majesty persisted in refusing their request.

The Elector and the Princes, however, made a third, vigorous attempt. They asked in all obedience that for the sake of God their confession be read in public because it contained only necessary things and because none was acrimoniously attacked therein. The Emperor's third reply was that His Majesty was inclined to allow their request but desired, because of the lateness of the hour, to have the confession transmitted at once and to have it read today at two o'clock in the afternoon at the palace in the presence of the Electors, Princes, and Estates.

By way of reply the Elector and the Princes declared that they desired nothing more eagerly than that His Majesty and the Estates should hear the confession and that they most urgently requested this favor. But if it should not suit the Emperor to hear the confession now, then, they declared, they wished that His Imperial Majesty would, at the time appointed for the reading at the palace, appear here at the city hall to have the confession read and also to leave the confession in their own hands so that they might make some necessary corrections in the document which had been rather hurriedly composed. His Imperial Majesty finally decided to hear the confession at the palace and to leave it in the possession of the Elector and the Princes. With this decision the Princes had to be satisfied, Accordingly the confession will be read this afternoon.

From all this Your Honors will perceive that they are now

definitely committed to this cause: Your Honors can understand what difficulties will arise from this hearing for the Elector and the Princes, and what further consequences and decisions may result from it. So far as the articles of faith are concerned, the above mentioned confession is substantially identical with the draft which we sent to Your Honors, with the exception that several portions have been improved and that the mildest possible terms have been used without, however, sacrificing anything of vital importance. In Your Honors' name we agree to all these changes, and in your name we adhere to the Princes and the representatives of Reutlingen. When this confession, about 50 pages long, has been completely copied, we shall transmit a correct copy to Your Honors. And since the time for presenting the confession has finally arrived and since the Princes have their own theologians here for any emergency that may arise, therefore we do not deem it necessary that Osiander be sent here. But we shall leave this matter to your discretion.

We also visited Mr. Bernhard Besserer yesterday. We informed him confidentially that the Elector of Saxony and his adherents had decided to present their confession to His Majesty in about the same form that was projected at the meeting of Schmalkalden; and we told him that we had been instructed by Your Honors to make every effort at inducing the other cities, especially Ulm, to adhere to the above-mentioned Princes and to act unitedly with them. We wanted him fully to know these things and to consider them in carrying out his magistrate's orders, and we asked him to keep this information secret. Besserer answered that he had already written to his superiors and was awaiting their directions, and that he intended to attend the session to see what would be done to him. This is probably all that can be done but we have considered it wise to speak to Besserer in this way so that the cities may know Your Honors' good will toward them.

We are also told that several other Estates are displeased because we have not informed them of the Princes' intentions nor drawn them into this affair. But we do not as yet know what their opinion really is; it seems to us that they are afraid of grievous consequences if even the Princes are not immune.—Given, Saturday, June 25, 1530, early.—Kress and Volkamer.

The Nuremberg Representatives to the Mayor and City Council

of Nuremberg, June 26, 1530.—Yesterday, Saturday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the confession of faith, signed—as we recently wrote to you—by the Elector of Saxony and the other Princes, also for Your Honors and for the council of Reutlingen, was presented in Latin and German to His Imperial Majesty at the palace in the presence of the King, the Electors, Princes, and Estates after the Saxon chancellor had publicly and plainly read it before His Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and Estates in the German language in order that all those who were present might well understand it. The Emperor then had a conference with the other Electors and Princes and informed the Elector of Saxony and his adherents through Duke Frederick that His Imperial Majesty had heard the confession, but since this was a matter of vital importance and vast magnitude, His Imperial Majesty would require some time to consider and study it. His Majesty would do this in such a manner that His Christian grace and fairness could be perceived, and His Majesty would summon the Elector and the Princes whenever His Majesty had arrived at a decision.

The Elector and the Princes and their adherents expressed their deep gratitude to His Imperial Majesty for this answer and their appreciation that His Majesty and the Electors, Princes, and Estates had graciously listened to their confession. They also declared that they were ready to show their appreciation and to repay this favor, also to appear in all obedience when His Imperial Majesty should cite them and that they were willing not only in this but in all other matters that were to come before this Diet, according to His Majesty's summons, to conduct themselves as it behooved them.

Afterward, as they reported to us, the Elector and the Princes were privately asked by His Imperial Majesty to keep the confession secret and not to have it printed. The princes promised to fulfill His Majesty's wish. His Majesty has not shown any ill will in this matter. We have heard more than one person remark that our confession does not deserve to be condemned and even some of the Electors and Princes are said to regard it as perfectly proper Saturday [Sunday], June 26, 1530, three o'clock in the afternoon.—Kress and Volkamer.

43. FIVE LETTERS OF LUTHER TO AUGSBURG, JUNE 27-30, 1530⁴⁵

Luther to Melanchthon, June 27: Grace and Peace in Christ! In Christ, I say, not in the world. Amen.

Concerning the excuse for your silence, another time, my dear Philip. The messenger can scarcely wait till I write

I very much hate your exceeding solicitude, by which, as you write, you are being consumed. That these cares so rule your heart is not due to the greatness of the cause, but to the greatness of our unbelief. For the very same cause was still greater in the time of John Huss and many others It is not our cause. Why do you thus torture yourself without end? If the cause be false, then we wish to renounce it; but if it be true, why do we, with so great promises, make Him a liar Who commands us to have a confident and intrepid heart (Ps. 55:23): "Cast your burden upon the Lord." The Lord is near those who are broken-hearted (Ps. 34:19), who call on Him. Does He, then, speak this to the wind, or cast it before beasts?

I am also sometimes cast down, but not always. Your philosophy worries you so, it is not theology. And your Joachim seems to me to be gnawed by the same care. As if you could really accomplish anything by our taking anxious thought. What in the name of sense can the devil do more than strangle us? What more? I beg you—who in all other things are ready for the fray—to take a stand against yourself, your greatest enemy, since you furnish Satan with so many weapons against you.

Christ died once for sin; but for righteousness and truth He will not die, since He lives and rules. If this is true, what is to be feared for the truth? But if you fear, the very truth will come to nought, through God's anger.

He Who has become our Father, will also be such for our children. I indeed pray diligently for you; and I regret that your obstinate anxiety renders my prayers ineffectual. I for my part am, so far as the cause is concerned, not very much disturbed—yes, of better hope than I had expected. God is able to raise the dead. He is also able to sustain His cause when it wavers; when it has fallen, to raise it up again; when it stands, to further it. Should we prove not to be worthy, let others be to blame for it. For if we are not strengthened by His promises, I pray you, who then are

the other people in the whole world to whom they really apply?—But about this more another time. I am, at any rate, only carrying water into the sea.

Your letters concerning the Emperor's arrival went to Wittenberg yesterday. For they too are very much worried at your silence, as you will discover from the letters of Pomeranus. It is not the fault of the messenger, whom Jonas blames, but altogether yours, and yours alone. Christ comfort you all through His Spirit and strengthen and instruct you. Amen.

If I should hear that affairs and the cause are in a bad way, and that they will be in danger, I will come in a hurry to see the terrible teeth of Satan eager to snap their prey, as the Scripture says (Job. 41:5).

Meanwhile greetings to all. We shall send other letters as soon as possible.—Martin Luther.

Luther to Melancthon, June 29: Grace and Peace in Christ! I have read, my dear Philippus, your rhetorical letter, which wears the garb of innocence concerning your silence. But meanwhile I have twice written letters to you, in which I have sufficiently (at least in the second letter, which the messenger will bring, who has been sent by our laborer to the princes) presented the reason for my silence. To-day your latest letters have been delivered to me, in which you remind me of your labors, dangers and tears in such a manner, that I appear to have afflicted you unjustly with grief upon grief through my silence, as if I had not known your troubles; or was sitting here in the midst of roses and was not bearing with you any of the cares. And yet would to God that my cause were such as would permit tears to flow. Yes, I also had resolved to send a messenger to learn whether you were dead or alive. M. Veit will testify to this; and nevertheless I believe all your letters were delivered to me. For the letters, which finally arrived late, concerning the arrival and entrance of the Emperor, came almost simultaneously. But this may have been the "Ate," or any other satan, "and let him have what he deserves."

I have received your Confession (Apology) and am wondering what you might like to have changed, since you are raising such a question as, What and how much should be conceded to the Papists. With reference to the Prince, that is another question—what he could concede, if danger threatened him. So far as I am concerned, more than enough has been yielded in that Apology, which if they

refuse, I see nothing more which I can yield, unless they furnish clearer reasons and Scripture proofs than I have yet seen. Day and night I am occupied with the matter, thinking over it, revolving it in my mind, arguing, searching the entire Scriptures, and there grows upon me constantly that fulness of assurance in our Doctrine, and I am more and more confirmed in the purpose that I will yield nothing more, come what may. . . .

I am offended at your writing, that you are following my authority in this cause. I will not be, nor be called, author in this cause. If it is not equally your cause, it shall not be said that it is mine, and was imposed on you. If it be my cause alone, I will manage it alone . . . If we be not the Church, or a part of the Church, where is the Church? If we have not the Word of God, who has it? . . . I have consoled you in the last letter. May God at least grant that He is not death-dealing but life-giving. What further can I do?

The end and the result of the matter worry you, because you cannot grasp it with your hands. But if you could apprehend it, I would not wish that I had anything to do with it, much less be its originator. God has comprehended this matter in a certain general doctrinal article, which you do not have in your rhetoric, nor in your philosophy; and which is called Faith. In this article of doctrine everything is contained which man does not see and which is not visible to the eye (Heb. 11:1, 3). If anyone attempt to make it apparent to the eye and comprehensible, as you do, he will receive for his effort cares and tears, as you have received them. "The Lord hath spoken, He desireth to dwell in darkness" (1 Kings 8:12), and "He hath made the darkness for his habitation" (2 Sam. 22:12). "He who so wills, changes it." Had Moses resolved first to understand the end, how he might withstand the host of Pharaoh, Israel might today yet be in Egypt. The Lord increase your and the faith of us all. If one has this, what can Satan and the whole world accomplish? If we ourselves have no faith, why do we not at least comfort ourselves through another's faith? For there are others who believe in our stead, unless it be that there is not any more a Church on earth, and that Christ will discontinue His presence among us before the end of the world. For if He is not with us, I pray where then in the whole world is He? If we are not the Church, or at least a part of it, where then is the Church?

Or are, perchance, the dukes of Baiern, Ferdinand, the Pope, the Turks, and the like, the Church? If we have not the Word of God,

who then are the people who have it? If, therefore, God be with us, who can be against us? Our sinfulness and ungratefulness do not make Him a liar. But you will not listen to this—so discouraged and weak does Satan make you. May Christ heal you. For this I pray earnestly and continuously. Amen.—Greet all, for I also cannot write the latest to everyone. I wish opportunity would be given me to come to you, indeed I have great desire to come without being commanded or summoned. The grace of God be with you and you all. Amen.—On St. Peter and St. Paul Day (the 29th of June), anno 1530.—Martin Luther.

Postscript. After I had finished the letter the thought occurred to me that it might perhaps appear that I had given too little attention to your question, how much and how far one could concede to the opponents; but you have also asked too little. You have not indicated what and what kind of concession you think would be required of us. As I have always written, so I now write, I am ready to concede to them everything, provided only that the Gospel be left free to us. But that which conflicts with the Gospel I cannot concede. What else can I answer?

Luther to Brentz, June 30: Grace and peace in Christ! I learn, my dear Brentz, that you likewise are being worried in that Assembly of the gods. It is Philip's example that is moving you. He is zealously concerned for the public peace and for posterity, but his zeal is not wise;—as though our ancestors, by their anxiety and care, had brought it to pass that we are what we are, and this had not come about only through God's wisdom, Who will continue to be God after we are gone. For He will not die with us . . .

I am writing this in order that Gregorius Brueck or some one else among you may speak to Philip and get him to cease being regent of the world, that is, may cease making a martyr of himself. . . . God will rule the world better when I am dead than if I should continue to live, since I am hindering Him by my life. Try to see whether Philip cannot be persuaded through you,—of whom he must believe that you are men of God,—though he is not moved by my words. He is not so perverted that, if God should command him by an angel from Heaven to be of good cheer, he would despise the command. He will not despise us, if we all admonish him thus. . . . The grace of God be with you. The last of June, 1530.—Your Martin Luther.

Luther to Jonas, June 30: Grace and peace in Christ! At last your letters have arrived, my dear Jonas, after you have worried us

for three full weeks by your silence. . . . Time of prayer left me no opportunity for anger. But I have been busy giving you a bad name for this silence, especially at Wittenberg. It does no good to complain against the messengers. They have delivered the letters faithfully, especially the one you hired. From the time he delivered your letter I received nothing except this last one concerning the arrival and the entry of the Emperor, and yesterday the one with your complaints, but I will avenge this in due time.

I am filled with joy and rejoice exceedingly at the extraordinary and great gift of God, in that our Prince is so steadfast and composed in his disposition, for I regard my prayers offered for him as having been pleasing to God and prophesy that they will be heard in other things. This joy of mine has been increased in that I recognize that you are very reliable in the Lord against this raging of Satan. Philip is worried by his philosophy, and by nothing else; for the cause is in the hand of Him who dare say to the very proudest: "No one shall pluck them out of my hand." These things that I have been able to take out my own hands and cast upon Him, have been preserved by Him safe and sure, for "God is our refuge and strength."

I am glad the Pope has received a new sign. He will have something by which to despise God still more, and will go to ruin all the more quickly. I cannot cease wondering that Ferdinand has forgotten the Turk and the wretchedness of his people. If I were responsible for so much destruction of human life, I would die in an hour, especially if my conscience added that my neglect had been the cause of it. Our bishops will surely be destroyed. As there is no hope of changing them, I am glad that they are growing more obstinate.

Let us only remain bold in Christ. He lives, and we also shall live, even though we shall be martyred, and He will care for the children and wives of those who have died. He rules, and we shall rule, yes, we rule already.—If I be called to Augsburg, I will surely come, for Christ wishes it so, and indeed I am filled with the desire to come unsummoned and undemanded.—The grace of God be with you. Out of the wilderness, on June 30th, 1530.—Your Martin Luther.

Luther to Melancthon, June 30: Grace and peace in Christ! What first of all to write you, my dear Philippus. I positively do not know. For my thoughts rush and surge at your exceedingly wicked and perfectly useless cares, and I know that I am telling a

story to one who is deaf. The reason for this is that the only one you have faith in is yourself. You have no faith in me, and, unfortunately, not in others.

In personal conflicts I am weaker, but you stronger; on the other hand, you are in public as I am in personal matters, and I in public as you in personal matters (if in truth that can be called a private affair which takes place between Satan and myself). For you despise your life, and your fear is for the general cause; as far as the general cause is concerned, my spirit is strong and undisturbed, for I assuredly know that it is righteous and true, yea, also the cause of Christ, which will not fail. Hence I am a very safe spectator, and can disregard the furious and threatening Papists.

If we fall, Christ will fall with us, and He is the great Ruler of the whole world. And if it were possible for Him to fall, yet I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the Emperor. But there is little use in my writing this, for you will continue to run these affairs as a rationalist, and in accordance with your philosophy. You will continue, that is, as the saying goes, "with reason, to be irrational." You are killing yourself and utterly fail to see that the matter lies beyond the power of your hand and counsel, and that it will be carried on regardless of any concern which you may feel. And my prayer is that Christ may prevent it from coming into your hand or counsel, although you are so obstinate in desiring to control it. For if you did succeed in getting your hand upon the lever, we would go down to ruin beautifully indeed and with one crash.

I pray for you, have prayed, and will pray, and I doubt not that I am heard, for I feel the Amen in my heart.—Your Martin Luther.

44. LUTHER'S LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ, JULY 6, 1530⁴⁶

The Most Reverend Father in God, His Right Honorable Highness, Prince and Lord, Albert, Tit. St. Grisogens Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Primate of Germany and Administrator of Halberstadt etc. Markgrave of Brandenburg etc. My most precious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord, Most Reverend Highness, Right Honorable Prince, Gracious Sir! I should have preferred to write this letter to Your Grace privately, with my own hand, but I feared that in these evil times it might become public in a

garbled form and so might be misinterpreted against me or even bring Your Grace under suspicion. Therefore I have published it openly in printed form, so as to anticipate the evil intentions of those who, full of poisonous suspicions, might misinterpret it. I humbly beseech Your Grace favorably to regard my communication. Since Your Grace is the most exalted prelate in Germany, who in these matters is able to accomplish more than any one else, I have overcome my hesitation and venture to humbly petition Your Grace in this epistle, so that I may do my best in every way possible, and may keep a clear conscience before God and the world. If perhaps some calamity is impending or the wrath of God hangs over us (as I greatly fear may be the case) I will at least be excused because I have sought and proffered peace in every way I could.

Your Grace has doubtless noted, along with all others, the Confession of our teaching, which was presented by our representatives and which, you will pardon me for saying it, has declared with joyous assurance, like Christ our Lord, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" It does not fear the light but can sing the words of Psalm 118 (119): "I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed." For whosoever doeth the truth cometh to the light that his deeds may be made manifest, that they have been wrought in God. On the other hand I can see that our opponents will not accept such teaching and still less will attempt to refute it. Neither do I have any hope that we will again become united in faith, for their cause cannot bear the light, and furthermore they are so embittered and inflamed that if the doors of hell stood open before them they would rather plunge into the eternal flames than give way to us and surrender their own wisdom. This we cannot help nor alter. We are innocent of their blood.

But I still cherish certain hopes and therefore am writing to Your Grace. Our opponents cannot censure our doctrine and we have clearly proven and witnessed by this Confession that we have taught nothing untrue or false, and so have not deserved that we should be so scandalously condemned or so horribly persecuted as we have been in the past and as we still are in the present. So much, however, it seems to me, might be attained, that our opponents would keep the peace and not abuse and kill the innocent on account of this irreproachable doctrine, which they themselves are compelled to approve, at least in so far as they are silent, and have nothing

to offer in reply. That they will not be taught by us nor accept our doctrine we will have to let pass, for we do not coerce any one, not even to force them to accept the truth, as they compel men to accept lies.

Therefore (as has just been said), because there is no hope of attaining unanimity of faith, I humbly pray Your Grace that, together with others, you will endeavor to have them keep the peace, believing as they choose but also permitting us to believe this truth, which has now been openly stated and found irreprehensible. It is well known that no one should coerce others to believe, and that this is beyond the power of either emperor or pope. Even God, Whose power is over all, has never yet wished to drive anyone, by force, to believe. How then dare His poor wretched creatures presume not only to coerce men to faith but to try to compel them to believe what they themselves must regard as lies?

If such a peace is not to be secured we will have the approval of God and the esteem of the whole world because we have gladly confessed our faith in public and have sought and offered a peace, which we could not accomplish, even though it was not possible to show anything blameworthy or evil in our teaching. What judgment God and posterity will pass on this fact remains to be seen and we must console ourselves with the example of the dear Apostles, concerning whose words and deeds the high priest and rulers of the people of Israel could find no fault and had nothing they could say against it (as St. Luke relates, Acts 3 [4]). Nevertheless they did not keep the peace but because of the truth that they would not accept, even though it confuted and vanquished them, they scourged and persecuted the Apostles. Yet how did they fare in the end? Where are they now? What has become of Jerusalem? It is true Gamaliel arose among them and advised them to keep the peace and let the Apostles go their way, even if they did not accept their teaching. But it was useless. Would to God that Your Grace or anyone else, might in our day also be a Gamaliel who would propose such a counsel of peace to the rest and persuade them to accept it, then, perhaps, God might grant them His grace so that they would cease from their raging and not strive so stubbornly against their own consciences and against God. This is the best advice that can be given in such matters and St. Luke surely not without a definite purpose when he recorded this event so carefully. It is certainly a sin against the Holy Ghost to strive against recognized truth and

we have other sins enough without loading ourselves down with the sin against the Holy Ghost in addition.

Yet this they will not hear nor heed but want to go the way Jerusalem went. If some, however, might be saved so that they do not share the fate of the rest but may be persuaded to accept and follow the safe counsel of Gamaliel then Your Grace would do a valuable service for God. Dear God! Such teaching does not harm you, so keep the peace and counsel peace; remain what you are and maintain that you are to be undisturbed and deprived of nothing. This in itself should be a sufficient motive for seeking peace even if the truth alone does not do so, though it is the truth which has preserved you in the past and does so now. If the truth then must complain "*Quī retribuēbant mihi mala pro bonis, aduersantur mihi,*" it is not creditable nor well for any of you if the complaint must be uttered about you clergy.

If, however, they will neither follow Gamaliel's counsel nor heed the example of the Apostles or Jews let them go, in their heedlessness and let those rage who will not cease from anger. They will find in full measure the wrath and discord for which they are striving. Meanwhile we will sing with the dear Apostles (for I know they cannot hinder us):

Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. How kings and princes again rage against the Lord and against His truth; how they wish to break His bands and to be unbound and untaught by Him you can see for yourself. That such raging is in vain is not apparent now, but it shall be seen in due time. For these words follow:

He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. This is not seen nor believed now but it shall surely be felt. When it happens they shall see how vain has been their raging and how well they have broken the Lord's bands and suppressed His Word. But to us who believe it with certainty, and who know that it must take place, it is even now a beautiful comfort. For no matter how the Kings and princes rage and imagine and break asunder and cast away, they will still have to leave our King on His throne, as here follows:

Yet have I set my king upon my holy hill of Zion. I will declare

the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my¹ Son; this day have I begotten thee. Then let our kings rage, the pope rave, princes tear asunder, the heathen cast away their restrains, the King still sits on His throne and is as the Son in His own house. Dear raging Junkers do let Him sit there a while longer. If you do not want to let us enjoy peace, I pray you, for God's sake, at least let the King sit on His throne and do not tear Him down as quickly as you intend, or, if He must be dethroned, Good Friends, at least send Him a challenge, so that He may learn of your terrible wrath and your threats, for perhaps he will fortify Himself with embankments and ramparts, so that He may be able to hold His own, at least as long as this Reichstag lasts or till your anger and displeasure has abated. This our King also claims to be a priest and He publishes a sermon on a new text, namely that He is God's Son and that this is a truth that must be believed. If I were like the kings and princes I would issue an order forbidding Him to preach, so that He might not disturb our security, or by His teaching destroy our own doctrine and our ancient customs. Quick! At Him and command Him to be silent for He is a heretic. But be careful that you do not make a mistake in attacking a priest and the "Sui suadente"* descend on you with its thunders and lightnings for it's a great Bishop who consecrated Him and commanded Him to preach. His name is the LORD and He has been given Him a credential that means, "Noli me tangere," and reads thus:

Ask me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them to pieces like a potter's vessel. Who in all his life ever heard a greater lie? The heathen are the inheritance of the angry kings and the world is the possession of the ferocious princes. Any one can see that they do with it just as they please, as something that belongs to them. All their plans and proposals against this King and Priest are succeeding as splendidly as though they had learned walking from the crabs, or as though they were trying to teach the crabs the art of walking, so that this King does not own as much as a simple stick in the whole world. But let ridicule cease.

Hear what follows: *Be wise now therefore ye kings; be instructed ye judges of the earth.* Should kings and princes be addressed in this

*The reference is to Decret. II. causa 17. qu. 4. c. 29: "Si quis suadente diabolo huius sacrilegii reatum incurrerit quod in clericum vel monachum violantes manus iniecerit, anathematis vinculo subiaceat etc.

fashion! What will come of it? Never before in the world has there been such disgraceful and shocking talk. Kings shall become wise? Do you think they are fools? Judges shall be instructed? Do you think they are school children? Aye, kings have long been wise; they have codes and common laws, jurists and counsellors and they understand their business very well. Likewise the judges have their privileges, customs, procedures and standards, customs and precedents, and they understand full well what they should judge, decree or decide. This psalm is certainly heretical for it abuses kings and slanders judges, would rob them of their privileges, and acts generally like a rebel against the government and all its ancient rights and usages and in addition it addresses them quite contemptuously, ye kings, ye judges, just as a master would address his servant, Thou Johnnie, Thou Peter, as though it had no respect for them and regarded them simply as its property, like a cow or a goose.

Yes, dear fellow, it acknowledges that kings and judges indeed have prerogatives and wisdom, for no one can be a king or judge who does not have justice and law in the land. But in this verse it throws them all into subjection to this King, together with all their prerogatives, customs, reason and whatever else they have of wisdom and power and declares that no matter how good their justice and customs may be that is not enough. They shall become as fools and children in the presence of this King; they shall hearken to Him and learn of Him; they shall obey His Word and let that rule as the last and ultimate authority. Wherefore, because the pope as well as the emperor or the king is not above this King but each remains an earthly ruler, so the decrees and teachings of each must also be fools and children in the presence of this King's words and teaching. They shall not judge it, but it shall judge and instruct them. But at Augsburg they will twist and turn this verse so that it will read; "Wherefore be wise, Thou King of Zion, and be instructed, Thou Judge in heaven, for Thou art a fool and child in our presence. We must judge and decree what Thou shalt regard as truth and as falsehood, what we do not decree, judge or establish. The ultimatum is given you either to accept our decisions as true or to be deposed and burned with the heretics. So it will undoubtedly happen to this King for they are determined not to be dispossessed of the prerogatives which they have exercised of being masters and judges of God's Word. But what will this King say to it? He also is jealous of His prerogatives and refuses to be ruled or judged,

but will rule and judge alone. Let that to Him and He will attend to the matter as follows:

Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him. There it is written. Whoever will not hear Christ's Word but would vanquish it shall perish through His anger, and that right speedily. He will not tarry. We shall serve Him and not try to force His Word to serve our ideas. We should kiss Him and do Him homage, for Christ will not have His word subjected to our fancies. He will not permit it, and that is the end of the matter.

So I would humbly indicate to Your Grace how with your efforts, by the grace of God, the blasphemies might be lessened, and if this fail at least peace might be maintained. When the pope and his followers boast in a recent pamphlet that the emperor will restore all to him, I know full well that the expectation will be disappointed, for that would mean that we would recant all we have taught, even to the Confession which we have just presented and which you yourselves must admit to be true. Should we admit all the former lies, of which you confess so many, and should we have to take on our own shoulders all the innocent blood that was shed by your party? Yea, dear pope and papists, first give back to us Lenhard Keyser and all the innocent lives you have destroyed and all the souls you have led astray with your lies, all the money and property you have stolen with your chicanery, all the honor you have filched from God with your blasphemies and then we will talk about restitution. Let it be written in a history that the pope and his papists demanded such an outrageous thing, as though there were only blockheads in Germany and nothing but monkeys at the Reichstag and among the princes participating in it, and it will become an eternal stench that will nauseate all our posterity.

But the devil is seeking to accomplish something else by these means and I would to God that all our nobility would mark it well. We Germans keep on believing the pope and his Italians till they succeed in bringing us not into a sweat bath but into a bath of blood. If German princes should attack each other the Florentine pope would rejoice. He would laugh in his sleeve and say, There, you German beasts, you would not have me for pope, then have this. O, he has great love and fidelity for the emperor, as he proved at Pavia, when he took part against him. Germany he loves still more,

so that he summoned the emperor from Spain, (Who could see through the trickery?) and then crowns him in the absence of the German princes, as the Bull testifies. I am no prophet but I beseech all you gentlemen to observe carefully for yourselves and not to imagine that you are dealing only with men when you are dealing with the pope and his party, but with sheer devils. For I know that back of all are the devices of the devil. May the Almighty God so aid you that all may make for peace. Amen.

Herewith I commend Your Grace to the grace of God, and in so far as I can aid with my prayers I will serve you truly. May Your Grace regard this epistle favorably. I cannot refrain; I must care for poor, miserable, forsaken, despised, beguiled and betrayed Germany, for which I seek no ill but only good, as a debt which I owe to my dear fatherland.—Ex Erimo, Feria 4, post Visitationis, anno 1530.—Your Grace's Obedient, Martin Luther.

45. FIRST DRAFT OF THE CONFUTATION, JULY 8, 1530⁴⁷

Catholic and; so to say, extemporaneous answer concerning some articles proffered to the Catholic Imperial Spanish Majesty a few days ago at the Imperial Diet at Augsburg by the most illustrious men, the Elector of Saxony and some other Princes and two Cities.—MDXXX.

Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy, 3rd Chapter, The Church is the Pillar and Ground of Truth.

Most Serene, Most Invincible, and most August Emperor. Some days ago a certain confession concerning our Catholic faith and religion was presented to Your Imperial Majesty by the Elector of Saxony and certain other princes and two cities. It has pleased Your Majesty that the most Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Lorenzo, the Holy Roman Church's Cardinal of the title of St. Mary beyond the Tiber, Legate of the Apostolic See, should deliver the proffered writing to several doctors expert in the study of sacred literature, and enjoin them carefully to read and examine the confession which was presented and approve what to them would seem right, pious, and orthodox, and to reduce to writing whatever would differ from the Catholic Truth and the true religion. The appointed doctors have most humbly done this work.

And in the first place of all, they find that in this same writing there are certain articles which are not incompatible with our most

holy religion; but neither the Elector, nor the princes, nor the cities have invented them. Indeed, even from the very beginning of our faith the universal Church of the faithful as well as the pious and holy doctors of our orthodox faith have continually believed them and have proved this by illustrious literary productions and by their works and deeds, even in the most holy manner by their blood. In this respect, therefore, those men have certainly adduced nothing new, but only what from olden times has been observed, written, and preached. All these matters Your Holy Imperial Majesty may graciously accept from the Elector, the princes, and the cities; and Your Imperial Majesty may exhort the said Elector, the Prince of Saxony, and the rest that they themselves, together with their doctors and preachers, faithfully persevere in the same confession and doctrine and by no means depart from it.

Secondly, There appear in the aforementioned confession certain articles through which, incessantly, during the last ten years conflicting and contrary things have been publicly disseminated and divulged among the inexperienced multitude by the preacher's in many pamphlets and sermons, which fact is made manifest by the books that they have broadcast far and wide. In order that these things no longer cause the wretched common people to vacillate in doubt and to be involved in inextricable errors, the best thing to do would seem to be that pamphlets and books of that kind would be destroyed and abolished by an imperial edict, especially also since the preachers have of their own accord renounced their errors here and in part at a visitation in Saxony.

Thirdly, A good many articles emerge in that same confession which neither agree with the Holy Scriptures nor with the doctrines of those doctors whom the Church has sanctioned, and which therefore several centuries ago have been held to be heretical and erroneous and have been condemned by the holy Councils. Concerning these articles it seems worth the trouble that Your Imperial Majesty should deign graciously to take action with the Elector, the princes, and the cities in order that this schism no longer continue in the Church of God, that the same princes renounce their heresies and errors, and consent with the Catholic Church which truly is the pillar and ground of the truth, and also the Bride of Christ, and governed forever by the Holy Spirit, and that they do not separate and divide themselves in the Christian faith from the other Catholic

nations, kingdoms, and potentates, and even from the greater part of Germans themselves.

Fourthly, It is evident that, besides the proffered articles, part of which are clearly shown to be erroneous, many other heresies and doctrines invented to raise tumults are left in the writings, books, and pamphlets published within several years, Luther being the primary author and source of them all; for he has thought out some new and unheard-of heresies, and resuscitated and restored some views which had been examined in regular Councils of the holy and most learned men by mature counsel and had been condemned as wicked and heretical, and had been entirely forgotten. Therefore, in order that at last the peace and harmony of Germany be reestablished and religion be restored to its former high level, it seems best to advise Your Imperial Majesty to inform the Elector, the princes, and the cities that—since in the books of Luther and the preachers there are contained until now very many matters alien to the truth, yet not mentioned in the proffered articles—Your Imperial Majesty must insist on receiving definite assurance that the princes and preachers have silently retracted, revoked, or condemned whatever other heresies and errors may have existed. For, Most Clement Emperor, it would be a small thing to keep peace in this or that matter, while in others, and indeed the gravest, there is no peace.

Fifthly, It is admitted that besides innumerable errors which through Luther and the doctrine of his followers and accomplices have afflicted Germany, there exist unheard-of, foreign, wicked, criminal, and absolutely intolerable heresies and sects, suddenly sprung up and born by the recent discord and internal war among the Lutherans. Such are the Capernaïtes, who rail against the Sacrament of the Eucharist; the Anabaptists, who oppose the baptism of children, besides many others so that now nearly every single house and almost every single mortal person invents his own new religion.

And although the princes themselves and the preachers detest these heresies and hostile sects, and do not in the least approve of them, yet it is apparent that the fountainhead and origin of them all is Luther and his wicked, frivolous, and self-contradictory doctrine. Therefore it seems advisable for Your Imperial Majesty to direct your eyes and your mind to distinguishing these things to the glory of the Highest God and the tranquility of the Roman Empire's subjects, and to weed out by their deepest roots and to extirpate radically and as fast as possible such abominable heresies of

unheard-of wickedness, and the discords, and inner wars and tumults, and to see to it that neither the princes nor the two cities in their provinces and places tolerate these sects and their instigators nor allow new ones to crop up, but that they hasten to embrace again the old Catholic religion.

And how Your Most Holy Imperial Majesty may be enabled to understand the meaning and tendency of the proffered articles and in what respects they are contrary to what formerly was preached and inculcated in the simple people by the preachers of the princes, will appear more fully from the confutations and answers here following.

First Article of Faith Offered by the Princes and Preachers. Our churches with great consent are teaching that the decree of the Synod of Nicaea concerning the unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the Three Persons is to be believed truly and without any doubt; that is to say, there is one Divine Essence, etc.—*Answer:* Correctly they here agree with the norm of faith and concur with the Roman Church. However, since the princes have signed that confession for themselves and for the preachers, they are not without cause confronted with the objection why Luther, the principal preacher and the instigator of these dissensions, writes to Latomus, "My soul hates this word 'homusion,'" since it was precisely this word which the Council of Nicaea has formed against the Arians. Whence also the Christians adhering to the Sacred Council mockingly were called "Homusiani," which name migrated also to Africa and Spain. For Hunaricus, King of the Vandals, who was infected with the Arian heresy, passed a law to persecute the Homusiani. Why, then, does Luther hate this word "homusion," when it signifies nothing else but what they here confess, namely the same essence in three persons? For "homusios" means in Latin "co-essential." Moreover, at this time we might ask these preachers, who have often testified that they would accept nothing except what is given by the Holy Scriptures, why they here say, "three persons," when this word or expression, "person," is not found in this sense in the Scriptures, although we Catholics most firmly confess three persons in the deity. Moreover, what does this mean that at the beginning they put forward the Nicene Council (indeed, the most holy one), that with it they begin their confession of faith which they want us to regard as a most sincere one, while Melancthon, among those dogmatists by no means the least, has written so spitefully about the Nicene

Council? For he speaks thus, "Let us call to mind a few examples of church traditions from which one may see that nothing is so subversive of piety as are man-made doctrines. At the Synod of Nicaea certain forms of penitence have been appointed. I do not judge in what spirit the fathers have decreed them, but I see that a good part of the gospel, in fact the real power of the gospel, has been obscured by that same tradition. For there the satisfactions originated, which in the beginning, perhaps, were tolerable because up to that time the understanding of the gospel was purer in the Church, but soon afterwards—what torture of consciences has resulted from the satisfactions! Grace was obscured, and what the gospel had attributed to faith began to be ascribed to satisfaction. What is more wicked and more pernicious? And to these evils surely the Synod of Nicaea gave occasion." It is therefore a great surprise that the princes think so highly of the Nicene Synod while Melancthon attributes to it godlessness and even obscuration of the gospel. Also Luther says, "At the Synod of Nicaea faith as well as the gospel waned and the traditions grew stronger."

Appendix to the First Article. They condemn all heresies which have sprung up against this article, as the Manichaeans, Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mahommedans, Samosatenes, etc.—*Answer:* Also here the princes act correctly in that they reject the heretics who were condemned by the Church, the Councils, and the fathers. But we would ask them always to do what they do here, viz., never to permit their preachers to resuscitate the doctrines of heretics long ago condemned and buried.

Second Article. They teach that since the fall of Adam, all men begotten according to nature, are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with concupiscence; and that this disease, or vice of origin, is truly sin, even now condemning and bringing eternal death upon those not born again through baptism and the Holy Ghost.—*Answer:* Correctly do the princes here add an article on original sin; but we are afraid that here some things which pollute this article were smuggled in by the preachers. For, in the first place, they do not correctly explain original sin when they say that a child is born without fear of God, without trust, etc. This is indeed incorrectly stated. For to be without the fear of God, without trust in God, is rather "actual" sin of an adult person than the original sin of a child. Moreover, what sane person can say that a child is sinning because he does not fear God, does not trust in God

while he is lacking the use of his reason! Therefore, that explanation of original sin is worthless. But the preachers give themselves away when they add, "with concupiscence," for here they repeat what Luther has so stubbornly asserted, viz., that concupiscence truly is sin, and that therefore, sin truly remains in a child after baptism. For he says that grace is withheld according to the measure of concupiscence. But to say this, means to cancel the efficacy and power of baptism, and it is certainly more execrable to say that baptized children are still in sin than to say that the children of Christians are saved without baptism, as other Catabaptists and previously also Zwingli have said. For if that vice (concupiscence) warrants eternal death, and remains in the child, it will follow logically that a baptized child is damned in eternity, as Luther's disciple Eberhardus Widensee of Magdeburg has publicly taught.

Appendix to the Second Article. They condemn the Pelagians and others who deny that the vice of origin is sin, and who, to obscure the glory of Christ's merits and benefits, argue that man can be justified before God by his own strength or reason.—*Answer:* Also here the princes correctly reject the Pelagians who were condemned at the Councils of Milevitanum and Rome, because on the one hand they denied sin in children, and on the other hand attributed justification to our own powers. But here the sacred Emperor sees how one sect destroys the other. For, since they condemn the Pelagians and "others", who are those others if not the preachers of Strassburg, Basle, Constance, Zuerich, Memmingen and the like, because Zwingli writes more than once that original sin is not sin, but a natural defect like stammering. Bucer also teaches the same thing and thus retracts what he had only recently subscribed to at Marburg in the Landgraviate of Hesse at a certain convention. But why do they not condemn Melanchthon for saying that the Scripture does not make any distinction between actual and original sin, and for writing that original sin is a certain actual evil lust? Why do they not condemn Luther, the author of this disturbance, because he has stated that original sin always remains? For, if they wanted to walk in purity with the Church, then also those heresies should have been put away.

Third Article. Also they teach that the Word, that is the Son of God, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, the divine and the human, inseparably conjoined in the unity of the Person, one Christ, true God

and true man, born of the Virgin Mary, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, buried, etc., according to the Symbol of the apostles.—*Answer:* Also here the princes and their preachers do not differ from the rule of faith. But one must marvel that the preachers, contrary to their most established principle not to accept anything but what may be proved by clear and plain Scriptures, here again act far differently. For, in the first place, when they attribute this article to the Symbol of the apostles, let them show us the Scripture that the apostles have framed something of this kind (a symbol); for we find some who have had their secret doubts about it: they say, We do not know whether the Symbol which is called “apostolic” has been delivered by the apostles themselves or not. It is therefore evident that the princes and preachers, after rejecting the authority of the Church and the fathers, find themselves in a precarious condition. But we Catholics follow our Mother, the Church, and do not have any doubt about that Symbol of the apostles. Beyond this, we may note that the preachers confess that the two natures are inseparably conjoined in the unity of the person. For that is very true as the Catholic faith shows us.

But again the preachers are urgently asked to tell, since they will not receive anything but explicit Scriptures, why they confess something which plain Scripture nowhere asserts. For the word “person,” as we have said, is unknown to Scripture in this meaning. Furthermore, that that blessed union is inseparable, we acknowledge with Damascenus. But where will they adduce Scriptures, especially since the Lutherans are in that nefarious and wicked error that in the Eucharist, where they confess the union of bread and Christ, the Body and Blood of Christ are present only as long as and while they are offered for the use of communing, but that when they are not destined for the use of communing nothing of Christ is present? We would wish that they would show us from plain Scriptures why they affirm the inseparability of the one but deny it of the other.—Nor is their confession of Christ as true God and true man unsailable in all respects. For if they would believe this as firmly with the heart as they claim to do with boastful words, they would not permit their preachers to blaspheme and dishonor our Saviour. Yea, indeed, because Bugenhagen the Pomeranian, has fallen into this ungodly error he could write, “Christ has experienced the terrors of the soul even to despair.” Melanchthon wrote. “The highest cause of Christ’s fear was the feeling of being deserted and of the divine

wrath; while Christ hovered between hell and life. In this terror Christ was deprived of His gifts. For in this desolation and anxiety a certain deprivation of charity was made in such manner that while the divinity withdrew, charity did not glow forth." Antonius Zimmermann, also a Lutheran, wrote even worse things, "Christ complained that he was forsaken of God, i.e., that he was abandoned by life and blessedness and all good things." We pass by a Lutheran who edited an anonymous book entitled "On the Simplicity of Faith," in which he denies that Christ had an intelligent soul, and asserts, like Apollinaris the heretic, that the divinity stood in the place of the soul. Therefore, as long as the princes are Catholic-minded in this article, they must be warned to induce their preachers to recant such wicked and godless statements about Christ our Saviour.

Fourth Article. Also they teach that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake, through faith.—*Answer:* About faith and works we shall speak later; now we shall treat only of merits. Firstly, no one of all Catholics has ever thought that we might attain to blessedness by our merits without grace. For grace must precede, accompany, and follow, even as our mother Church has taught us to pray, "We beseech Thee, O Lord, that in all our actions the gift of Thy grace may go before and its assistance follow after us." We know that John has said, "Men cannot receive anything except it be given him from heaven," John 3; and James says, ch. 1, that every best and every perfect gift is from above, coming down from the father of lights. We know that all our sufficiency is from God, 2 Cor. 3, and that Paul says, "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?" 1 Cor. 4. And Christ says, "No man cometh to Me except the Father Who sent Me, have drawn him," John 6. And Augustine says, "When God rewards our merits He crowns His gifts." Let no one, therefore, think that he is able by his own strength to merit or to do anything good without the grace of God, as the Pelagians, the enemies of grace, have said. But, grace precedes the will, moves the will, perfects the will so that the works which otherwise would be nothing, by the assistance of the grace of God are something, and are meritorious.

This is the way in which the Catholics whom the new dogmatists condemn, think and speak about merits, and the preachers of the princes here obscure everything. But that our merits are something by the grace of God and by the merits of Christ's passion, is proved 2 Tim. 4, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course,

I have kept the faith; henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day." Thus Christ has promised blessedness to those who do good works, Matt. 5. And Paul has said, "We must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that everyone may receive the things done in his body according to that he has done good or bad," 2 Cor. 5. And Christ Himself bears witness, Matt. 25. Unto Abraham God said, "Fear not, I am thy protector and thy very great reward," Gen. 15. And Isaiah says, "Behold, his reward is with him and his work before him," Is. 40. God said to Cain, "If thou hast done well, wilt thou not be accepted?" Gen. 4. God has led us into the vineyard and has agreed with us on a denarius a day, Matt. 20. Paul says, 1 Cor. 3, "Everyone will receive his own reward according to his labor." And innumerable words of that kind we read in the Scriptures, testifying that our merits and works are to be rewarded by God, the highest Good. But, the sacred writings do not attach the same value to all merits, for some are the result of divine influence and prevenient grace; but this is not the grace making the doer worthy of eternal life. Thus Cornelius the centurion merited by his alms and prayers that an angel told him, "Thy prayers and alms have come up as a memorial before God." Acts 10. Other people, however, do good works by which they become worthy of eternal life, not in regard to the works in themselves, because we know this word of Christ, "If you shall have done all those things which you are commanded to do, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which it was our duty to do," Luke 17. But those merits are worthy through the grace of God. In this way righteous men render themselves worthy of eternal life by their good works. Thus John says, "They will walk with me in white robes because they are worthy," Rev. 3. And Paul, Col. 1, says, "With joy giving thanks to the Father Who hath made us worthy to have a part of the lot of the saints in the light." We would make these brief statements concerning merits over against the preachers of the princes and all who contrary to express Scriptures deny our merits. Consequently Luther errs wickedly, and Rieger errs, who presumptuously have said that Paul destroys all the theologians' fanciful notions about the "meritum congrui" and "condigni." Zwingli and others err wickedly who deny every merit. On the other hand, when they say that we are justified by faith, this is the great and principal error of the preachers. For to faith alone they ascribe that which is proper to charity and to the grace of God. This they

have impressed upon the people. And Luther has dared to falsify the Scripture by adding to Romans 3 this word, "Sola," which is found neither in the Greek nor in the Latin copies. For, that faith alone does not justify, Paul expressly testifies, 1 Cor. 13, "If I should have all faith so as to move mountains, but should not have charity, I am nothing." Here the apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles, knocks to pieces all statements of the adversaries because faith alone does not justify. Wickedly, therefore, has Melancthon spoken and stamped his foot on Paul, the chosen vessel, when he writes that charity does not justify, but faith which is preferred to charity. This proposition is iniquitous not only because he denies that charity justifies, but much more also in this respect that he prefers faith to charity, while St. Paul says, "Faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity." The same wickedness did Luther add when he said, "We ought to elevate faith above all virtues," as if Paul had not said, "But above all things put on charity," Col. 3. And he turns Paul, who teaches, Gal. 5, "Faith which worketh by love," upside down by saying, "Love which worketh by faith." We shall repeat these statements later. Nor does the holy Paul espouse their cause when he says somewhere that faith is ours, and that it justifies, because Paul does not speak about faith as those preachers think who thrust the "sola fide" upon the simple people, but he speaks, as he himself says, of faith which works through love, Gal. 5. Hence they should have learned from that word of the apostle the meaning of his other statements. And we see that it is true when St. Augustine says that this heresy has arisen from a misinterpretation of the words of Paul. However, we shall say more about this matter later. At present, Your Holy Imperial Majesty may at least recognize this much that in the days of Augustine this heresy which the preachers of the princes have raised up again from the ashes, was condemned, as St. James destroyed this error in his epistle, also St. Peter according to the essence of the same holy Aurelius Augustine.

Fifth Article. That we obtain this faith, the office of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted. For through the Word and the Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given who works faith, etc.—*Answer:* The princes here speak correctly of the office of teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments, but their preachers have planted many tares to lead the people away from the true faith. For in the first place, they

confess that through the Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given; but Luther has more than once stated and taught the opposite. Therefore, Pope Leo X of blessed memory has condemned this article of Luther: "It is a heretical though familiar doctrine that the Sacraments of the New Law grant justifying faith to them who interpose no obstacle." Hence, what Luther called heretical, this the preachers now confess as Catholic: so nicely they fight against each other!

Secondly, although the preachers oftentimes mention the Sacraments, they nowhere explain what they think about the Sacraments, they nowhere explain what they think about the Sacraments and their number, as they should have done if they really wanted to give an account of their faith. For Luther has taught wickedly that the Sacraments had been only recently invented. In some places he states that there are three Sacraments, in some that there are only two. There is also a passage where he mentions only one Sacrament and two sacramental signs, an error which the Anabaptist Oswald Glaib eagerly imbibed. He has also declared more than once that the Sacraments of the New Law do not differ from the Sacraments of the Old Law so far as their efficacy and meaning are concerned.

Thirdly, in reference to their assertion that faith is produced by the Sacraments and the Word, it has been stated in the former article that faith does not justify without charity, as Paul testifies, although in baptism, according to the doctrine of the Catholics, faith is infused together with hope and charity. Moreover, we have discussed in the preceding article the precise meaning of the Catholic doctrine that merits contribute to our justification and to the growth of grace, also in what respect this is to be denied over against the Pelagians. And as far as Paul's words in praise of faith are concerned, Gal. 3, they must be understood of faith which works through charity, Gal. 5. This faith the theologians have correctly named "fides formata," because it is clothed with grace and charity, acceptable to God, etc.

Appendix to the Fifth Article. They condemn the Anabaptists and others who think that the Holy Ghost is given to men without the external Word, through their own preparations and works.—*Answer:* All those are here correctly condemned who are not willing to be taught by a man. But here they do not condemn only the Anabaptists and Zwingli (who wished to be taught by God and not by men, who also writes somewhere that he is sure he was instructed by God, for

he felt it), but also a great part of the Lutherans who have supported their views by what the prophets have written, "And they shall all be taught of God," John 6. They have also brought forward that statement, 1 John 2, "Ye need not that any man teach you, but as his anointing teaches you concerning all things, and is truth and is no lie." They have therefore wished that we be taught of God. Aside from this we cannot understand why Luther and Melancthon have been so malign towards the universities except because they have desired to have the Holy Spirit as the teacher. For Luther says, "Both, speculative as well as practical learning of all schools is condemned." Melancthon says, "Christ's word, 'Many false prophets shall arise and deceive many,' plainly was spoken of the studies of the universities." Luther has said that the universities are the twelfth face of Antichrist, the most noxious of all, in Daniel, and that the universities are prefigured by the idol Moloch, and that the doctors are the locusts. Melancthon said since the academies of the general studies had been founded they had never found anything either more pernicious or more godless. "I see," he says, "they do not belong to the bishops but to Satan himself." How often does Luther call the school "brothels and houses of lewness"! By such terrible invectives they have emptied all schools, even the common schools, so that there is already a very great lack of priests and learned men, able to teach, which want will be much greater in the future; and the ministry of the Word which they here advocate will suffer the loss, and in the course of time the kings and princes and all public business will feel the scarcity of learned men unless a remedy is soon found against this evil.

Sixth Article. They also teach that this faith is bound to bring forth good fruits, and that it is necessary to do good works commanded by God, because of God's will.—*Answer:* Here the princes show a little more understanding of the matter than their preachers; therefore your Imperial Majesty and the princes themselves must induce their preachers publicly to recant and revoke their errors because they have preached most scandalously against good works, so that many simple people thought they would commit a mortal sin by doing a good work. But to show that the present confession contradicts their public utterances and writings, Most August Emperor, we shall quote directly from their innumerable writings, but only from a few of them in order that Your Imperial Majesty may not be nauseated. Luther says, "Faith and works absolutely contradict each other, therefore works cannot be taught without damaging faith."

Pomeranus writes, "Two men exist between whom there is never peace, namely faith and works." Melancthon says, "All works of men, however laudable in appearance, are thoroughly corrupt; they are sins worthy of death." Luther says, "God pays no attention to our works, or if they are anything before Him, yet they are all equal as far as merit is concerned." In this sentence he, firstly, contradicts himself because he affirms merit. Secondly, he raises up a condemned heresy of Jovinian which has been condemned by the Church and St. Jerome, namely, that merits are equal. And thirdly, he asserts the wicked and blasphemous doctrine that God pays no attention to our works, when as a matter of fact did look on the alms of Cornelius; He did see the affliction of Hagar; He did see that Abraham would direct his children and his household after him, etc., Gen. 18. And, "By myself have I sworn," says the Lord, "because thou hast done this thing," Gen. 22. And the whole Scripture affirms the contrary, and testifies that God considered good works, the sacrifice of Abel, the righteousness of Noah, the fasting of the Ninivites, the tears of Hezekiah, etc. Therefore it is an erroneous doctrine of Zwingli that "only the unbelievers are evil, because before God we do not need works, but only toward men." And lest the preachers evade the question under the pretext that they need not answer for Zwingli, let them answer for themselves. Luther wrote, "Christ has ordained that there is no sin except unbelief, and no righteousness except faith." But why then has Paul said, "Manifest are the works of the flesh, which are fornication, uncleanness, etc." Gal. 5? Luther has said, "if one believes in Christ, there are no evil works which could accuse and damn him." This is the reason he gives: "Where there is faith, no sin is doing any harm. This again agrees with the heresy of Eūnomius who asserted that no sin is imputed unto him who remains in faith. This also was the opinion of Arius the heretic, Was not also the following statement by Luther injurious to good works: "Let us never doubt that we are saved, after we have been baptized, because the promise given us there is not changed by any sins; hence a baptized person even though he wanted to, cannot lose his salvation, because no sins can condemn him except unbelief; all other sins are blotted out by faith in a moment." Who of the common people will do good works when he hears this? And in another place he says, "Faith alone is necessary, all other things are entirely free and neither commanded nor prohibited." Here the princes may see how their preachers agree with the present confession "that

faith must bring forth good fruits!" How could Luther become so insane as to write what neither Turk nor Tartar nor Persian would ever believe, viz., that evil works do not make an evil man, as though Christ had erred when He said, "By their fruits ye shall know them," Matt. 7. St. John has taught us to shun such heresies, 1 John 3, "Little children, let no one lead you astray, he that doeth righteousness is righteous." By those wicked doctrines it has come to pass that Germany which erstwhile was the most Christian country, has, wherever Lutheranism prevails, totally fallen away from those Christian works and devotions.

Furthermore, the confession of that article has been badly stained by the preachers when they attribute justification to faith alone. We attribute this to faith, as a foundation and beginning, because without faith it is impossible to please God, Heb. 11. But charity makes it perfect, for charity is active in conformity with the divine will, because "glory and honor and peace (are due) to every man working good," Rom. 2. And Christ has shown that works are necessary when He says, "If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments," Matt. 19. Again, the word of Christ testifies that faith is not sufficient: "Not everyone that says unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father," Matt. 7. Hence believers who are not doing good works, are not friends of God, for Christ has said, "You are my friends, if you have done what I command you," John 15. From this we return to Augustine, "On the Christian Life." But the preachers of the princes quote the word of Christ, Luke 17, "If you have done all those things, etc." Whoever adduced this text must have been half asleep; the text is distorted in favor of faith against works, whereas in that very message the preceding verses treat chiefly of faith when the disciples asked the Lord, "Lord, increase our faith." And in order to overthrow by one single word the whole foundation in which the adversaries glory, let us say this: if a man does not merit his justification by good works he will much less merit it by faith, because he is justified alone by the mercy of God, and faith and good works are gifts of God, as will be explained later. Therefore the Catholics confess, "If we have done all things", and, we may add, "and if we have believed all things out of humility, let us say that we are unprofitable servants." For our works are not useful to God but only to us; the works are useful to us because Paul says, Col. 3, "And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men, knowing that of the

Lord ye shall receive the reward of inheritance." We, therefore, firmly confess that our works, compared with the divine, do not deserve a reward, as Paul teaches us, "I reckon that the sufferings of the present time are not worthy of the future glory shall be revealed in us," Rom. 8.

They claim that the ancient ecclesiastical writers teach the same thing; however they misuse the fathers as deceitfully as they do the Scriptures. For, when Ambrose is brought in, it is evident that everywhere he speaks about the works of the Law without which indeed faith justifies. For in Rom. 3 it is written, "But now without the Law the righteousness of God, etc." It is evident that the righteousness of God has been manifested without the Law, that is to say, without the law of the Sabbath and circumcision and the new moon and vengeance. Ambrose pursues this subject in chapter 4 where he speaks about Abraham, who without the Law and without the works of the Law, believed God, even before circumcision. However, St. James repudiates the notion that Abraham was justified without any work, saying, "Abraham, our father, was justified by works when he offered Isaac, his son, upon the altar. Thou seest how faith wrought with his works, and by works was faith made perfect," and later, "You see that by works man is justified, and not by faith only." Let the princes rather believe this apostle than the preachers who wrest the Holy Scriptures and the statements of the fathers.

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Since then among these few articles of their confession so many thoroughly reprehensible articles are found, as we have shown above, faithfully and obediently, without intention of injury or offense, what may we expect to discover if all their articles, of which there is an endless number in the books of their preachers, should be discussed more exactly and examined precisely according to the standard of faith?

Therefore we humbly ask, Your Imperial Majesty rather to advise them that, mindful of their faith and their salvation, and avoiding endless wrangling about their rather tedious confession, they would simply say with us, with one heart and one voice, "We believe one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," of which Luther himself very often has written and publicly confessed that it cannot err, because Christ has given it the spirit of truth to teach and suggest to it all things, and to abide with it forever.

It has easily been proved conclusively, Your Imperial Majesty,

both by this our answer and by the deeds and fruits of this new gospel of their preachers, that their confession is not the true gospel of Christ. It leaves no room for the reward of our good works which Christ has so liberally, frequently, and so clearly promised in his gospel; it declares that no one is entitled to rewards on account of his merits, as if Christ were the most unjust judge who indeed threatens with hell-fire those who merit evil, but decides that those who have merited well need not be requited—a view which flatly contradicts Christ Himself, Who most plainly, everywhere, and according to all the evangelists, teaches that we should pray and do alms, not in order that they may be seen by men from whom we could receive the reward of vainglory but “in secret that the Heavenly Father Who seeth in secret may reward you,” and that we should invite to the banquet not the friends, the kinsmen, the neighbors, or the rich, lest perhaps we may be repaid by them; but the poor, the sick, the lame, and the blind who do not have whereby they may requite us, and He promises us that we shall be blessed by that which will be given to us in the resurrection. But the confession of the preachers, in accordance with Luther’s doctrine that faith alone justifies, leaves no repayment or reward of good works which, although they may have been done in the best manner, Luther holds to be sin. Thus it has come to pass that the people are very torpid to do good works since they have ever so often heard from those preachers that we merit nothing by good works.

Although they everywhere make much ado about the Word of God, yet their doctrine, so far, is very unstable and self-contradictory.

Therefore it cannot by any means be the Word of God; for it does not “remain forever,” but changes like the moon from day to day; it is not the word of peace, but of confusion, a thing which we have indeed experienced only too much ere this, and Luther himself admits that there must be confusion wherever his gospel is being preached. And how can the Holy Spirit be in this cause when Luther dares to write that it was begun from envy and that by necessity it must end in violence; and when he does away with all authority among the Christians, what else does he scheme to do but to destroy, under the guise of his gospel, all government?

Let Your Imperial Majesty, therefore, mercifully consider by your innate prudence and the singular grace granted you from the Most High, what a dangerous thing it would be to permit those dissensions about our faith and religion to exist any longer, and to

defer action until some future Church Council; how many and terrible things could be attempted by the tyrant of the Turks, this most frightful foe of the Cross and the Name of Christ; that most of these heresies have been dashed to pieces long ago in very many councils; moreover, it is not fitting, yea it is quite contrary to the public laws of the Christian emperor when matters which have once been settled by a Council, are called again into question and subjected to renewed discussion; otherwise there would never be an end of councils and debates and it would be necessary to convoke a council every single month whenever some freakish apostate has a new dream or some stubborn foolish notion. Furthermore, it is well known what those preachers have chiefly written and taught about the Councils; but they appeal to a future council: not indeed because they wish with all their heart a decision by which they do not intend to abide anyway, but rather because they wish to disseminate their errors in the meantime more freely and widely among the people. For Luther has written openly, "If once a council would decide that the Holy Sacrament should be given the laity in both kinds, then the people ought, in defiance, not to take both kinds, but either the one or the other." We do not, therefore, believe that the preachers seriously want any council.

Finally, O Most Glorious Emperor, these very wicked and absurd doctrines of the new sects cannot be placed before the other nations, in a council without exposing a prominent nation to the greatest dishonor and more appalling disgrace. For who would, without blushing and shame, debate in the presence of so many great prelates and illustrious representatives of the other nations, whether there are seven Sacraments, whether baptism takes sin away in children, whether by the words of consecration the substance of the bread is really changed into the Body of Christ, etc.? All these matters have been decided long ago. What would meanwhile become of the miserably oppressed and distressed Catholics? With how many tears and prayers, with what deep sighs and groanings have so many holy virgins been praying incessantly to God for your Majesty's happy return from Spain—virgins who either have already been driven out of their homes, or are constantly in fear of being driven out soon, unless Your Imperial Majesty will come shortly! How many miserable old men, most of whom have served God in monasteries night and day for forty or fifty years, have been crying with continuous petitions to God for the advent of Your Majesty—

like Simeon in the temple, who prayed for the redemption of Israel—that they might be able to pay their vows to God until the end! Lastly, how many Catholic people of both sexes are there, here and there in all the states who, because Lutherans and other sects are prevalent, are hindered from the accustomed worship of God and who desire to be restored by Your Majesty's presence to the former liberty of serving God! These heresies must, therefore, not be referred to a future council, but now they must be successfully stamped out, covered up, and abolished forever by Your Imperial Majesty according to the former decisions of the Church Councils.

This is, O Most Pious Emperor, Most Mighty Protector of the Church and Defender of the Apostolic See, what we the humble and devoted chaplains and insignificant servants of Your Majesty—not by our own temerity, but by the commission given us—have thought necessary, on account of the brevity of the time, to say and to write reverently and obediently in answer to the confession signed by those most illustrious princes and the two cities. We humbly pray and supplicate that Your Imperial Majesty would graciously accept it all in good part, and we certainly do not wish to have it confirmed, not even the smallest iota, except as far as it will be approved by the Most Holy Apostolic See and by Your Imperial Majesty. God, the Best and Greatest, preserve Your Imperial Majesty safe and sound always and grant that Your Imperial Majesty may bring Germany, the country afflicted and most miserably troubled and polluted by sects, back to its former soundness of faith and to peace. Amen.

46. DECLARATION THAT NO MORE ARTICLES WILL BE HANDED IN, JULY 10, 1530⁴⁸

Prince of Noble Birth and Dear Uncle, etc., Since you bore his Majesty's command to us, yesterday at seven o'clock, that we tell whether we intended to hand in more Articles or whether those already delivered would be allowed to suffice; we present this friendly reply:—

Whereas it is notorious that there are many great and serious Abuses in the Church, relating to doctrine and the spiritual rule, which have given cause to us and many others to preach against them for the edification of consciences burdened to the imperiling of their salvation. *And inasmuch* as his Majesty has graciously given

assurance, in his Summons, that these matters of religion should be taken up among ourselves in love and good will, and be settled in accordance with the truth (which indeed is God's pure Word alone), as is now taking place in a Christian and proper manner; *therefore*,

1. We did not specifically mention all the Abuses in the writing you allude to, but we delivered over a Common Confession and Testimony, in which is summed up about all the doctrine that is preached among us as useful to salvation, in order that his Majesty may fully know that no unchristian doctrine is taught among us. We have deemed it needful rather to emphasize those Abuses concerning which the consciences of our people were burdened, than other Abuses, relating to the walk of the clergy, for which they must in any event themselves give account to God.—2. In order that this matter might be dealt with in charity and be compared with God's Word as the truth and that the most prominent parts in which a change has occurred, and the reasons therefor, might be recognized more clearly, we have avoided the attempt to catalogue each and every abuse.—3. In these Articles we hoped to have refuted such uncertain and unrighteous doctrine together with the Abuses antagonistic to it, and therefore we deem it unnecessary to bring in more Articles.—4. But if the opposite party raises the question of further Abuses as its "opinion and meaning," in virtue of his Majesty's Summons and the resulting presentation, or undertakes to attack our Confession, or advance any new position, we are ready herewith to give further report on the same, according to God's Word, as indeed we offered to do at the end of the Confession already delivered.—5. And therefore we most respectfully urge, as we came here to Augsburg in good season, in obedience to his Majesty, and have been burdened with heavy expenses for a long time, that his Majesty would arrange to proceed in accordance with and live up to his Majesty's Summons, as mentioned above, without further delay, as there has been no falling short on our part, and also, if God will, shall be none in the future. Actum, Augsburg, 10th day of July, 1530, by God's Grace, John, Duke of Saxony, and Elector; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, Duke of Brunswick and Lueneburg; Philipp, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, together with those Associated with us.

47. THREE LETTERS OF LUTHER TO AUGSBURG, JULY, 1530.⁴⁹

Luther's Letter to the Elector John, of Saxony, July 9, 1530. Grace and peace in Christ. Serene, High-born Prince, most gracious Lord. Your Electoral Grace's letter, dated July 4th, was received by me today, July 9th, and I rejoice to learn that Your Electoral Grace's mind has been set at rest. For God knows that I write such letters to Y. E. G. for no other reason than the fear that satan (who is a master of evil thoughts) might trouble Y. E. G. Aside from that I know, and am not unmindful of the fact, that our Lord Christ Himself consoles Y. E. G. better than I or anyone else could possibly do.

Events prove the same thing, for while our opponents think they have done a very clever thing in securing the prohibition of preaching by an imperial decree, the wretched people do not see that through the delivery of a written Confession there is more efficient preaching than could be accomplished by ten preachers. Is it not a fine scheme and a clever device to make M. Eisleben and others remain silent while the Elector of Saxony, together with other princes and lords, steps into their place and by means of a written Confession preaches openly before the Imperial Majesty, right under their noses, and before the whole empire, while they have to listen and cannot reply. I think that the command forbidding preaching has been broken in this way. They would not permit their retainers to listen to the preachers but they have to listen to what is far worse (as they regard it) from the great lords and keep quiet. For Christ is not silent at the Reichstag, and, though they be furious, they have to listen to more from the Confession than they would have heard in a year from the preachers. Thus what St. Paul says is realized: "The word of God is not bound." If it is forbidden in the pulpits it must be heard in the palaces. If poor preachers dare not proclaim it, great princes and lords must do so. In fine, as Christ Himself says: If all else is silent the very stones will cry out.

In regards to the other matter about which Y. E. G. has inquired of me I will obediently state my opinion. First: If the Imperial Majesty should demand that the I. M. be allowed to judge concerning these affairs because the I. M. did not intend to entertain long disputes concerning them, I think that Y. E. G. could point

out that the summons included the promise to give a gracious hearing. Were this not to take place the summons would have been unnecessary and the I. M. might as well have pronounced such judgment in Spain and Y. E. G. need not have been summoned at the expense of such cost and effort to Augsburg and that the other estates of the empire might also have been spared. For, if nothing more was to be accomplished or expected, such an answer might just as well have been sent to the I. M. by messenger. But the I. M. would cause a great affront to the whole empire, and perhaps bring about great offence and vexation if the I. M. should desire simply to rush blindly to the judgment of an unheard cause, and would agree to no other course of action. No one is responsible for such clever advice except Y. E. Grace's dear friend N. N.* It is certainly not the emperor himself, as everybody will be compelled to acknowledge.

In the second place: If the I. M. (that is N. N.) should insist that His I. M. should simply be allowed to be the judge of this matter, Y. E. G. can cheerfully say. Yes, the I. M. shall be the judge in this matter and Y. E. G. will accept and suffer everything, with the reservation, however, that the I. M. do not pass a judgment contrary to clear Scripture or against God's Word. For Y. E. G. could not place the Emperor above God, nor accept his verdict against the Word of God. In this way honor enough is shown to the I. M. because only God, Who must be above all, is preferred to His I. M.

In the third place: If they would allege that the I. M. was thus defamed by supposing that he might be inclined to act against God's will, and that it was to be taken for granted that the I. M., as a Christian prince would not conclude or judge anything contrary to the divine Word, etc. (Which they protested to me at Worms, just as they do now to Y. E. G.). Y. E. G. will doubtless know how to answer them, namely, that God has strictly forbidden us to trust in princes or in the sons of men, as the 11th and 146th Psalms say: *Nolite confidere in principibus*. Yea, the First Commandment does not permit it, when it says: "Thou shalt have not other Gods before me." Likewise it agrees with the words of their own mouths, for if they are Christian princes they cannot better prove that fact than by judging according to the judgment of Christ's Word, and by saying. Thus saith Christ, etc.

Where, however, they would pass judgment without regard to

*The reference is to Duke George.

Scripture or would desire to have their judgment accepted apart from Scripture, they would be condemned out of their own mouth, because they would be Christian princes without and apart from the Christ, which is worse than to be a lord without lands, rich without money, learned without understanding; but it is said: *Insapientia ipsorum manifesta fit.*

Let Y. E. G. be of good cheer, Christ is present and will confess Y. E. G. before His Father as Y. E. G. now confesses Him before this evil generation, as He says: "Them that honor me I will honor." The same Lord Who has made the beginning will also bring it to a conclusion. Amen. I pray zealously and earnestly for Y. E. G. Could I do anything more it would be my duty. May the grace of God continue to be with you and to be still more increased to Y. E. G. Amen. Saturday, July 9, 1530.—Y. E. Grace's Most Obedient, Martinus Luther.

Luther to Jonas, July 9: Grace and peace in Christ! In these days we have received very many letters from you, dearest Jonas. and since that time of silence we have answered four times, yes five times. By this letter we are now writing for the sixth time. Your letters have been exceedingly satisfactory to me.

I see, indeed, that now after the argument, the prologue of the Diet is being recited. The act itself, and the crisis will follow; but they (the Romanists) have a sad finale to look to, we a joyous one.

Not indeed that union in doctrine ever will be restored, for how can anyone hope that Belial will come into concord with Christ? except that perhaps marriage, and both forms of the Sacrament may be yielded by them—perhaps!—but I wish and almost hope that "the difference in doctrine may be reconciled, and a political unity may be made possible." If this should come to pass through the grace of Christ, more than enough will have been accomplished at this Diet.

My only unfulfilled desire is that I could not be present at this noble Confession. I am like the generals who could take no part in defending Vienna from the Turks. But it is my joy and solace that meanwhile my Vienna was defended by others.

It is certain that we have always sought peace. . . If we now can reach the point of dissolving the Diet and separating in peace, we shall clearly have triumphed over Satan this year. . . For there is no hope that the enemies will do any good. What can I hope from the Emperor, good as he may always be, since he has no free hand?

Christ lives and sits at the right hand, not of the Emperor (for then should we have gone to destruction long ago), but at the right hand of God. This is something incredibly great. But I am drawn to this incredible truth, and am willing to die upon it, and why should I not therefore also be willing to live upon it? Would God that Philip would believe this least with my faith, if he has no other. . . . Your Martin Luther.

Luther to Melanchthon, July 13: Doctor Martinus Luther, to the faithful disciple and witness of Christ, M. Philipps Melanchthon, his brother.

Grace and true peace of Christ! I believe, my dear Philipps, that you in many ways now realize from experience that Belial can in no manner be united with Christ, and that one can entertain no hope of concord, so far as the doctrine is concerned. I wrote about this to the princes that our cause cannot be left to the Emperor as judge. And now we perceive the purpose of the writing that contains the so-gracious call. But, perhaps, the matter had already progressed too far before my letter arrived. But at least for myself I will not yield a hair's-breadth, nor allow that the matter be again brought into the former situation (*restituti*); I will rather await all external danger, since they proceed so determinedly.

The Emperor may do what he can. But I wish to know what you have done. . . I wish that you would not permit yourself to be disturbed on account of the victory and boastfulness of the enemies, but that you would establish yourself against it through the power and strength and might of Him Who raised Christ from the dead and will quicken us with Him and raise us. . . Martin Luther.

48. CONFUTATIO PONTIFICIA, AUGUST 3, 1530⁵⁰

As His Worshipful Imperial Majesty received several days since a Confession of Faith presented by the Elector the duke of Saxony and several princes and two cities, to which their names were affixed, with his characteristic zeal for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, Christian harmony and the public peace, he not only himself read the Confession, but also, in order that in a matter of such moment he might proceed the more thoroughly and seasonably, he referred the aforesaid Confession to several learned, mature, approved and honorable men of different nations for their inspection and examination, and earnestly directed and enjoined them to praise and ap-

prove what in the Confession was said aright and in accord with Catholic doctrine, but, on the other hand, to note that wherein it differed from the Catholic Church, and, together with their reply, to present and explain their judgment on each topic. 2. This commission was executed aright and according to order. For those learned men with all care and diligence examined the aforesaid Confession, and committed to writing what they thought on each topic, and thus presented a reply to His Imperial Majesty. 3. This reply His Worshipful Imperial Majesty, as becomes a Christian emperor, most accurately read and gave to the other electors, princes and estates of the Roman Empire for their perusal and examination, which they also approved as orthodox and in every respect harmonious with the Gospel and Holy Scripture. 4. For this reason, after a conference with the electors, princes and states above named, in order that all dissension concerning this our orthodox holy faith and religion may be removed, His Imperial Majesty has directed that a declaration be made at present as follows:

In reference to the matters presented to His Imperial Majesty by the Elector of Saxony and some princes and states of the Holy Roman Empire, on the subject and concerning causes pertaining to the Christian orthodox faith, the following Christian reply can be given:

PART I.

To Article I. Especially when in the first article they confess the unity of the divine essence in three persons according to the decree of the Council of Nice, their Confession must be accepted, since it agrees in all respects with the rule of faith and the Roman Church. 2. For the Council of Nice, convened under the Emperor Constantine the Great, has always been regarded inviolable, whereat three hundred and eighteen bishops eminent and venerable for holiness of life, martyrdom and learning, after investigating and diligently examining the Holy Scriptures, set forth this article which they here confess concerning the unity of the essence and the trinity of persons. 3. So too their condemnation of all heresies arising contrary to this article must be accepted—viz. the Manichaeans, Arians, Eunomians, Valentinians, Samosatanes, for the Holy Catholic Church has condemned these of old.

To Article II. In the second article we approve their Confession, in common with the Catholic Church, that the fault of origin is truly sin, condemning and bringing eternal death upon those who are not born again by baptism and the Holy Ghost. For in this they properly

condemn the Pelagians, both modern and ancient, who have been long since condemned by the Church. 2. But the declaration of the article, that Original Sin is that men are born without the fear of God and without trust in God, is to be entirely rejected, since it is manifest to every Christian that to be without the fear of God and without trust in God is rather the actual guilt of an adult than the offence of a recently-born infant, which does not possess as yet the full use of reason, as the Lord says: "Your children which had no knowledge between good and evil," Deut. 1:39. 3. Moreover, the declaration is also rejected whereby they call the fault of origin concupiscence, if they mean thereby that concupiscence is a sin that remains sin in a child even after baptism. For the Apostolic See has already condemned two articles of Martin Luther concerning sin remaining in a child after baptism, and concerning the *fomes* of sin hindering a soul from entering the kingdom of heaven. 4. But if, according to the opinion of St. Augustine, they call the vice of origin concupiscence, which in baptism ceases to be sin, this ought to be accepted, since indeed, according to the declaration of St. Paul, we are all born children of wrath (Eph. 2:3), and in Adam we all have sinned (Rom. 5:12).

To Article III. In the third article there is nothing to offend, since the entire Confession agrees with the Apostles' Creed and the right rule of faith—viz. the Son of God became incarnate, assumed human nature into the unity of his person, was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, died, descended to hell, rose again on the third day, ascended to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father.

To Article IV. In the fourth article the condemnation of the Pelagians, who thought that man can merit eternal life by his own powers without the grace of God, is accepted as Catholic and in accordance with the ancient councils, for the Holy Scriptures expressly testify to this. 2. John the Baptist says: "A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven," John 3:27. "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights," James 1:17. Therefore "our sufficiency is of God," 2 Cor. 3:5. And Christ says: "No man can come to me, except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him," John 6:44. And Paul: "What hast thou that thou didst not receive?" 1 Cor. 4:7. 3. For if any one would intend to disapprove of the merits that men acquire by the assistance of divine grace, he would agree with the Mani-

chaeans rather than with the Catholic Church. For it is entirely contrary to Holy Scripture to deny that our works are meritorious. 4. For St. Paul says: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day," 2 Tim. 4:7,8. And to the Corinthians he wrote: "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad," 2 Cor. 5:10. For where there are wages there is merit. The Lord said to Abraham: "Fear not, Abraham, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward," Gen. 15:1. And Isaiah says: "Behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him," Isa. 40:10; and, chapter 58:7,8: "Deal they bread to the hungry, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall gather thee up." So too the Lord to Cain: "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted?" Gen. 4:7. 5. So the parable in the Gospel declares that we have been hired for the Lord's vineyard, who agrees with us for a penny a day, and says: "Call the laborers and give them their hire," Matt. 20:8. So Paul, knowing the mysteries of God, says: "Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labor," 1 Cor. 3:8. 6. Nevertheless, all Catholics confess that our works of themselves have no merit, but that God's grace makes them worthy of eternal life. Thus St. John says: "They shall walk with me in white; for they are worthy," Rev. 3:4. And St. Paul says to the Colossians, 1:12: "Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light."

To Article V. In the fifth article the statement that the Holy Ghost is given by the Word and sacraments, as by instruments, is approved. For thus it is written, Acts 10:44: "While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word." And John 1:33: "The same is He which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." 2. The mention, however, that they here make of faith is approved so far as not faith alone, which some incorrectly teach, but faith which worketh by love, is understood, as the apostle teaches aright in Gal. 5:3. For in baptism there is an infusion, not of faith alone, but also, at the same time, of hope and love, as Pope Alexander declares in the canon *Majores*, concerning baptism and its effect;

which John the Baptist also taught long before, saying, Luke 3:16: "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire."

To Article VI. Their Confession in the sixth article, that faith should bring forth good fruits, is acceptable and valid, since "faith without works is dead," James 2:17, and all Scripture invites us to works. For the wise man says: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," Eccles. 9:10. "And the Lord had respect to Abel and to his offering," Gen. 4:4. He saw that Abraham would "command his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord, and to do justice and judgment," Gen. 18:19. And: "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, I will bless thee and multiply thy seed," Gen. 22:16. Thus he regarded the fast of the Ninevites, Jonah 3, and the lamentations and tears of King Hezekiah, 4:2; 2 Kings 20. 2. For this cause all the faithful should follow the advice of St. Paul: "As we have, therefore, opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith," Gal. 6:10. For Christ says: "The night cometh when no man can work," John 9:4.

3. But in the same article their ascription of justification to faith alone is diametrically opposite the truth of the Gospel, by which works are not excluded; because "glory, honor and peace to every man that worketh good," Rom. 2:10. Why? Because David, Ps. 62:12, Christ, Matt. 16:27, and Paul, Rom. 2:6 testify that God will render to every one according to his works. Besides, Christ says:

"Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father," Matt. 7:21.

4. Hence, however much one may believe, if he work not what is good, he is not a friend of God. "Ye are my friends," says Christ, "if ye do whatsoever I command you," John 15:14. 5. On this account their frequent ascription of justification to faith is not admitted, since it pertains to grace and love. For St. Paul says: "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing," 1 Cor. 13:2. Here St. Paul certifies to the princes and the entire Church that faith alone does not justify. Accordingly, he teaches that love is the chief virtue, Col. 3:14: "Above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." 6. Neither are they supported by the word of Christ: "When ye shall have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants," Luke 17:10. For if the doors ought to be called unprofitable, how much more fitting is it to say to those who only believe, When

ye shall have believed all things say, We are unprofitable servants! This word of Christ, therefore, does not extol faith without works, but teaches that our works bring no profit to God; that no one can be puffed up by our works; that, when contrasted with the divine reward, our works are of no account and nothing. 7. Thus St. Paul says: "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed in us," Rom. 8:18. For faith and good works are gifts of God, whereby, through God's mercy, eternal life is given. 8. So, too, the citation at this point from Ambrose is in no way pertinent, since St. Ambrose is here expressly declaring his opinion concerning legal works. For he says: "Without the law," but, "Without the law of the Sabbath, and of circumcision, and of revenge." And this he declares the more clearly on Rom. 4, citing St. James concerning the justification of Abraham without legal works before circumcision. For how could Ambrose speak differently in his comments from St. Paul in the text when he says: "Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight?" Therefore, finally, he does not exclude faith absolutely, but says: "We conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law."

To Article VII. The seventh article of the Confession, wherein it is affirmed that the Church is the congregation, of saints, cannot be admitted without prejudice to faith if by this definition the wicked and sinners be separated from the Church. 2. For in the Council of Constance this article was condemned among the articles of John Huss of cursed memory, and it plainly contradicts the Gospel. For there we read that John the Baptist compared the Church to a threshing-floor, which Christ will cleanse with his fan, and will gather the wheat into his garner, but will burn the chaff with unquenchable fire, Matt. 3:12. 3. Wherefore this article of the Confession is in no way accepted, although we read in it their confession that the Church is perpetual, since here the promise of Christ has its place, who promises that the Spirit of truth will abide with it for ever, John 14:16. And Christ himself promises that he will be with the Church alway unto the end of the world. 4. They are praised also in that they do not regard variety of rites as separating unity of faith, if they speak of special rites. For to this effect Jerome says: "Every province abounds in its own sense" (of propriety). But if they extend this part of the Confession to universal Church rites, this also must be utterly rejected, and we must say with St. Paul:

"We have no such custom," 1 Cor. 11:16. "For by all believers universal rites must be observed," St. Augustine, whose testimony they also use, well taught of Januarius; for we must presume that such rites were transmitted from the apostles.

To Article VIII. The eighth article of the Confession, concerning wicked ministers of the Church and hypocrites—viz. that their wickedness does not injure the sacraments and the Word—is accepted with the Holy Roman Church, and the princes commend it, condemning on this topic the Donatists and the ancient Origenists, who maintained that it was unlawful to use the ministry of the wicked in the Church—a heresy which the Waldenses and Poor of Lyons revived. Afterwards John Wicliff in England and John Huss in Bohemia adopted this.

To Article IX. The ninth article, concerning Baptism—viz. that it is necessary to salvation, and that children ought to be baptized—is approved and accepted, and they are right in condemning the Anabaptists, a most seditious class of men that ought to be banished far from the boundaries of the Roman Empire in order that illustrious Germany may not suffer again such a destructive and sanguinary commotion as she experienced five years ago in the slaughter of so many thousands.

To Article X. The tenth article gives no offence in its words, because they confess that in the Eucharist, after the consecration lawfully made, the Body and Blood of Christ are substantially and truly present, if only they believe that the entire Christ is present under each form, so that the Blood of Christ is no less present under the form of bread by concomitance than it is under the form of the wine, and the reverse. 2. Otherwise, in the Eucharist the Body of Christ is dead and bloodless, contrary to St. Paul, because "Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more," Rom. 6:9. 3. One matter is added as very necessary to the article of the Confession—viz. that they believe the Church, rather than some teaching otherwise and incorrectly, that by the almighty Word of God in the consecration of the Eucharist the substance of the bread is changed into the Body of Christ. For thus in a general council it has been determined, canon *Firmiter*, concerning the exalted Trinity and the Catholic faith. 4. They are praised, therefore, for condemning the Capernaïtes, who deny the truth of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.

To Article XI. In the eleventh article their acknowledgment that private absolution with confession should be retained in the

Church is accepted as catholic and in harmony with our faith, because absolution is supported by the word of Christ. For Christ says to his apostles, John 20:23: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." 2. Nevertheless, two things must here be required of them: *one*, that they compel an annual confession to be observed by their subjects, according to the constitution, canon *Omnis Utriusque*, concerning penance and remission and the custom of the Church universal. 3. *Another*, that through their preachers they cause their subjects to be faithfully admonished when they are about to confess that although they cannot state all their sins individually, nevertheless, a diligent examination of their conscience being made, they make an entire confession of their offences—viz. of all which occur to their memory in such investigation. But in regard to the rest that have been forgotten and have escaped our mind it is lawful to make a general confession, and to say with the Psalmist, Ps. 19:12: "Cleanse me, Lord, from secret faults."

To Article XII. In the twelfth article their confession that such as have fallen may find remission of sins at the time when they are converted, and that the Church should give absolution unto such as return to repentance, is commended, since they most justly condemn the Novatians, who deny that repentance can be repeated, in opposition both to the prophet who promises grace to the sinner at whatever hour he shall mourn, Ezek. 18:21, and the merciful declaration of Christ our Saviour, replying to St. Peter, that not until seven times, but until seventy times seven in one day, he should forgive his brother sinning against him, Matt. 18:22.

2. But the second part of this article is utterly rejected. For when they ascribe only two parts to repentance, they antagonize the entire Church, which from the time of the apostles has held and believed that there are three parts of repentance—contrition, confession and satisfaction. Thus the ancient doctors, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Gregory, Augustine, taught in attestation of the Holy Scriptures, especially from 2 Kings 12, concerning David, 2 Chron. 33, concerning Manasseh, Ps. 31, 37, 50, 101, etc. 3. Therefore Pope Leo X. of happy memory justly condemned this article of Luther, who taught: "That there are three parts of repentance—viz. confession, contrition and satisfaction—has no foundation in Scripture or in holy Christian doctors." 4. This part of the article, therefore, can in no way be admitted; so, too, neither can that which asserts that faith is the second part of repentance, since it is known

to all that faith precedes repentance; for unless one believes he will not repent. 5. Neither is that part admitted which makes light of pontifical satisfactions, for it is contrary to the Gospel, contrary to the apostles, contrary to the fathers, contrary to the councils, and contrary to the universal Catholic Church. 6. John the Baptist cries: "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance," Matt. 3:8. St. Paul teaches: "As ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness, even so now yield your members servants to righteousness unto holiness," Rom. 6:19. He likewise preached to the Gentiles that they should repent and be converted to God, bringing forth fruits meet for repentance, Acts 20:21. So Christ himself also began to teach and preach repentance: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," Matt. 4:17. Afterward he commanded the apostles to pursue this mode of preaching and teaching, Luke 24:47, and St. Peter faithfully obeyed him in his first sermon, Acts 2:38. 7. So Augustine also exhorts that "every one exercise toward himself severity, so that, being judged of himself, he be not judged of the Lord," as St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 11:31. Pope Leo, surnamed the Great, said: "The Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, gave to those set over the churches the authority to assign to those who confess the doing of penance, and through the door of reconciliation to admit to the communion of the sacraments those who have been cleansed by a salutary satisfaction." Ambrose says: "The amount of the penance must be adapted to the trouble of the conscience." Hence diverse penitential canons were appointed in the holy Synod of Nice, in accordance with the diversity of satisfactions. Jovinian, the heretic, thought, however, that all sins are equal, and accordingly did not admit a diversity of satisfactions. 8. Moreover, satisfactions should not be abolished in the Church, contrary to the express Gospel and the decrees of councils and fathers, but those absolved by the priest ought to perform the penance enjoined, following the declaration of St. Paul: He "gave himself for us, to redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works," Tit. 2:14. Christ thus made satisfaction for us, that we might be zealous of good works, fulfilling the satisfaction enjoined.

To Article XIII. The thirteenth article gives no offence, but is accepted, while they say that the sacraments were instituted not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather to be signs and testimonies of God's will toward us; nevertheless, we must request them that what they here ascribe to the sacraments in general they

confess also specifically concerning the seven sacraments of the Church and take measures for the observance of them by their subjects.

To Article XIV. When, in the fourteenth article, they confess that no one ought to administer in the Church the Word of God and the sacraments unless he be rightly called, it ought to be understood that he is rightly called who is called in accordance with the form of law and the ecclesiastical ordinances and decrees hitherto observed everywhere in the Christian world, and not according to a Jeroboitic (cf. 1 Kings 12:20) call, or a tumult or any other irregular intrusion of the people. Aaron was not thus called. 2. Therefore in this sense the Confession is received; nevertheless, they should be admonished to persevere therein, and to admit in their realms no one either as pastor or as preacher unless he be rightly called.

To Article XV. In the fifteenth article their confession that such ecclesiastical rites are to be observed as may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquility and good order in the Church, is accepted, and they must be admonished that the princes and cities see to it that the ecclesiastical rites of the Church universal be observed in their dominions and districts, as well as those which have been kept devoutly and religiously in every province even to us, and if any of these have been intermitted that they restore them, and arrange, determine and effectually enjoin upon their subjects that all things be done in their churches according to the ancient form. 2. Nevertheless, the appendix to this article must be entirely removed, since it is false that human ordinances instituted to propitiate God and make satisfactions for sins are opposed to the Gospel, as will be more amply declared hereafter concerning vows, the choice of food and the like.

To Article XVI. The sixteenth article, concerning civil magistrates, is received with pleasure, as in harmony not only with civil law, but also with canonical law, the Gospel, the Holy Scriptures, and the universal norm of faith, since the apostle enjoins that "every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation," Rom. 13:1, 2. And the princes are praised for condemning the Anabaptists, who overthrow all civil ordinances and prohibit Christians the use of the magistracy and other civil offices, without which no state is successfully administered.

To Article XVII. The confession of the seventeenth article is received, since from the Apostles' Creed and the Holy Scripture the entire Catholic Church knows that Christ will come at the last day to judge the quick and the dead. 2. Therefore they justly condemn here the Anabaptists, who think there will be an end of punishments to condemned men and devils, and imagine certain Jewish kingdoms of the godly, before the resurrection of the dead, in this present world, the wicked being everywhere suppressed.

To Article XVIII. In the eighteenth article they confess the power of the Free Will—viz. that it has the power to work a civil righteousness, but that it has not, without the Holy Ghost, the virtue to work the righteousness of God. This confession is received and approved. For it thus becomes Catholics to pursue the middle way, so as not, with the Pelagians, to ascribe too much to the free will, nor, with the godless Manichaeans, to deny it all liberty; for both are not without fault. 2. Thus Augustine says: "With sure faith we believe, and without doubt we preach, that a free will exists in men. For it is an inhuman error to deny the free will in man, which every one experiences in himself, and is so often asserted in the Holy Scriptures." 3. St. Paul says: "Having power over his own will," 1 Cor. 7:37. Of the righteous the wise man says: "Who might offend, and hath not offended? or done evil, and hath not done it?" Eccles. 31:10. God said to Cain: "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him," Gen. 4:7. Through the prophet Isaiah he says: "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword." This also Jeremiah has briefly expressed: "Behold, thou hast spoken and done evil, as thou couldest," Jer. 3:5. We add also Ezek. 18:31f.: "Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed; and make ye a new heart, and a new spirit; for why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God; wherefore turn yourselves and live." Also St. Paul: "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," 1 Cor. 14:32. Likewise, 2 Cor. 9:7: "Every man according as he purposeth in his heart; not grudgingly or of necessity." 4. Finally, Christ overthrew all the Manichaeans with one word when he said: "Ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good." Mark 14:7; and to Jerusalem Christ says: "How often would I have gath-

ered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" Matt. 23:37.

To Article XIX. The nineteenth article is likewise approved and accepted. For God, the supremely good, is not the author of evils, but the rational and defectible will is the cause of sin; wherefore let no one impute his midsdeeds and crimes to God, but to himself, according to Jer. 2:19: "Thine own wickedness shall correct thee, and thy backslidings shall reprove thee;" and Hos. 13:9: "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thy help." And David in the spirit acknowledged that God is not one that hath pleasure in wickedness, Ps. 5:4.

To Article XX. In the twentieth article, which does not contain so much the confession of the princes and cities as the defence of the preachers, there is only one thing that pertains to the princes and cities—viz. concerning good works, that they do not merit the remission of sins, which, as it has been rejected and disapproved before, is also rejected and disapproved now. 2. For the passage in Daniel is very familiar: "Redeem thy sins with alms," Dan. 4:24; and the address of Tobit to his son: "Alms do deliver from death, and suffereth not to come into darkness," Tobit 4:10; and that of Christ: "Give alms of such things as ye have, and behold all things are clean unto you," Luke 11:41. 3. If works were not meritorious why would the wise man say: "God will render a reward of the labors of his saints"? Wisd. 10:17. Why would St. Peter so earnestly exhort to good works, saying: "Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence by good works to make your calling and election sure"? 2 Pet. 1:10. Why would St. Paul have said: "God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labor of love, which ye have showed towards his name"? Heb. 6:10. 4. Nor by this do we reject Christ's merit, but we know that our works are nothing and of no merit unless by virtue of Christ's passion. We know that Christ is "the way, the truth and the life," John 14:6. But Christ, as the Good Shepherd, who "began to do and teach," Acts 1:1, has given us an example that as he has done we also should do, John 13:15. He also went through the desert by the way of good works, which all Christians ought to pursue, and according to his command bear the cross and follow him, Matt. 10:38; 16:24. He who bears not the cross, neither is nor can be Christ's disciple. That also is true which John says: "He that saith he abideth in him ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked," 1 John 2:6. Moreover, this opinion concerning good

works was condemned and rejected more than a thousand years ago in the time of Augustine.

To Article XXI. In the last place, they present the twenty-first article, wherein they admit that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works, but not that they be invoked and aid be sought of them. 2. It is certainly wonderful that the princes especially and the cities have allowed this error to be agitated in their dominions, which has been condemned so often before in the Church, since eleven hundred years ago St. Jerome vanquished in this area the heretic Vigilantius. Long after him arose the Albigenses, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Picards, the Cathari old and new; all of whom were condemned legitimately long ago. 3. Wherefore this article of the Confession, so frequently condemned, must be utterly rejected and in harmony with the entire universal Church be condemned; for in favor of the invocation of saints we have not only the authority of the Church universal, but also the agreement of the holy fathers, Augustine, Bernard, Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Basil, and this class of other Church teachers. 4. Neither is the authority of Holy Scripture absent from this Catholic assertion, for Christ taught that the saints should be honored: "If any man serve me, him will my Father honor," John 12:26. If, therefore, God honors saints, why do not we, insignificant men, honor them? Besides, the Lord was turned to repentance by Job when he prayed for his friends, Job 42:8. Why, therefore, would not God, the most pious, who gave assent to Job, do the same to the Blessed Virgin when she intercedes? 5. We read also in Baruch 3:4: "O Lord Almighty, thou God of Israel, hear now the prayers of the dead Israelites." Therefore the dead also pray for us. Thus did Onias and Jeremiah in the Old Testament. For Onias the high priest was seen by Judas Maccabaeus holding up his hands and praying for the whole body of the Jews. Afterwards another man appeared, remarkable both for his age and majesty, and of great beauty about him, concerning whom Onias replied: "This is a lover of the brethren and of the people Israel, who prayeth much for the people and for the Holy city—to wit, Jeremiah the prophet," 2 Macc. 15:12-14. 6. Besides, we know from the Holy Scriptures that the angels pray for us. Why, then, would we deny this of saints? "O Lord of hosts," said the angel, "how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation? And the Lord answered the angel that talked

with me comfortable words," Zech. 1:12,13. Job likewise testifies: "If there be an angel with him speaking, one among a thousand, to show unto man his uprightness, he will pity him and say, Deliver him from going down to the pit," Job 33:23, 24. This is clear besides from the words of that holy soul, John the Evangelist, when he says: "The four beasts and the four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having each one of them harps and golden vials, full of odors which are the prayers of saints," Rev. 5:8; and afterwards: "An angel stood at the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, which came up with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand." 7. Lastly, St. Cyprian the martyr more than twelve hundred and fifty years ago wrote to Pope Cornelius, Book I. Letter 1, asking that "if any depart first, his prayer for our brethren and sisters may not cease." For if this holy man had not ascertained that after this life the saints pray for the living, he would have given exhortation to no purpose. 8. Neither is their Confession strengthened by the fact that there is one Mediator between God and men, 1 Tim. 2:5; 1 John 2:1. For although His Imperial Majesty, with the entire Church, confesses that there is one Mediator of redemption, nevertheless the mediators of intercession are many. Thus Moses was both mediator and agent between God and men, Deut. 5:31, for he prayed for the children of Israel, Ex. 17:11; 32:11f. Thus St. Paul prayed for those with whom he was sailing, Acts 27; so, too, he asked that he be prayed for by the Romans, Rom. 15:30, by the Corinthians, 2 Cor. 1:11, and by the Colossians, Col. 4:3. So while Peter was kept in prison prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him, Acts 12:5. 9. Christ, therefore, is our chief Advocate, and indeed the greatest; but since the saints are members of Christ, 1 Cor. 12:27 and Eph. 5:30, and conform their will to that of Christ, and see that their Head, Christ, prays for us, who can doubt that the saints do the very same thing which they see Christ doing? 10. With all these things carefully considered, we must ask the princes and the cities adhering to them that they reject this part of the Confession, and agree with the holy universal and orthodox Church, and believe and confess, concerning the worship and intercession of saints, what the entire Christian world believes and confesses, and was observed in all the churches in the time of Augustine. "A

Christian people," he says, "celebrates the memories of martyrs with religious observance, that it share in their merits and be aided by their prayers."

Part II. Reply to the Second Part of the Confession. 1. Of Lay Communion under One Form. As in the Confession of the princes and cities they enumerate among the abuses that laymen commune only under one form, and as, therefore, in their dominions both forms are administered to laymen, we must reply, according to the custom of the Holy Church, that this is incorrectly enumerated among the abuses, but that, according to the sanctions and statutes of the same Church, it is rather an abuse and disobedience to administer to laymen both forms. 2. For under the one form of bread the saints communed in the primitive Church, of whom Luke says: "They continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread," Acts 2:42. Here Luke mentions bread alone. Likewise Acts 20:7 says: "Upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread." 3. Yea, Christ, the institutor of this most holy sacrament, rising again from the dead, administered the Eucharist only under one form to the disciples going to Emmaus, where he took bread and blessed it, and brake and gave to them, and they recognized him in the breaking of bread, Luke 24:30, 31; where indeed Augustine, Chrysostom, Theophylact and Bede, some of whom many ages ago and not long after the times of the apostles, affirm that it was the Eucharist. Christ also (John 6) very frequently mentions bread alone. 4. St. Ignatius, a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, in his Epistle to the Ephesians mentions the bread alone in the communion of the Eucharist. Ambrose does likewise in his books concerning the sacraments, speaking of the communion of Laymen. In the Council of Rheims, laymen were forbidden from bearing the sacrament of the Body to the sick, and no mention is there made of the form of wine. Hence it is understood that the *viaticum* was given the sick under only one form. 5. The ancient penitential canons approve of this. For the Council of Agde put a guilty priest into a monastery and granted him only lay communion. In the Council of Sardica, Hosius prohibits certain indiscreet persons from receiving even lay communion, unless they finally repent. There has always been a distinction in the Church between lay communion under one form and priestly communion under both forms. 6. This was beautifully predicted in the Old Testament concerning the descendants of Eli: "It shall come to pass," says God, 1 Kings 2 (1 Sam.

2:36), "that every one that is left in thine house shall come and crouch to him for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, and shall say. Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices (Vulgate reads: "Ad unam partem sacerdotalem."), that I may eat a piece of bread." Here Holy Scripture clearly shows that the posterity of Eli, when removed from the office of the priesthood, will seek to be admitted to one sacerdotal part, to a piece of bread. 7. So our laymen also ought, therefore, to be content with one sacerdotal part, the one form. For both the Roman pontiffs and cardinals and all bishops and priests, save in the mass and in the extreme hour of life for a *viaticum*, as it is called in the Council of Nice, are content with taking one form, which they would not do if they thought that both forms would be necessary for salvation. 8. Although, however, both forms were of old administered in many churches to laymen (for then it was free to commune under one or under both forms), yet on account of many dangers the custom of administering both forms has ceased. For when the multitude of the people is considered, where there are old and young, tremulous and weak and inept, if great care be not employed an injury is done the Sacrament by the spilling of the liquid. Because of the great multitude there would be difficulty also in giving the chalice cautiously for the form of wine, which also when kept for a long time would sour and cause nausea or vomition to those who would receive it; neither could it be readily taken to the sick without danger of spilling. 9. For these reasons and others the churches in which the custom had been to give both forms to laymen were induced, undoubtedly by impulse of the Holy Ghost, to give thereafter but one form, from the consideration chiefly that the entire Christ is under each form, and is received no less under one form than under two. In the Council of Constance, of such honorable renown, a decree to this effect appeared, and so too the Synod of Basle legitimately decreed. 10. And although it was formerly a matter of freedom to use either one or both forms in the Eucharist, nevertheless when the heresy arose which taught that both forms were necessary, the Holy Church, which is directed by the Holy Ghost, forbade both forms to laymen. For thus the Church is sometimes wont to extinguish heresies by contrary institutions; as when some arose who maintained that the Eucharist is properly celebrated only when unleavened bread is used, the Church for a while commanded that it be administered with leavened bread; and when Nestorius wished to establish that the perpetual Virgin

Mary was mother only of Christ, not of God, the Church for a time forbade her to be called Christotokos, mother of Christ. 11. Wherefore we must entreat the princes and cities not to permit this schism to be introduced into Germany, into the Roman Empire, or themselves to be separated from the custom of the Church universal. 2. Neither do the arguments adduced in this article avail, for while Christ indeed instituted both forms of the Sacrament, yet it is nowhere found in the Gospel that he enjoined that both forms be received by the laity. For what is said in Matt. 26:27: "Drink ye all of it," was said to the twelve apostles, who were priests, as is manifest from Mark 14:23, where it is said: "And they all drank of it." This certainly was not fulfilled hitherto with respect to laymen; whence the custom never existed throughout the entire Church that both forms were given to laymen, although it existed perhaps among the Corinthians and Carthaginians and some other churches. 13. As to their reference to Gelasius, Canon *Comperimus*, of Consecration. Dist. 2, if they examine the document they will find that Gelasius speaks of priests, and not of laymen. Hence their declaration that the custom of administering but one form is contrary to divine law must be rejected. 14. But most of all the appendix to the article must be rejected, that the procession with the Eucharist must be neglected or omitted, because the sacrament is thus divided. For they themselves know, or at least ought to know, that by the Christian faith Christ has not been divided, but that the entire Christ is under both forms, and that the Gospel nowhere forbids the division of the sacramental forms; as is done on Parasceve (Holy or Maundy Thursday) by the entire Church of the Catholics, although the consecration is made by the celebrant in both forms, who also ought to receive both. 15. Therefore the princes and cities should be admonished to pay customary reverence and due honor to Christ the Son of the living God, our Saviour and Glorifier, the Lord of heaven and earth, since they believe and acknowledge that he is truly present—a matter which they know has been most religiously observed by their ancestors, most Christian princes.

II. *Of the Marriage of Priests.* Their enumeration among abuses, in the second place, of the celibacy of the clergy, and the manner in which their priests marry and persuade others to marry, are verily matters worthy of astonishment, since they call sacerdotal celibacy an abuse, when that which is directly contrary, the violation of celibacy and the illicit transition to marriage, deserves to be

called the worst abuse in priests. 2. For that priests ought never to marry Aurelius testifies in the second Council of Carthage, where he says: "Because the apostles taught thus by example, and antiquity itself has preserved it, let us also maintain it." And a little before a canon to this effect is read: "Resolved, That the bishops, presbyters and deacons, or those who administer the sacraments, abstain, as guardians of chastity, from wives." From these words it is clear that this tradition has been received from the apostles, and not recently devised by the Church. 3. Augustine, following Aurelius in the last question concerning the Old and New Testaments, writes upon these words, and asks: "If perhaps it be said, if it is lawful and good to marry, why are not priests permitted to have wives?" 4. Pope Calixtus, a holy man and a martyr, decided thirteen hundred years ago that priests should not marry. The like is read also in the holy Councils of Caesarea, Neocaesarea, Africa, Agde, Gironne, Meaux, and Orleans. Thus the custom has been observed from the time of the Gospel and the apostles that one who has been put into the office of priests has never been permitted, according to law, to marry. 5. It is indeed true that on account of lack of ministers of God in the primitive Church married men were admitted to the priesthood, as is clear from the Apostolic Canons and the reply of Paphnutius in the Council of Nice; nevertheless, those who wished to contract marriage were compelled to do so before receiving the subdiaconate, as we read in the canon *Si quis eorum* Dist. 32. This custom of the primitive Church the Greek Church has preserved and retained to this day. 6. But when, by the grace of God, the Church has increased, so that there was no lack of ministers in the Church, Pope Siricius, eleven hundred and forty years ago, undoubtedly not without the Holy Ghost, enjoined absolute continence upon the priests, Canon *Plurimus*, Dist. 82—an injunction which Popes Innocent I., Leo the Great and Gregory the Great approved and ratified, and which the Latin Church has everywhere observed to this day. 7. From these facts it is regarded sufficiently clear that the celibacy of the clergy is not an abuse, and that it was approved by fathers so holy at such a remote time, and was received by the entire Latin Church.

8. Besides, the priests of the old law, as in the case of Zacharias, were separated from their wives at times when they discharged their office and ministered in the temple. But since the priest of the new law ought always to be engaged in the ministry, it follows that

he ought always to be continent. 9. Furthermore, married persons should not defraud one the other of conjugal duties except for a time, that they may give themselves to prayer, 1 Cor. 7:5. But since a priest ought always to pray, he ought always to be continent. 10. Besides, St. Paul says: "But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, that he may please the Lord. But he that is married careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife," 1 Cor. 7:32,33. Therefore let the priest who should please God continually flee from anxiety for a wife, and not look back with Lot's wife, Gen. 19:26. 11. Moreover, sacerdotal continence was foreshadowed also in the Old Testament, for Moses commanded those who were to receive the law not to approach their wives until the third day, Ex. 19:15. Much less, therefore, should the priests, who are about to receive Christ as our Legislator, Lord and Saviour, approach wives. 12. Priests were commanded likewise to wear linen thigh-bandages, to cover the shame of the flesh (Ex. 28:42); which, says Beda, was a symbol of future continence among priests. 13. Also, when Ahimelech was about to give the blessed bread to the servants of David he asked first if they had kept themselves from women, and David replied that they had for three days, 1 Kings 21 (1 Sam. 21:4, 5). Therefore, they who take the living Bread which came down from heaven, John 6:32ff., should always be pure with respect to them. They who ate the passover had their loins girded, Ex. 12:11. Wherefore the priests, who frequently eat Christ our Passover, ought to gird their loins by continence and cleanliness, as the Lord commands them: "Be ye clean," he says, "that bear the vessels of the Lord," Isa. 52:11. "Ye shall be holy, for I am holy," Lev. 19:2. Therefore let priests serve God "in holiness and righteousness all their days," Luke 1:75. 14. Hence the holy martyr Cyprian testifies that it was revealed to him by the Lord, and he was most solemnly enjoined, to earnestly admonish the clergy not to occupy a domicile in common with women. 15. Hence, since sacerdotal continence has been commanded by the pontiffs and revealed by God, and promised to God, by the priest in a special vow, it must not be rejected. For this is required by the excellency of the sacrifice they offer, the frequency of prayer, and liberty and purity of spirit, that they care how to please God, according to the teaching of St. Paul. 16. And because this is manifestly the ancient heresy of Jovinian, which the Roman Church condemned and Jerome refuted in his writings, and

St. Augustine said that this heresy was immediately extinguished and did not attain to the corruption and abuse of priests, the princes ought not to tolerate it to the perpetual shame and disgrace of the Roman Empire, but should rather conform themselves to the Church universal, and not be influenced by those things which are suggested to them.

17. For as to what Paul says, 1 Cor. 7:2: "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife," Jerome replies that St. Paul is speaking of one who has not made a vow, as Athanasius and Vulgarius understand the declaration of St. Paul: "If a virgin marry, she hath not sinned" (1 Cor. 7:28), that here a virgin is meant who has not been consecrated to God. So in reference to: "It is better to marry than to burn" (1 Cor. 7:9), the pointed reply of Jerome against Jovinian is extant. For the same St. Paul says (1 Cor. 7:1): "It is good for a man not to touch a woman." For a priest has the intermediate position of neither marrying nor burning, but of restraining himself by the grace of God, which he obtains of God by devout prayer and chastising of the flesh, by fasting and vigils.

18. Furthermore, when they say that Christ taught that all men are not fit for celibacy. it is indeed true, and on this account not all are fit for the priesthood; but let the priest pray, and he will be able to receive Christ's word concerning continence, as St. Paul says: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me," Phil. 4:13. For continence is a gift of God, Wisd. 8:21.

19. Besides, when they allege that this is God's ordinance and command, Gen. 1:28, Jerome replied concerning these words a thousand years ago: "It was necessary first to plant the forest, and that it grow, in order that that might be which could afterwards be cut down." Then the command was given concerning the procreation of offspring, that the earth should be replenished, but since it has been replenished so that there is a pressure of nations, the commandment does not pertain in like manner upon those able to be continent.

20. In vain, too, do they boast of God's express order. Let them show, if they can. where God has enjoined priests to marry.

21. Besides, we find in the divine law that vows once offered should be paid, Ps. 49 and 75; Eccles. 5 (Ps. 50:14; 76:11; Eccles. 5:4). Why, therefore, do they not observe this express divine law?

22. They also pervert St. Paul, as though he teaches that one who is to be chosen bishop should be married when he says: "Let a bishop be the husband of one wife"; which is not to be understood as though he ought to be married, for then Martin, Nicolaus, Titus, John the Evangelist, yea

Christ, would not have been bishops. Hence Jerome explains the words of St. Paul, "that a bishop be the husband of one wife," as meaning that he be not a bigamist. The truth of this exposition is clear, not only from the authority of Jerome, which ought be great with every Catholic, but also from St. Paul, who writes concerning the selection of widows: "Let not a widow be taken into the number under three score years, having been the wife of one man," 1 Tim. 5:9.

23. Lastly, the citation of what was done among the Germans is the statement of a fact, but not of a law. For while there was a contention between the Emperor Henry IV. and the Roman Pontiff, and also between his son and the nobles of the Empire, both divine and human laws were equally confused, so that at that time the laity rashly attempted to administer sacred things, to use filth instead of holy oil, to baptize, and to do much else foreign to the Christian religion. The clergy likewise went beyond their sphere—a precedent which cannot be cited as law. 24. Neither was it regarded unjust to dissolve sacrilegious marriages which had been contracted to no effect in opposition to vows and the sanction of fathers and councils; as even today the marriages of priests with their so-called wives are not valid. 25. In vain, therefore, do they complain that the world is growing old, and that as a remedy for infirmity rigor should be relaxed, for those who are consecrated to God have other remedies of infirmities; as, for instance, let them avoid the society of women, shun idleness, macerate the flesh by fasting and vigils, keep the outward senses, especially sight and hearing, from things forbidden, turn away their eyes from beholding vanity, and finally dash their little ones—i.e. their carnal thoughts—upon a rock (and Christ is the Rock), suppress their passions, and frequently and devoutly resort to God in prayer. These are undoubtedly the most effectual remedies for incontinence in ecclesiastics and servants of God. 26. St. Paul said aright that the doctrine of those who forbid marriage is a doctrine of demons. Such was the doctrine of Tatian and Marcion, whom Augustine and Jerome have mentioned. But the Church does not thus forbid marriage, as she even enumerates marriage among the seven sacraments; with which, however, it is consistent that on account of their superior ministry she should enjoin upon ecclesiastics superior purity. 27. For it is false that there is an express charge concerning contracting marriage, for then John the Evangelist, St. James, Laurentius, Titus, Martin, Catharine, Barbara, etc., would have sinned. Nor is Cyprian influenced

by these considerations to speak of a virgin who had made a solemn vow, but of one who had determined to live continently, as the beginning of Letter XI. Book I. sufficiently shows. For the judgment of St. Augustine is very explicit: "It is damnable for Virgins who make a vow not only to marry, but even to wish to marry." Hence the abuse of marriage and the breaking of vows in the clergy are not to be tolerated.

III. Of the Mass. Whatever in this article is stated concerning the most holy office of the mass that agrees with the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church is approved, but whatever is added that is contrary to the observance of the general and universal orthodox Church is rejected, because it grievously offends God, injures Christian unity, and occasions dissensions, tumults and seditions in the Holy Roman Empire. 2. Now, as to these things which they state in the article: *First*, it is displeasing that, in opposition to the usage of the entire Roman Church, they perform ecclesiastical rites not in the Roman but in the German language, and this they pretend that they do upon the authority of St. Paul, who taught that in the Church a language should be used which is understood by the people, 1 Cor. 14:19. 3. But if this were the meaning of the words of St. Paul, it would compel them to perform the entire mass in German, which even they do not do. But since the priest is a person belonging to the entire Church, and not only to his surroundings, it is not wonderful that the priest celebrates the mass in the Latin language in a Latin Church. 4. It is profitable to the hearer, however, if he hear the mass in faith of the Church; and experience teaches that among the Germans there has been greater devotion at mass in Christ's believers who do not understand the Latin language than in those who today hear the mass in German. 5. And if the words of the apostle be pondered, it is sufficient that the one replying occupy the place of the unlearned to say *Amen*, the very thing that the canons prescribe. Neither is it necessary that he hear or understand all the words of the mass, and even attend to it intelligently; for it is better to understand and to attend to its end, because the mass is celebrated in order that the Eucharist may be offered in memory of Christ's passion. 6. And it is an argument in favor of this that, according to the general opinion of the fathers, the apostles and their successors until the times of the Emperor Hadrian celebrated the mass in the Hebrew language alone, which was indeed unknown to the Christians, especially the converted heathen. But even if

the mass had been celebrated in the primitive Church in a tongue understood by the people, nevertheless this would not be necessary now, for many were daily converted who were ignorant of the ceremonies and unacquainted with the mysteries; and hence it was of advantage for them to understand the words of the office; but now Catholics imbibe from their cradles the manners and customs of the Church, whence they readily know what should be done at every time in the Church. 7. Moreover, as to their complaints concerning the abuse of masses, there is none of those who think aright but does not earnestly desire that the abuses be corrected. But that they who wait at the altar live of the altar is not an abuse, but pertains equally to both divine and human law. "Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charge?" says Paul. "Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?" 1 Cor. 9:7, 13. Christ says: "The laborer is worthy of his hire," Luke 10:7.

8. But worthy of censure, above all things, is the discontinuance of the private mass in certain places, as though those having fixed and prescribed returns are sought no less than the public masses on account of gain. But by this abrogation of masses the worship of God is diminished, honor is withdrawn from the saints, the ultimate will of the founder is overthrown and defeated, the dead deprived of the rights due them, and the devotion of the living withdrawn and chilled. Therefore the abrogation of private masses cannot be conceded and tolerated. 9. Neither can their assumption be sufficiently understood that Christ by his passion has made satisfaction for original sin, and has instituted the mass for actual sin; for this has never been heard by Catholics, and very many who are now asked most constantly deny that they have so taught. For the mass does not abolish sins, which are destroyed by repentance as their peculiar medicine, but abolishes the punishment due sin, supplies satisfactions, and confers increase of grace and salutary protection of the living, and, lastly, brings the hope of divine consolation and aid to all our wants and necessities.

10. Again, their insinuation that in the mass Christ is not offered must be altogether rejected, as condemned of old and excluded by the faithful. For Augustine says this was a very ancient heresy of the Arians, who denied that in the mass an oblation was made for the living and the dead. For this is opposed both to the Holy Scriptures and the entire Church. 11. For through Malachi the Lord

predicted the rejection of the Jews, the call of the Gentiles and the sacrifice of the evangelical law: "I have no pleasure in you, he saith, neither will I accept an offering at your hand. For from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name and a pure offering," Mal. 1:10, 11. But no pure offering has already been offered to God in every place, except in the sacrifice of the altar of the most pure Eucharist. This authority St. Augustine and other Catholics have used in favor of the mass against faithless Jews, and certainly with Catholic princes it should have greater influence than all objections of the adversaries. 12. Besides, in speaking of the advent of the Messiah the same prophet says: "And he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old and as in former years," Mal. 3:3, 4. Here in the spirit the prophet foresaw the sons of Levi—i. e. evangelical priests, says Jerome—about to offer sacrifices, not in the blood of goats, but in righteousness, as in the days of old. Hence these words are repeated by the Church in the canon of the mass under the influence of the same Spirit under whose influence they were written by the prophet. 13. The angel also said to Daniel: "Many shall be purified and made white and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand." And again: "The wise shall understand; and from the time that the daily sacrifices shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days," Dan. 12:10, 11. Christ testifies that this prophecy is to be fulfilled, but that it has not been as yet fulfilled, Matt. 24:15. Therefore the daily sacrifice of Christ will cease universally at the advent of the abomination—i. e. of Antichrist—just as it has already ceased, particularly in some churches, and thus will be unemployed in the place of desolation—viz. when the churches will be desolated, in which the canonical hours will not be chanted or the masses celebrated or the sacraments administered, and there will be no altars, no images of saints, no candles, no furniture. 14. Therefore all princes and faithful subjects of the Roman Empire ought to be encouraged never to admit or pass over anything that may aid the preparers of Antichrist in attaining such a degree of wickedness, when the woman—i. e. the Catholic Church—as St. John saw in the Spirit, will flee

into the wilderness, where she will have a place prepared of God, that she may be nourished there twelve hundred and sixty days, Rev. 12:6. 15. Finally, St. Paul says, Heb. 5:1: "Every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins." But since the external priesthood has not ceased in the new law, but has been changed to a better, therefore even today the high priest and the entire priesthood offer in the Church an external sacrifice, which is only one, the Eucharist. 16. To this topic that also is applicable which is read, according to the new translation, in Acts 13:1, 2: Barnabas, Simeon, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen and Saul sacrificed—i.e. they offered an oblation, which can and ought justly to be understood not of an oblation made to idols, but of the mass, since it is called by the Greeks *liturgy*. 17. And that in the primitive Church the mass was a sacrifice the holy fathers copiously testify, and they support this opinion. For Ignatius, a pupil of St. John the Apostle, says: "It is not allowable without a bishop either to offer a sacrifice or to celebrate masses." And Irenaeus, a pupil of John, clearly testifies that "Christ taught the new oblation of the New Testament, which the Church, receiving from the apostles, offers to God throughout the entire world." This bishop, bordering upon the times of the apostles, testifies that the new evangelical sacrifice was offered throughout the entire world. Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Basil, Hilary, etc., teach and testify the same, whose words for brevity's sake are omitted. 18. Since, therefore, the Catholic Church throughout the entire Christian world has always taught, held and observed as it today holds and observes, the same ought today to be held and observed inviolably. 19. Nor does St. Paul in Hebrews oppose the oblation of the mass when he says that by one offering we have once been justified through Christ. For St. Paul is speaking of the offering of a victim—i.e. of a bloody sacrifice, of a lamb slain, viz. upon the altar of the cross—which offering was indeed once made, whereby all sacraments, and even the sacrifice of the mass, have their efficacy. Therefore he was offered but once with the shedding of blood—viz. upon the cross; today he is offered in the mass as a peace making and sacramental victim. Then he was offered in a visible form capable of suffering; today he is offered in the mass veiled in mysteries, incapable of suffering, just as in the Old Testament he was sacrificed typically and under a figure. 20. Finally, the force of the word shows that the mass is

a sacrifice, since "mass" is nothing but "oblation," and has received its name from the Hebrew word *misbeach*, altar—in Greek *thysiasterion*, on account of the oblation. 21. It has been sufficiently declared above that we are justified not properly by faith, but by love. But if any such statement be found in the Holy Scriptures, Catholics know that it is declared concerning *fides formata*, which works by love (Gal. 5), and because justification is begun by faith, because it is the substance of things hoped for, Heb. 11:1. 22. Neither is it denied that the mass is a memorial of Christ's passion and God's benefits, since this is approved by the figure of the paschal lamb, that was at the same time a victim and a memorial, Ex. 12:13, 14, and is represented not only by the Word and sacraments, but also by holy postures and vestments in the Catholic Church; but to the memory of the victim the Church offers anew the Eucharist in the mysteries to God, the Father Almighty. 23. Therefore the princes and cities are not censured for retaining one common mass in the Church, provided they do this according to the sacred canon, as observed by all Catholics. But in abrogating all other masses they have done what the Christian profession does not allow.

24. Nor does any one censure the declaration that of old all who were present communed. Would that all were so disposed as to be prepared to partake of this bread worthily every day! But if they regard one mass advantageous, how much more advantageous would be a number of masses, of which they nevertheless have unjustly disapproved. 25. When all these things are properly considered we must ask them to altogether annul and repudiate this new form of celebrating the mass that has been devised, and has been already so frequently changed, and to resume the primitive form for celebrating it, according to the ancient rite and custom of the churches of Germany and all Christendom, and to restore the abrogated masses according to the ultimate will of their founders; whereby they would gain advantage and honor for themselves and peace and tranquility for all Germany.

IV. Of Confession. As to confession, we must adhere to the reply and judgment given above in Article XI. For the support which they claim from Chrysostom is false, since they pervert to sacramental and sacerdotal confession what he says concerning public confession, as his words clearly indicate when in the beginning he says: "I do not tell thee to disclose thyself to the public or to accuse thyself before others." Thus Gratian and thus Peter Lombard replied three

hundred years ago; and the explanation becomes still more manifest from others passages of Chrysostom. 2. For in his twenty-ninth sermon he says of the penitent: "In his heart is contrition, in his mouth confession, in his entire work humility. This is perfect and fruitful repentance." Does not this most exactly display the three parts of repentance? 3. So in his tenth homily on Matthew, Chrysostom teaches of a fixed time for confession, and that after the wounds of crimes have been opened they should be healed, penance intervening. But how will crimes lie open if they are not disclosed to the priest by confession? Thus in several passages Chrysostom himself refutes this opinion, which Jerome also overthrows, saying: "If the serpent the devil have secretly bitten any one, and without the knowledge of another have infected him with the poison of sin, if he who has been struck be silent and do not repent, and be unwilling to confess his wound to his brother and instructor, the instructor, who has a tongue wherewith to cure him, will not readily be able to profit him. For if the sick man be ashamed to confess to the physician, the medicine is not adapted to that of which he is ignorant." 4. Let the princes and cities, therefore, believe these authors rather than a single gloss upon a decree questioned and rejected by those who are skilled in divine law. 5. Wherefore, since a full confession is, not to say, necessary for salvation, but becomes the nerve of Christian discipline and the entire obedience, they must be admonished to conform to the orthodox Church. For, according to the testimony of Jerome, this was the heresy of the Montanists, who were condemned over twelve hundred years ago because they were ashamed to confess their sins. It is not becoming, therefore, to adopt the error of the wicked Montanus, but rather the rite of the holy fathers and the entire Church—viz. that each one teach, according to the norm of the orthodox faith, that confession, the chief treasure in the Church, be made in conformity to the rite kept among them also in the Church.

V. Of the Distinction of Meats. What they afterwards assert concerning the distinction of meats and like traditions, of which they seem to make no account, must be rejected. 2. For we know from the apostle that all power is of God, and especially that ecclesiastical power has been given by God for edification; for this reason, from the Christian and devout heart of the holy Church the constitutions of the same holy, catholic and apostolic Church should be received as are useful to the Church, as well for promoting divine worship as for restraining the lust of the flesh, while they enable us the

more readily to keep the divine commands, and when well considered are found in the Holy Scriptures; and he who despises or rashly resists them grievously offends God, according to Christ's word: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me," Luke 10:16. 3. A. prelate, however, is despised when his statutes are despised, according to St. Paul, not only when he says: "He that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit," 1 Thess. 4:8, but also to the bishops: "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to rule (Vulgate) the Church of God," Acts 20:28. 4. If prelates, therefore, have the power to rule, they will have the power also to make statutes for the salutary government of the Church and the growth of subjects. For the same apostle enjoined upon the Corinthians that among them all things should be done in order, 1 Cor. 14:40; but this cannot be done without laws. 5. On that account he said to the Hebrews: "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give an account," Heb. 13:17. Here St. Paul reckons not only obedience, but also the reason for obedience. 6. We see that St. Paul exercised this power, as, in addition to the Gospel, he prescribed so many laws concerning the choice of a bishop, concerning widows, concerning women, that they have their heads veiled, that they be silent in the church, and concerning even secular matters, 1 Thess. 4:1, 2, 6; concerning civil courts, 1 Cor. 6:1ff. And he says to the Corinthians very clearly: "But to the rest speak I, not the Lord," 1 Cor. 7:12, and again he says elsewhere: "Stand fast and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle," 2 Thess. 2:15. 7. wherefore, the princes and cities must be admonished to render obedience to ecclesiastical statutes and constitutions, lest when they withdraw obedience that is due God, obedience may be withdrawn also from them by their subjects, as their subjects attempted in the recent civil insurrection, not to allow themselves to be seduced by false doctrines. 8. Most false also is their declaration that the righteousness of faith is obscured by such ordinances; nay, he is rather mad and insane who would observe them without faith. For they are given to believers, and not to Turks or Ishmaelites. "For what have I to do to judge them that are without?" 1 Cor. 5:12. 9. Moreover, in extolling here faith above all things they antagonize St. Paul, as we have

said above, and do violence to St. Paul, whom they pervert to evangelical works when he speaks of legal works, as all these errors have been above refuted. 10. False also is it that ecclesiastical ordinances obscure God's commands, since they prepare man for these, as fasts suppress the lust of the flesh and help him from falling into luxury. 11. False also is it that it is impossible to observe ordinances, for the Church is not a cruel mother who makes no exceptions in the celebration of festivals and in fasting and the like. 12. Furthermore, they falsely quote Augustine in reply to the inquiries of Januarius, who is diametrically opposed to them. For in this place he most clearly states that what has been universally delivered by the Church be also universally observed. But in indifferent things, and those whose observance and non-observance are free, the holy father Augustine states that, according to the authority of St. Ambrose, the custom of each church should be observed. "When I come to Rome," he says, "I fast on the Sabbath, but when here I do not fast." 13. Besides, they do violence to the Scriptures while they endeavor to support their errors. For Christ (Matt. 15) does not absolutely disapprove of human ordinances, but of those only that were opposed to the law of God, as is clearly acknowledged in Mark 7:8,9. Here also Matt. 15:3 says: "Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?" So Paul (Col. 2) forbids that any one be judged in meat or in drink, or in respect to the Sabbath, after the Jewish manner; for when the Church forbids meats it does not judge them to be unclean, as the Jews in the Synagogue thought. So the declaration of Christ concerning that which goeth into the mouth (Matt. 15:11) is cited here without a sure and true understanding of it, since its intention was to remove the error of the Jews, who thought that food touched by unwashed hands becomes unclean, and rendered one eating it unclean, as is manifest from the context. Nor does the Church bring back to these observances Moses with his heavy hands. 14. In like manner they do violence to St. Paul, for, 1 Tim. 4:1, 4. he calls that a doctrine of demons that forbids meats, as the Tatianites, Marcionites and Manichaeans thought that meats were unclean, as is clear from the words that follow, when St. Paul adds: "Every creature of God is good." But the Church does not forbid meats on the ground that they are evil or unclean, but as an easier way to keep God's commandments; therefore the opposite arguments fail. 15. If they would preach the cross and bodily discipline and fasts, that in this way

the body be reduced to subjection, their doctrine would be commendable; but their desire that these be free is condemned and rejected as alien to the faith and discipline of the Church. 16. Nor does the diversity of rites support them, for this is properly allowed in regard to particular matters, in order that each individual province may have its own taste satisfied, as Jerome says; but individual ecclesiastical rites should be universally observed, and special rites should be observed each in their own province. 17. Also, they make no mention of Easter, for the Roman pontiffs reduced the Asiatics to a uniform observance of Easter with the universal Church. In this way Irenaeus must be understood, for without the loss of faith some vigils of the apostles were not celebrated with fasting throughout Gaul, which Germany nevertheless observes in fasts. 18. The princes and cities must also be admonished to follow the decision of Pope Gregory, for he enjoins that the custom of each province be observed if it employs nothing contrary to the Catholic faith, Canon *Quoniam*, Distinct. xii. Hence we are not ignorant that there is a various observance of dissimilar rites in unity of faith, which should be observed in every province as it has been delivered and received from the ancients, without injury, however, to the universal rites of the entire Catholic Church.

VI. Of Monastic Vows. Although many and various matters have been introduced in this article by the suggestion of certain persons (Another text, *Cod. Pflug.*, reads "Preachers"), nevertheless, when all are taken into consideration with mature thought, since monastic vows have their foundation in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and most holy men, renowned and admirable by miracles, have lived in these religious orders with many thousand thousands, and for so many centuries their ordinances and rules of living have been received and approved throughout the entire Christian world by the Catholic Church, it is in no way to be tolerated that vows are licentiously broken without any fear of God. 2. For, in the Old Testament, God approved the vows of the Nazarenes, Num. 6:2ff. and the vows of the Rechabites, who neither drank wine or ate grapes, Jer. 36:6, 19; while he strictly requires that the vow once made be paid, Deut. 23:21f.; "It is ruin to a man after vows to retract," Prov. 20:25; "The vows of the just are acceptable," Prov. 15:8. 3. God also teaches specifically through the prophet that monastic vows please him. For in Isa. 56:4, 5 it is read as follows: "Thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep my Sabbath, and choose

the things that please me, and take hold of my covenant, Even unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a place and a name better than that of sons and of daughters. I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off." But to what eunuchs does God make these promises? To those, undoubtedly, whom Christ praises, "which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake," Matt. 19:12; to those, undoubtedly, who, denying their own, come after Christ and deny themselves and follow him, Luke 9:23, so that they are governed no longer by their own will, but by that of their rule and superior. 4. In like manner, according to the testimony of the apostle, those virgins do better who, contemning the world and spurning its enticements, vow and maintain virginity in monasteries, than those who place their necks beneath the matrimonial burden. For thus St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 7:28: "He that giveth her in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better." Also, concerning a widow, he continues: "She is happier if she so abide, after my judgment." 5. No one is ignorant of the holiness of the hermit Paul, of Basil, Anthony, Benedict, Bernard, Dominic, Franciscus, William, Augustine, Clara, Bridget, and similar hermits, who indeed despised the entire realm of the world and all the splendor of the age on account of love to our Lord Jesus Christ. 6. Moreover, the heresy of the Lampetians was condemned in most ancient times, which the heretic Jovinian attempted in vain to revive at Rome. Therefore, all things must be rejected which in this article have been produced against monasticism—viz. that in the time of Augustine fraternities were free, that vows were added afterwards to monasteries; whereas the order was contrary—viz. that monasteries succeeded vows.

7. Of the nunneries it is sufficiently ascertained that, though pertaining to the weaker sex, how in most cloisters the holy nuns persevered far more constantly to vows once uttered, even under these princes and cities, than the majority of monks; even to this day it has been impossible to move them from their holy purpose by any prayers, blandishments, threats, terrors, difficulties or distresses. 8. Wherefore, those matters are not to be admitted which are interpreted unfavorably, since it has been expressly declared in the Holy Scriptures that the monastic life, when kept with proper observance, as may by the grace of God be rendered by any monks, merits eternal life; and indeed Christ has promised to them a much more bountiful reward, saying: "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren,

or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life," Matt. 19:29. 9. That monasteries, as they show, were formerly literary schools, is not denied; nevertheless, there is no ignorance of the fact that these were at first schools of virtues and discipline, to which literature was afterwards added. 10. But since no one putting his hand to the plough and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven, Luke 9:62, all marriages and breaking of vows by monks and nuns should be regarded as condemned, according to the tenor not only of the Holy Scriptures, but also of the laws and canons, "having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith," as St. Paul says, 1 Tim. 5:12. Moreover, that vows are not contrary to the ordinance of God has been declared with reference to the second article of the alleged abuses. 11. That they attempt to defend themselves by dispensations of the Pope is of no effect. For although the Pope has perhaps made a dispensation for the king of Aragon, who, we read, returned to the monastery after having had offspring, or for any other prince on account of the peace of the entire kingdom or province, to prevent the exposure of the entire kingdom or province to wars, carnage, pillage, debauchery, conflagrations, murders,—nevertheless, in private persons who abandon vows in apostasy such grounds for dispensations cannot be urged. 12. For the assumption is repelled that the vow concerns a matter that is impossible. For continence, which so many thousands of men and virgins have maintained, is not impossible. For although the wise man says (Wisdom 8:21): "I knew that I could not otherwise be continent, unless God gave it me," nevertheless Christ promised to give it. "Seek," he says, "and ye shall find," Luke 11:9; Matt. 18:28; and St. Paul says: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able, but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it," 1 Cor. 10:13. 13. They are also poor defenders of their cause when they admit that the violation of a vow is irreprehensible, and it must be declared that by law such marriages are censured and should be dissolved, *C. Ut. Continentiae*, xxvii. Q. 1., as also by the ancient statutes of emperors. But when they allege in their favor *C. Nuptiarum*, they accomplish nothing, for it speaks of a simple not of a religious vow, which the Church observes also to this day. The marriages of monks, nuns, or priests, have therefore never been ratified. 14. Futile also is their statement that a votive life is an invention

of men, for it has been founded upon the Holy Scriptures, inspired into the most holy fathers by the Holy Ghost. 15. Nor does it deny honor to Christ, since monks observe all things for Christ's sake, and imitate Christ. False, therefore, is the judgment whereby they condemn monastic service as godless, whereas it is most Christian. For the monks have not fallen from God's grace, as the Jews of whom St. Paul speaks, Gal. 5:4, when they still sought justification by the law of Moses; but the monks endeavor to live more nearly to the Gospel, that they may merit eternal life. Therefore, the allegations here made against monasticism are impious. 16. Moreover, the malicious charge that is still further added, that those in religious orders claim to be in a state of perfection, has never been heard of by them; for those in these orders claim not for themselves a state of perfection, but only a state in which to acquire perfection—because their regulations are instruments of perfection, and not perfection itself. In this manner Gerson must be received, who does not deny that religious orders are states wherein to acquire perfection, as he declares in his treatises, "Against the Proprietors of the Rule of St. Augustine," "Of Evangelical Counsels," "Of Perfection of Heart," and in other places. 17. For this reason the princes and cities should be admonished to strive rather for the reformation of the monasteries by their legitimate superiors than for their subversion—rather for the godly improvement of the monks than that they be abolished; as their most religious ancestors, most Christian princes, have done. 18. But if they will not believe holy and most religious fathers defending monastic vows, let them hear at least His Imperial Highness, the Emperor Justinian, in "Authentica," *De Monachis*, Coll. ii.

VII. *Of Ecclesiastical Power.* Although many things are introduced here in the topic of Ecclesiastical Power, with greater bitterness than is just, yet it must be declared that to most reverend bishops and priests, and to the entire clergy, all ecclesiastical power is freely conceded that belongs to them by law or custom. 2. Besides, it is proper to preserve for them all immunities, privileges, preferments and prerogatives granted them by Roman emperors and kings. Nor can those things that have been granted ecclesiastics by imperial munificence or gift be allowed to be infringed by any princes or any other subject of the Roman Empire. 3. For it is most abundantly proved that ecclesiastical power in spiritual things has been founded upon divine right, of which St. Paul indeed says: "For though I

should boast somewhat more of our authority which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction," 2 Cor. 10:8, and afterwards: "Therefore I write these things being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction, 2 Cor. 13:10. Paul also displays his coercitive disposition when he says: "What will ye? Shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love and in the spirit of meekness?" 1 Cor. 4:21. And of judicial matters he writes to Timothy: "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses," 1 Tim. 5:19. 4. From these passages it is very clearly discerned that bishops have the power not only of the ministry of the Word of God, but also of ruling and coercitive correction in order to direct subjects to the goal of eternal blessedness. But for the power of ruling there is required the power to judge, to define, to discriminate and to decide what is expedient or conducive to the aforesaid goal. 5. In vain, therefore, and futile is all that is inserted in the present article in opposition to the immunity of churches and schools. Accordingly, all subjects of the Roman Empire must be forbidden from bringing the clergy before a civil tribunal, contrary to imperial privileges that have been conceded; for Pope Clement the Martyr says: "If any of the presbyters have trouble with one another, let whatever it be adjusted before the presbyters of the Church." Hence Constantine the Great, the most Christian Emperor, was unwilling in the holy Council of Nice to give judgment even in secular cases. "Ye are gods," he says, "appointed by the true God. Go, settle the case among yourselves, because it is not proper that we judge gods." 6. As to what is further repeated concerning Church regulations has been sufficiently replied to above. Nor does Christian liberty, which they bring forth as an argument, avail them, since this is not liberty, but prodigious license, which, inculcated on the people, excites them to fatal and most dangerous sedition. 7. For Christian liberty is not opposed to ecclesiastical usages, since they promote what is good, but it is opposed to the servitude of the Mosaic law and the servitude of sin. "Who-soever committeth sin is the servant of sin," says Christ, John 8:34. 8. Hence their breaking fasts, their free partaking of meats, their neglect of canonical hours, their omission of confession—viz. at Easter—and their commission and omission of similar things, are not a use of liberty, but an abuse thereof, contrary to the warnings of St. Paul, who earnestly warned them, saying: "Brethren, ye have

been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another," Gal. 5:13. Hence no one ought to conceal his crimes under the pretext of Gospel liberty, which St. Peter also forbade: "As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servant of God," 1 Pet. 2:16. 9. As to what they have added concerning abuses, all the princes and estates of the Empire undoubtedly know that not even the least is approved either by His Imperial Majesty or by any princes or any Christian man, but that both the princes and the estates of the Empire desire to strive with a common purpose and agreement, in order that, the abuses being removed and reformed, the excesses of both estates may be either utterly abolished or reformed for the better, and that the ecclesiastical estate, which has been weakened in many ways, and the Christian religion, which has grown cold and relaxed in some, may be restored and renewed to its pristine glory and distinction. 10. To this, as is evident to all, His Imperial Majesty has thus far devoted the greatest care and labor, and kindly promises in the future to employ for this cause all his means and zeal.

Conclusion. From the foregoing—viz. the Confession and its Reply—since His Imperial Majesty perceives that the Elector, the princes and the cities agree on many points with the Catholic and Roman Church, and dissent from the godless dogmas that are disseminated all over Germany, and the pamphlets circulated everywhere, and that they disapprove of and condemn them,—His Holy Imperial Majesty is fully convinced, and hopes that the result will be, that when the Elector, princes and cities have heard and understood this Reply they will agree with united minds in regard to those matters also in which they perhaps have not agreed hitherto with the Roman Catholic Church, and that in all other things above mentioned they will obediently conform to the Catholic and Roman Church and the Christian faith and religion. 2. For such conduct on their part His Imperial Majesty will be peculiarly grateful, and will bestow his special favor upon them all in common, and also, as opportunity offers, upon them individually. For (which may God forbid) if this admonition, so Christian and indulgent, be unheeded, the Elector, princes and cities can judge that a necessary cause is afforded His Imperial Majesty that, as becometh a Roman Emperor and Christian Caesar and a defender and advocate of the Catholic and Christian

Church, he must care for such matters as the nature of the charge committed to him and his integrity of conscience require.

49. FIVE LETTERS OF LUTHER TO AUGSBURG, AUGUST 26-28, 1530.⁵¹

Luther to the Elector John of Saxony, August 26: To the most Serene Prince and Lord, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Chief Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire and Elector, Landgrave of Thuringen and Markgrave of Meissen.

Grace and peace. Most High-born Prince, Most Gracious Elector and Lord: I have received the writing of Y. E. G. together with two copies of the proposals of both parties.* Since Y. E. G. desires my opinion concerning them I will herewith obediently submit it.

In the first place, (as our party has already indicated) their part of the proposed conditions or means cannot be tolerated and I am surprised that they ventured to propose it. But my humble opinion concerning the article submitted by our party is as follows: When the opponents desire us to teach that it is also permissible to administer the Sacrament in one kind, and that it should not be a matter of commandment but of indifference and liberty to use both kinds or only one element, Y. E. G. well knows that one of our principal tenets is that nothing shall be taught or done unless it be certainly supported by God's Word, so that, as St. Paul warns us, we do not run uncertainly nor beat the air. For it is hard enough after we act according to a sure word of Scripture for us to continue consistently therein. So it is certain that the use of only one kind in the Sacrament is a purely human invention that is not confirmed by God's Word but is expressly refuted by it, because the use of both kinds is established by clear words of God. Therefore we can neither approve nor teach that the use of one kind is right. For the words of Christ are recorded, Matt. 9: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for commandments the doctrines of men."

Aside from the fact that they want to make Christ's word, "This do in remembrance of me," which He has enjoined so sincerely and

*The reference is to the "Unbeschliessigen und unvergrifflichen christlichen Mittel" submitted by the Roman party on Aug. 19th, and the answer of the evangelical party, "Unbeschliessliche und unvergreifliche Antwort auf die gestrigen furgeschlagen Mittel," which was presented on the following day. Vide Enders, 8, p. 216.

earnestly, a matter of indifference, they themselves do not regard it as indifferent, for they have burned many on this account, exiled, them, persecuted them, and condemned dissent as a great heresy. Wherefore not only for God's sake and our own sake, but even for their sake, we must not admit it to be indifferent, for then we could denounce them as murderers and knaves because they have condemned and persecuted men as heretics on account of a matter of indifference. Since they themselves do not believe it to be indifferent still less can we teach it to be so, unless they would recant and would bring back all those they have persecuted on this account.

It is a wonderful assertion when they complain that they cannot control the people if we do not teach that they also are right. Such profound reasoning I hear gladly. It is just as though God had to permit His Word to be taught that they might control their people and remain as tyrants.

The same answer is to be given concerning private masses, for they are a human invention, that has arisen apart from God's Word, aside from the other abuses connected with them. When they assert that they will not compell us to establish them but only desire that we should not forbid them, we reply, that we do not restrain them, but for us to approve them is impossible. For if one human work be permitted all the others must also be permitted and so this is the shortest road. If we permit private masses, we immediately surrender the whole Gospel and accept purely human devices. For there is no reason why one commandment should be accepted and the rest excluded, and He Who has forbidden and condemned them all has also forbidden and condemned each one.

If they allege that the office of a prince does not include the control of such matters, we know very well that the office of a prince and the office of a preacher are not one and the same thing, and that this is not the business of a prince. But the present question is whether a prince as a Christian would consent to this matter and the question is not whether he here acts as a prince. It is a very different matter as to whether a prince should preach or whether he would agree with the preaching. It is not the prince but Scripture that shall restrain private masses. Whether a prince agree with Scripture or not is entirely his own business. Nobody on earth is going to coerce him.

Concerning the Canon, whether it is to be tolerated with a proper explanation? Yea, if in such matters it depended on a good

exegete I would long since have turned the faith of the Turks, properly explained, and that of all unbelievers to the Christian faith. It is exceedingly well known how they have sold masses as a *Sacrificium* and *Opus*; now they want to gloss it over. But, in fine, this is also a human invention that cannot be tolerated in God's business and, in addition, it is dangerous and offensive. And since they will not repudiate the matter itself and agree with us that the mass is not a *Sacrificium*, why would they have the offensive word retained, when it is both unnecessary and dangerous? We should not run into danger unnecessarily for it is forbidden and it means a tempting of God. St. Augustine says: *Teneat sententiam et corrigat linguam*, when he discusses the word *Fatum*. He says, Whoever understands the word *Fatum* as *pro decreto Dei*, understands it properly. Yet he will not tolerate the word and says: *Corrigat linguam*. Should we use dark and ambiguous expressions when we are hardly able to keep true to clear and evident words?

So it will help nothing to leave the word *Sacrificium* in the Canon, for the Canon without it so clearly pronounces the mass a true sacrifice that no one could understand it or interpret it otherwise than that the mass is a sacrifice. For among other expressions there is found the request that God would suffer the sacrifice of the Sacrament to be brought before His divine Altar by the hand of His angel, which cannot be interpreted as being a commemoration of the sufferings of Christ, because that would have to be accomplished through preaching. And, in short, the Canon beseeches God to accept such a sacrifice, though it is the Body and Blood of His dear Son, as if a man had to intercede with God in behalf of Christ. That is blasphemous and disgraceful and the Canon is not to be tolerated.

Finally we are ready to suffer and to yield everything that is in our power. But what is not in our power we beg them not to ask of us. It is not in our power to accept what is not God's Word, and what has been instituted as a service of God without the authority of God's Word is also not in our power to accept. Therefore the fasts and festivals that are made obligatory we can likewise no longer accept, unless they are ordained by the temporal government as temporal ordinances. For all that which is adorned with ceremonies, such as vestments, attitudes, fasting and feasting must be accounted temporal, since God has assigned and subjected such matters to reason, that she may deal with them freely. Gen. 2.

For it is a worldly matter and an earthly existence which has been placed entirely into subjection to reason by the word, *Dominamini terrae*. Since civil government is the highest product of reason the government can direct and command in such matters.—This is my answer made in obedience and haste, to the questions given to Y. E. G. Herewith I commend you to the grace of God. Amen. On the Friday after Bartholomew, 1530.—Y. E. Grace's Obedient, Martinus Luther, D.

Luther to Melanchthon, August 26: . . . I pray you, is not everything deception there? You now have Campeggi, you have the Saltzberger, you have the spectral monks who crossed the Rhine to Spires.*

What have I ever hoped for less, and what do I now wish less, than transactions concerning a union in doctrines? As if we really could destroy the Pope, or as if as long as popery remains unharmed, our doctrine could be unharmed. Of course there can be union and compromise, in order that he may remain pope. He will concede and allow, if we do thus. But God be praised that you have not accepted anything from them.

You write that Eck has been forced by you to confess that we are justified by faith; would to God though that you had also compelled him not to lie. For Eck confesses that righteousness comes from faith, but at the same time he defends all the abominations of popery, kills, persecutes, and condemns those who confess this doctrine of the faith. He is not repenting, but continues. The whole of the Roman party does the very same thing, and with these people you are seeking conditions of unity and worrying yourself in vain, until they shall find something plausible by which they can destroy us. In the matter of the two forms you have done right. . .

It is not in our power to place or tolerate anything in God's church or in His service which cannot be defended by the Word of God, and I am vexed not a little by this talk of compromise, which is a scandal to God. With this one word "mediation" I could easily make all the laws and ordinances of God matters of compromise. For if we admit that there is a compromise in the Word of God, how can we defend ourselves so that not all things become compromises. . .

As to the restoration of obedience and jurisdiction to the bishops

*See Enders, 8, p. 186, note 9, for an explanation of the reported supernatural occurrence here alluded to in sarcasm.

and to the common forms and ceremonies, as you write: "Take heed, and do not give more than you have," so that we are not forced into a serious and dangerous war anew, to defend the Gospel. I know that you always except the Gospel in these dealings, but I fear that they might blame us as a faithless and unreliable people, if we do not uphold what they desire, for they will take our admonitions in a wide, ever wider, the widest possible sense; but give to their own a narrow, ever narrower, the narrowest possible sense.

In short, I am thoroughly displeased with this negotiating concerning union in doctrine, since it is utterly impossible, except the Pope wishes to put away his power. It was enough to give account of our faith and to ask for peace. Why do we hope to convert them to the truth? We have come, to hear whether or not they will assent to our Confession, and they be free to remain where they are. And we ask whether they reject our side, or acknowledge it as right. If they reject it, of what use is it to try to enter into harmony with enemies? If they acknowledge it as right, why should we retain the old abuses? And since it is certain that our side will be condemned by them, as they are not repenting, and are striving to retain their side, why do we not see through the matter and recognize that all their concessions are a lie. . .

Luther to Justus Jonas, August 26 or 27: I got a sight of our people's opinion concerning our affairs, but what I wrote Philip I write to you, that for Christ's honor and to please me you . . . would believe that Campegius is a perfect devil.

I have been much upset through our opponents' propositions. As sure as I live this is a trick of Campegius and the Pope, who first tried by threats to ruin our cause, and now . . . by artifice. You have resisted force and withstood the Emperor's imposing entry into Augsburg! And now you must put up with the tricks of those spectral monks who were conveyed over the Rhine to Speyer, and their arrival is closely associated with this talk of unity of doctrine.

This is the whole secret. . . But He who enables you to withstand violent measures will strengthen you to overcome feebler. But more of this to Philip and the Elector. Be valiant and concede nothing which cannot be proved from Scripture. The Lord Jesus be with you. Amen. From my hermitage. Martin Luther.

Luther to Spalatin, August 26: . . . I have heard, certainly not with pleasure, that you have begun a marvelous work, namely, to unite the Pope and Luther. But the Pope will not desire it, and Luther

forbids it; see to it that your pains are not in vain. But in case you should succeed, then I will follow your example and will unite Christ and Belial. Yet I know you have not taken upon you this useless labor but were forced into it . . . by the ghost of the spectral monks. Christ who has been your strength in the past will also now be your wisdom that these Italian intriguers can do you nothing . . . Martinus Luther.

Luther to Melanchthon, August 28: Grace and peace in Christ! My dear Philip, I gave answer to these questions two days ago. And what is this, that they undertake to aid such openly godless affairs, when they themselves did not teach thus before. . . You could do nothing more right, in my opinion, than to free yourself from these gross intrigues by saying that you would give to God what belongs to God and to the Emperor what belongs to the Emperor . . . Deal in a manly way, and let your heart be comforted . . . Martin Luther.

50. BAUMGAERTNER'S LETTER TO SPENGLER AT NUREMBERG, SEPTEMBER 13, 1530⁵²

First of all from the preceding it is not hidden from you what persistence and continued ferreting has done to our part now through this and then through that devil who has changed himself into pleasing form, yes at times even into an angel of light. Although the opposition i.e. the Romans, never clothe their will in a definite demand and proposed methods (for harmony) of our side are never officially accepted, yet we so often find that even now the opinion is held that such remedies are to be brought into the recess as if they were accepted. And even if this is not done yet they have never done anything in vain but have always forced something from us that we were willing to yield. Of all these yielded points they keep careful record to use them against us some time when things are going badly for us. It is a special merciful divine providence that the Confession is at hand and has been presented, for otherwise our theologians would have long ago confessed another different one as they would gladly do if they were obeyed. Still there is a difference in them. Philippus has become more childish than a child. Brentius is not only clumsy but also uncivil and rude. Heller [an Ansbach councillor] is filled with fear and these three have made the pious Margrave [George of Brandenburg-Ansbach] confused and fainthearted, and persuade him to do their will although I notice that he would like to do what

is right. The pious Vogler [George's Chancellor] must stand for much that is said about him in his absence, as: "If he still were here we would not have accomplished so much that is good and peaceful!" The Elector has no one, rational in this matter, only his own Doctor Brueck. Him they have likewise brought to such a state that he also acts only under worries, since he has no one to uphold him. For the other Saxon theologians dare not speak openly against Philip since things have so gone to his head that recently he said to the Lueneburg Chancellor. "Who dare say that the recently submitted suggestions (to bring about concord) are not Christian lies as a rogue" . . . Aside from this they also do not cease to slander those who show themselves as Christians and brave in the matter. What is being done publicly to the Hessians (theologians and counsellors left in Augsburg by the Landgrave), who have acted well and honorably in this matter, I am afraid will be done to us [the Nuernberg representatives] also. In short: If we do not soon receive a gruff and ungracious recess from His Imp. Majesty they will not rest until they have us all in a net like fish; that we not only lose God's grace but never gain the Emperor's! For this is how it has always been. As often as the (Roman) princes have met some one came riding to the Elector and told him how well and faithful his intentions were in the matter etc., he had understood this or that of the Emperor and if they would yield in this or that there would still be hope. At once Philippus is at hand, formulates articles, glosses them etc. In the meantime this is carried by Heller and Brenz to the Margrave. When they then send for us and we do not like their cooked pap they are full of indignation and the theologians run about telling that we do not desire peace—as if it were certain that our yielding would bring peace!—and that we and the Landgrave only wish to quarrel. They certainly do slander him here. Now what good all of this can bring us you as an experienced man must know. So I know of nothing more profitable than to leave Augsburg. Must we go the hard road, as the Emperor intends, then the Gospel will be taken from us by force, as we have well deserved; and although this is very hard yet it is easier to account for it before God than that we, free and of our own accord, should go the way which they desire. So it is very necessary to continually call to God for help in this matter since it has gone beyond human reason. *Periit lex a prophetis et sapientia a sapientibus*. The only Schnepf still has his bill to sing, Christian and constant, for which reason he often was *scurriliter* mocked

by the others: 'If he were not here we would—as far as the theologians are concerned—agree with the opposition.'"

51. THE RECESS OF AUGSBURG, SEPTEMBER 22, 1530.⁵³

WHEREAS His Imperial Majesty has convoked a general Imperial Diet at this city of Augsburg for the eighth day of April of this year for the purpose of disposing of various matters affecting the Holy Empire, all Christendom, and the German Nation, and especially for the purpose of considering ways and means of removing the errors and dissensions concerning the sacred faith and the Christian religion which now grievously afflict the Nation, in order so to bring it about, in better and sounder fashion, that divisions may be allayed, antipathies set aside, all past errors left to the judgment of Christ our Saviour, and every care taken to give a kind and charitable hearing to every man's opinions, thoughts, and notions, to understand them, to weigh them, to bring and reconcile men to a unity in Christian truth, to dispose of everything that has not been rightly explained or treated of on the one side or the other, to bring about the universal acceptance and preservation of the one true religion, to restore the unity of the Church in which we all live and battle under the one Lord Christ, and finally to resolve, prepare, restore, and preserve good unity, peace, and prosperity throughout the Holy Empire in these and similar matters—as was plainly and exhaustively stated in the Imperial summons to this Diet; and

WHEREAS His Imperial Majesty's Electors, Princes, and other Estates of the Holy Empire have obediently appeared in person before His Imperial Majesty and sent their plenipotentiaries to this Diet; and

WHEREAS His Imperial Majesty, together with said Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts, Estates of the Holy Roman Empire and their ambassadors, has considered the various points and articles mentioned in the Imperial Summons, especially those which deal with the errors and dissensions in matters of the Christian faith, and in accordance with said Imperial Summons given a hearing to everyone who desired to speak concerning such dissensions, and especially to the Elector of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, the brothers Ernest and Francis Dukes of Lueneburg, Philip

Landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang Duke of Anhalt, and the Delegates of the cities of Nuremberg, Reutlingen, Kempten, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg, graciously heard their opinion and their confession in the presence of the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Empire, given them much careful consideration, and thoroughly refuted them by means of the Gospels and other writings; and

WHEREAS so many painstaking efforts were devoted to this matter by His Imperial Majesty and the said Electors, Princes, and Estates in person, and by the committee of Electors, Princes, and others—first fourteen and subsequently six—that they arrived at an agreement with the other Elector, Princes, and Estates in reference to several articles of the faith although no such agreement was reached in regard to others of the articles,

THEREFORE His Imperial Majesty, for the benefit and prosperity of the Holy Empire, for the restoration of peace and unity, and for the purpose of manifesting His Majesty's leniency and special grace, has granted to the Elector of Saxony, the five Princes, and the six Cities a time of grace from now until the 15th day of April next year in which to consider whether or not they will confess the other articles together with the Christian Church, His Holiness the Pope, His Imperial Majesty, the other Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, and other Christian rulers and the members of universal Christendom until a general council shall be convoked; and

His Imperial Majesty on His part will consider during the same interval what course of action it behooves Him to follow; and

The Elector of Saxony, the five Princes, and the six Cities shall prior to said 15th day of April officially inform His Imperial Majesty of their decision in this matter, whereupon His Imperial Majesty will likewise in writing disclose His intention; and

The Elector of Saxony, the five Princes, and the six Cities shall between now and said 15th day of April prohibit in their countries the printing, selling, and retailing of any new books dealing with religion, and it is His Majesty's earnest will and command that in the meantime all Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Holy Empire promote peace and unity in this respect; and

Neither the Elector of Saxony, the five Princes, the six Cities, nor their subjects shall make any attempt to induce or force the subjects of His Majesty and of the Holy Empire or those of the other

Electors, Princes, and Estates to join their sects; nor shall they in any way molest those—if any—in their lands, regardless of rank or station, who still wish to cling to the old Christian faith and usages; they shall not prevent them from attending church nor from worshipping God according to their old accustomed rituals; they shall introduce no innovations whatever; and they shall not hinder any members of religious orders, male or female, from celebrating the mass, from hearing or making confession, nor from offering or receiving the holy and blessed Sacrament; and

The said Elector, the five Princes, and the six Cities shall agree with His Imperial Majesty, the other Electors, Princes, and Estates in reference to a mode of procedure against those who reject the holy and blessed Sacrament and against the Anabaptists, and in no way separate from His Majesty and His own, but offer advice, counsel, and assistance as to how to proceed against them in accordance with the promise made by all the said Electors, Princes, and Estates, as was said above, so far as their own countries are concerned; and

Inasmuch as no general council has been held in the Christian Church for many years, although throughout Christendom, in all dominions and estates, secular as well as ecclesiastical, numerous abuses and errors may have taken root, His Imperial Majesty, for the purpose of a Christian reformation, has considered this matter with His Holiness the Pope, and resolved with all the Electors, Princes, and Estates here assembled at Augsburg, to use His influence in inducing His Holiness the Pope and all Christian kings and potentates to consent to the convocation of a general Christian council within six months of the conclusion of this Diet at a suitable place and to holding this council at the latest one year after convoking it, in the firm confidence and hope that thereby Christendom may be restored in spiritual and temporal matters to lasting peace and unity. Amen.

52. FIRST DRAFT OF MELANCHTHON'S APOLOGY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1530.⁵⁴

In the Fourth and Sixth Articles a long disputation *de merito*, concerning merits, has been added, and yet there is no plain statement as to how far human works are meritorious. Whoever does not make this clear, by esteeming works too highly, obscures the blessed doctrine of faith and how faith justifies before God, which

doctrine is most needful for an honest conscience and which as it is most essential, should occupy the chief place and be most zealously taught in the Christian Church.

It is a matter of surprise to see how cautiously they now speak of merits. In former times when they discussed the forgiveness of sins and justification they never took faith into account but only human works. Furthermore they said that works earned merit, *de congruo* without the aid of the Holy Ghost, and that afterwards, with grace added, works earned eternal life, *de condigne*, and so the whole Christian teaching was nothing but a philosophy of works and of worldly order, not of faith and divine operation, as they have indeed written with clear words: *Bonum opus sine gracia factum et bonum opus cum gracia factum esse eiusdem speciei: Cum gratia tantum adderet respectum meriti.* They attributed too much to the powers of human nature so that they thought the Holy Ghost was not necessary.

Some also doubted as to whether grace accomplished anything in sanctification and taught that man, by his own natural powers, could keep the commandments of God *quo ad substantiam actus, tametsi respectus meriti de esset.*

Wherefore do not the bishops condemn such sacrilege and open blasphemies, as would have been their duty? Yea, they permitted such teachings and allowed them to be taught in the schools as holy tenets to the evident dishonor and disparagement of the merits and death of Christ. But when men began to grumble against the indulgence traffic and against the tyranny of the pope this was regarded as great and unbearable heresy, just as though they had been teaching nothing but precious holy truths up to this time. Some theologians, however, have now amended their ways and confess that too much, and more than is justifiable, has been imported into Holy Scripture out of human philosophy; they acknowledge that too much has been conceded to human powers; they confess that God's commandments not only direct how we are to be outwardly pious, for this can be accomplished to some degree by human reason, but that they are spiritual, demanding that the heart be clean, requiring faith, that we assuredly trust in God's help in every time of need, that we call upon God and that we put to death the flesh, which means all our fleshly lusts.

Now they are content to have faith added when they discuss justification and the forgiveness of sins, namely, that because of

faith sins are not imputed to those who believe that they are forgiven them for Christ's sake. Nevertheless they eke it out with the merit of works, although they admit that this is a very small part. They say that the works done in a state of grace earn eternal life, *sed minus principaliter*. They still retain this one little bit out of the dregs of previous false teaching.

Even if it were true, as is not, that works in some degree were meritorious, our article would still be framed in a proper and Christian manner, when we say that we must do good works because God has commanded them, but with the understanding that we do not rely on our own good works to become righteous before God but trust in the merits and promise of Christ. This our article teaches and it is beyond all doubt that all Christians must confess and teach likewise, for thus the prophet says in the Psalter: "Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." And again: "If Thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities: O Lord, who shall stand?"

And Augustine says: "God leads us to eternal life not through our merits, but through His mercy." Accordingly our Article requires that we do good works because God has commanded and desires them, and still it condemns reliance on works since this reliance has always been condemned by all Christians and godly folk.

Our opponents have invented a little gloss on that statement of Christ which forbids such reliance on our own works, namely, "When ye shall have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants." They interpret unprofitable to mean that we are unprofitable to God but profitable to ourselves. This is an appeal *ad hominem* but when this is put under inspection every intelligent person can readily see what will be said about it and it would be easy enough to ridicule this gloss, but we will obediently spare the Imperial Majesty, our Most Gracious Lord, this business only those who have compiled this writing in the name of the Imperial Majesty should have been more discreet and careful not to make a jest of Scripture and God's Word in such all important matters.

St. Ambrose expounds this passage in a very different way, when he says: "It follows from this that no one should boast of his works, because we are in duty bound to serve God." And shortly after: "We should praise grace and not forget the weakness of nature." We wish briefly to prove that this saying of Christ condemns merits and our reliance upon them.

Christ is concerned in diverting us from an ungodly reliance on our own merits. He begins by using a parable to show us that we cannot make God our debtor, as though He owed us anything because of our merits, any more than a servant, who has done all that was required of him, can make demands upon his master and regard him as indebted to his servant for what he has done. So you likewise, says Christ, cannot make God your debtor, etc.

Because God is not indebted to us it follows that we cannot boast that our works are meritorious, for how can they be meritorious when God does not owe anything to our works?

Furthermore the statement is found in the text that Christ calls us unprofitable servants, which actually means as much as insufficient, because none has done as much as he should. For who loves God as he should? Who fears God as he should? Who bears all that God imposes on him as patiently as he should? Who loves his neighbor as it is his duty to do? Who, in all particulars, fulfils his calling as he should?

So it means *inutiles formaliter*, for we must use the language of the sophists in addressing them. So St. Paul also teaches that our works are impure when he says: "The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do." Again, "The flesh lusteth against the spirit," for in the flesh is nothing but sin, evil lusts, contempt of God, and little trust in God. That these sins hinder even the most saintly and defile all good works is the simplest and plainest interpretation of the words of Christ.

From this follows the inevitable conclusion that we cannot trust in the meritoriousness of our works, for if God is in no wise indebted to us and our works are insufficient, how can we boast of our works? As well might a servant boast that he had badly cultivated his master's field.

Finally: Even our opponents gloss is not against us, for if our works are not profitable to God, it follows that God is not indebted to them. If He is not indebted to our works how can we boast that the works merit something? But we will dismiss such a corrupt gloss because it is evident to everyone that Christ by this comparison desires to destroy and condemn all our boasting about works and merits.

Yet our opponents are so audacious that they venture to find a loop-hole in this clear text by the sophistical interpretation they have themselves invented. Therefore it is not necessary to dispute

any longer for it is certain that Scripture everywhere forbids everyone to boast concerning anything, for what do we have that we have not received? Nor shall we again reckon on our own strength or powers or trust in them. Therefore we have correctly said that we must do good works because God has commanded them, and yet, at the same time, we must not trust in the works but alone in the merits of Christ.

But here! they say, Scripture uses the word *merces*, reward, therefore works are meritorious, for where there is reward there is also merit. They catch hold on the little word *merces* and think in this way, with one little word, to overturn all the other clear and comprehensive statements of Scripture, in which this matter is treated extensively and yet they do not understand the terminology of Scripture.

Reward is not called reward because of the worth of the work, but because of God's promise. This promise, however, as St. Paul teaches, is received by faith; not for the sake of our works, but because Christ has earned grace for us through His merit. For as the promise demands faith, according to St. Paul's statement, so the reward likewise requires faith, because a reward is something that God promises. *Et causa movens promittentem, non est dignitas operum nostrorum, sed meritum Christi.* If God promises anything He must have a cause which moves Him and which causes Him to do so. This cause is not the worth of our works but the merits of His dear Son Jesus Christ. This fact would be readily understood if St. Paul's teaching concerning the divine promises, concerning grace, justification, faith etc. had been taught and preached as diligently as these other useless teachings of sophistry. Therefore we have been satisfied, for the present, to limit ourselves to the consideration of these two points; that we must do good works because God has commanded them and that, at the same time, we must not rely on our good works nor trust in them, but only on the simple promise of Christ. For though *justicia legis* earns *praemia legis* it is certain that we do not earn grace and righteousness before God through our works, and whoever attributes such dignity to works disgraces and defames the honor of Christ, as Paul proves, when he says: If righteousness comes from the works which God Himself has commanded in His law, then Christ died in vain.

On the basis of this teaching we say that we are justified alone through faith, because faith lays hold on the grace and mercy of

God, and knows that God is gracious to us for the sake of Christ. This faith is accounted righteousness before God and, because faith receives the Holy Ghost, the Holy Ghost renews the hearts and produces in them a desire to do good, as is written in the Prophet: "I will put my law in their inward parts." Accordingly good works are the fruits of faith. So faith recognizes that we have a gracious God not because of our works but for the sake of Christ. Wherefore faith justifies and not our works, for faith looks to Christ and for His sake we are beloved. To all eternity men would never have any sure and certain assurance in the face of temptation and sin if we attained grace because of our works, for we perceive continually that we are unclean, but faith brings a certain consolation to our conscience when we are convinced that we have a gracious God, for Christs sake; in this no one can be deceived, let our works be as they may.

Our opponents almost maliciously delight themselves with the word *sola*, faith *alone*, and for that reason call us "Solarios." They intend that to be very biting, because we teach *sola fide justificari hominem*, man is justified by faith alone, and they shriek that the word *sola* is not found in Scripture and that the "soles" ought to be sent to the shoemaker.

They also complain that we exclude the Sacraments, but we maintain that man is justified by faith and not by preceding or succeeding works. This faith is awakened through Word and Sacrament and so we do not exclude the Sacraments but the meritoriousness of works. St. Paul does the same when he says: "It is the gift of God, not of works." This negative completely excludes works. Again, he often says that we become righteous through grace that is wholly free.

For *gratis* is also a *particula exclusiva* and is the same as when I say *sola fide justificamur*, we are saved by faith alone. In addition the word *donum* is also an *exclusiva particula*, which excludes merit.

Here the Imperial Majesty can see again that the fight over the word *sola* is forced upon us and that our opponents most violently twist the little word *sola* since all Christians and Christian teachers have always acknowledged that the forgiveness of sins is bestowed on us gratuitously, and our opponents themselves do not deny it. But they have been infatuated by sophistry and have not learned anything better, so they cannot refrain from controversies. But if this word *sola* troubles them so much, why do they not condemn

the ancient teachers etc.? Why do they not erase it from their books? For we did not first discover this word nor are we the first who have used such language.

In our Confession we have cited the saying of Ambrose that God has so ordered it that whosoever believes in Christ shall be saved and shall gratuitously receive the forgiveness of sins without works, *sola fide*, through faith alone. So Hilary also says, Matt. 8, that the scribes were very much exercised that a man should forgive sins, for they could see in Christ nothing but a man and because that was forgiven which the law could not remit, *fides enim sola justificat*, for faith alone justifies. Now if this be wrong the sophists must erase the word *sola* from the books of the fathers, which have been read for so many centuries, but our opponents possess the great gift of not being ashamed of any calumnies. This whole matter as to how a man shall become godly and righteous in the sight of God is thoroughly discussed by Augustine in his work against the Pelagians, and by Ambrose in many passages, and although they know full well that we follow the opinion of these teachers, they seize on the one word and cavil with it so that they may appear to have something against us.

53. THE VARIATA OF 1540⁵⁵

Part I. Chief Articles of Faith. Article IV. Of Justification. That we might obtain these benefits of Christ, namely, forgiveness of sins, justification and life everlasting, Christ hath given his Gospel, wherein these benefits are set forth unto us, as it is written in the last chapter of Luke: "That repentance and remission of sins should be preached, in his name, among all nations" (Luke 24:47). For since all men descended from one another after a natural manner, have sin and cannot truly satisfy the law of God, the Gospel convicteth us of sins, and sheweth us Christ the Mediator, and so instructeth us concerning forgiveness of sins.

When the Gospel convicteth us of our sins, our terrified hearts ought to firmly hold that freely for Christ's sake forgiveness of sins and justification by faith are presented us; by which faith we ought to believe and confess that these things are given us for Christ's sake, who for us became a sacrifice, and appeased the Father. Although therefore the Gospel requireth repentance, nevertheless that the forgiveness of sins may be certain, it teacheth that this forgiveness

is granted us freely; that is, that it doth not depend upon the condition of our own worthiness, nor is given for any works that go before, or for the worthiness of such as follow. For forgiveness would be uncertain if we would have to think that we obtain forgiveness of sins then only when we would deserve it by our preceding works, or our repentance were sufficiently worthy.

For in true alarm conscience findeth no work which it can oppose to God's wrath; and Christ hath been given and set forth unto us to be a propitiator. This honor of Christ ought not be transferred to our works. On this account, Paul saith: "By grace are ye saved (Eph. 2:8). Again: Therefore it is of faith, to the end that the promise might be sure." (Rom. (4:16), that is, forgiveness thus shall be certain, when we will know that it dependeth not upon the condition of our worthiness, but is given us for Christ's sake. This is a sure and necessary consolation to godly and terrified minds. And thus the holy fathers teach; and in Ambrose there is a notable and remarkable sentence in the following words: "This hath been appointed by God, viz. that he that believeth in Christ be saved without any work, by faith alone receiving freely the forgiveness of sins."

And the term *faith* signifieth not only a knowledge of the history of Christ, but also to believe and assent to this promise, which is peculiar to the Gospel, wherein forgiveness of sins, justification and life everlasting are promised unto us for Christ's sake. For this promise also doth pertain to the history concerning Christ, just as in the Creed there has been added to the history the article: "I believe the forgiveness of sins;" and to this article, the rest concerning the history of Christ ought to be referred. For this benefit is the design of the history. For on this account Christ suffered and rose, viz. that for his sake forgiveness of sins and everlasting life might be given us.

Article V. Of the Ministry of the Church. For this cause Christ hath appointed the ministry of teaching the Gospel, which preacheth repentance and forgiveness of sins. And the preaching of both of these is universal: it maketh known the sins of all men, and promiseth forgiveness of sins to all believers; to the end that forgiveness of sins may not be uncertain, but that all distressed minds may know that they ought to believe that forgiveness of sins is certainly granted us for Christ's sake, and not for our own merits or works.

And when in this manner we comfort ourselves with the promise or Gospel, and encourage ourselves by faith, we certainly obtain for-

givenness of sins, and at the same time the Holy Spirit is given us. For the Holy Spirit is given, and is effectual, by the Word of God and by the sacraments. When we hear or meditate upon the Gospel, or use the sacraments, and comfort ourselves by faith, the Holy Spirit is at the same time efficacious, according to the declaration of Paul to the Galatians (3:22): "That the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe; "and to the Corinthians (2 Cor. 3:8): The Gospel is the ministration of the Spirit; and to the Romans (10:17): "Faith cometh by hearing." When therefore we comfort ourselves by faith, and are freed from the terrors of sin by the Holy Spirit, our hearts conceive other virtues, acknowledge truly the mercy of God, and conceive true love, true fear of God, trust, hope of divine help, prayer and similar fruits of the Spirit.

They therefore who teach nothing concerning this faith, whereby forgiveness of sins is received, but bid consciences doubt whether they obtain forgiveness of sins, and add that this doubt is not sin, are condemned. They also teach that men obtain forgiveness of sins on account of their own worthiness; they do not teach that we should believe that the forgiveness of sins is freely bestowed for Christ's sake. Also the fanatical spirits are condemned who feign that the Holy Ghost is given or is efficacious without the Word of God, and on this account condemn the ministry of the Gospel and sacraments, and seek illustrations without the Word of God, and besides the Gospel, and thus lead away minds from the Word of God to their own opinions,—which is most ruinous. Such were formerly the Manichees and Enthusiasts, and are now the Anabaptists. Such frenzies we constantly condemn. For they abolish the true use of God's Word, and falsely imagine that the Holy Spirit is received without the Word of God and relying upon their own opinions they invent godless dogmas and cause infinite separation.

Article VI. Of the New Obedience. Also they teach that, when we are reconciled by faith, the righteousness of good works which God hath commanded us ought necessarily to follow; even as Christ hath also enjoined: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments" (Matt. 19:17). But because the infirmity of man's nature is so great that no one can satisfy the law, it is needful to teach men not only that they must obey the law, but also how this obedience pleaseth, lest their consciences fall into despair when they understand that they do not satisfy the law.

This obedience therefore pleaseth, not because it satisfieth the

law, but because the person that performeth it is reconciled by Christ through faith, and believeth that the remnants of sin are pardoned him. Therefore we must always hold that we obtain forgiveness of sins, and a person is pronounced righteous, i.e. is freely accepted, for Christ's sake, through faith; and afterwards, that this obedience towards the law doth also please, and is accounted a kind of righteousness, and merits rewards. For the conscience cannot set its own cleanness or worth over against the judgment of God; as Psalm 143: 2 testifieth: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." And John says (1 John 1:8,9): "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." And Christ says (Luke 17:10): "When ye shall have done all those things . . . say, We are unprofitable servants." But after the person is reconciled and righteous by faith, that is, accepted, his obedience both pleases and is accounted a sort of righteousness, as John saith (1 John 3:6): "Whoso abideth in him sinneth not," and (2 Cor. 1:12): "Our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience."

This obedience ought to strive against evil desires, and continually by spiritual exercises become more pure, and to beware of committing anything contrary to conscience, according to the passage (1 Tim. 1:5): "The end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." But they who obey evil desires, and act contrary to conscience, live in mortal sins, and retain neither the righteousness of faith, nor the righteousness of good works, according to the declaration of Paul (Gal. 5:21): "They which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

Article IX. Of Baptism. Of Baptism they teach that it is necessary to salvation, as a ceremony instituted by Christ, and that by Baptism the grace of God is offered, and that infants, by Baptism commended unto God, are received into God's favor, and become children of God; as Christ testifieth, speaking of little children in the Church, in Matt. 18:14: "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish."

They condemn the Anabaptists, who allow not the Baptism of infants, and affirm that infants are saved without Baptism and outside of the Church.

Article X. Of the Lord's Supper. Of the Lord's Supper they teach

that together with the bread and wine, the Body and Blood of Christ are truly tendered to those that eat in the Lord's Supper.

Article XI. Of Repentance. Touching repentance, they teach that such as have fallen after baptism may find remission of sins at what time they are converted, and that the Church should give absolution unto such as return to repentance.

Now repentance, that is, the conversion of the godless, properly consisteth of these two parts: One is contrition, that is, terrors stricken into the conscience through the acknowledgment of sin, wherein we both recognize the wrath of God, and grieve that we have sinned and abhor, and eschew sins, as Joel preacheth (2:13): "Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God."

The other part is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel or absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins are certainly forgiven, and comforteth the conscience, and freeth it from terrors. Of which faith Paul speaketh when he saith: "Being justified by faith we have peace" (Rom. 5:1). Then should follow the good fruits of repentance, that is, obedience to God, according to the passage: "We are debtors not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live" (Rom. 8:12, 13).

They condemn the Novatians, who would not absolve such as, having fallen after Baptism, returned to repentance. They condemn also those that do not teach that forgiveness of sins is obtained freely by faith for Christ's sake, but labor to prove that forgiveness of sins is obtained on account of the worthiness of contrition, of love, or of other works, and command consciences in repentance to doubt whether they obtain forgiveness of sins, and affirm that this doubting is not sin. Likewise they condemn those who teach that canonical satisfactions are necessary to redeem eternal punishments or the punishments of purgatory; although we confess that present calamities are assuaged by good works, as Isaiah teacheth, chapter 58:10, 11: "Deal thy bread to the hungry," etc., "and the Lord will give thee rest always" (Vulgate for v. 11, in Eng. version: "Shall guide thee continually."). They reject also indulgences, which are presentations of imaginary satisfactions.

They condemn also the Anabaptists, who deny that those once justified can again lose the Holy Ghost. They condemn also those

who contend that some men may attain to such perfection in this life that they even cannot sin any more.

Article XVII. Of Christ's Return to Judgment. Also they teach that in the consummation of the world Christ shall appear to judgment, and shall raise up all the dead, and shall give unto godly men eternal life and everlasting joys; but ungodly men and the devils shall be condemned unto endless torments.

We condemn the Anabaptists, who now scatter Jewish opinions, and imagine that before the resurrection the godly shall occupy the kingdoms of the world, the wicked being everywhere destroyed or suppressed. For we know that, since the godly ought to obey the magistrates that now are, they must not seize their power from them or overthrow governments by sedition, because Paul enjoineth: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers" (Rom. 13:1). We know also that the Church in this life is subject to the cross, and shall not be glorified until after this life; as Paul saith (Rom. 8:29; 1 Cor. 15:49): We must be made like the image of the Son of God. Therefore we utterly condemn and detest the folly and diabolical madness of the Anabaptists.

We condemn also the Origenists, who have imagined that there will be an end of punishments to the devils and condemned.

Conclusion of the First Part. This is the sum of the doctrine which is propounded in our churches. And we regard it in harmony with the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures and the Catholic Church, and finally also with the Roman Church, so far as it is known from approved writers. We hope that all good and learned men will judge in like manner. For we do not despise harmony with the Catholic Church, nor is it our intention to introduce into the Church any dogma that is new and unknown to the holy Church, nor do we wish to advocate godless or seditious opinions which the Catholic Church has condemned. For not prompted by perverse party spirit, but compelled by the authority of the Word of God and of the ancient Church, we have embraced this doctrine, in order that God's glory might be the more manifest, and the interests of godly minds in the entire Church might be cared for. For it is manifest that very many abuses have crept into the Church which have need of correction. Both for Christ's glory, and the salvation of all nations, we especially desire that, when these controversies have been carefully examined, the Church may be cleansed and freed from those abuses which cannot be concealed; and for this reason all good men

in all nations have long since been longing for a synod, some hope of which the most clement emperor sheweth to all nations. Therefore the emperor will do what is most befitting his greatness and success, and what is greatly desired by the universal Church, if in a synod he will commit the judgment concerning matters of such importance not to those who bring self-interest to the deliberation, but will select godly and learned men who desire to consult for the glory of Christ and the welfare of the universal Church. This is the customary and lawful way to adjust dissensions, viz. by referring ecclesiastical controversies to synods. For the time of the apostles the Church hath preserved this mode. And the most distinguished emperors, Constantine and Theodosius, even in matters not very obscure and in regard to absurd dogmas, nevertheless were unwilling to decide anything without a synod, in order that they might preserve the liberty of the Church in decisions concerning dogmas. And it is very honorable to the emperor to imitate the example of those most excellent sovereigns, especially since we have changed nothing without the example of the ancient Church. And we hope that this so great happiness hath been divinely given the emperor for the amendment and welfare of the Church. Certainly God claimeth of him this service, viz. that he devote his power to commending the glory of Christ to the peace of the Church, and to the prohibition of monstrous and most unjust cruelty, which with a certain wonderful rage is exercised in every direction against the members of Christ, against godly and innocent men. God hath entrusted the care of these very great matters to supreme sovereigns; on this account he exciteth monarchs to restrain unjust authority, as he excited Cyrus to deliver the people of the Jews from captivity, and Constantine to remove that infinite cruelty which, at that time, was being exercised against the Christians. Thus we desire that Caesar both undertake the care of the Church when reformed, and may restrain the unjust cruelty.

For our articles, which we have enumerated, bear witness with sufficient clearness that we neither teach nor approve of any dogma contrary to the Catholic Church, or of any godless or seditious opinion, yea even that certain prominent articles of Christian doctrine have been elucidated in a godly and useful way by our men. In external traditions some abuses have been changed, in regard to which even if there be some dissimilarity, provided only the doctrine and faith be pure, no one because of this dissimilarity of human

traditions is to be regarded a heretic or a deserter from the Catholic Church. For the unity of the Catholic Church consisteth in agreement of doctrine and faith, not in human traditions, with respect to which there hath always been in the churches throughout the whole world great dissimilarity. Not indeed let His Imperial Majesty have confidence in those who, in order to enkindle hatred against us, are spreading abroad marvellous charges. They proclaim that all ceremonies, that all good customs in the churches, are abolished by us. These charges are clearly false. For we both preserve with the greatest devotion, the ceremonies that have been divinely instituted, and, in order to increase respect for them, we have only removed certain recent abuses, which contrary to the examples of the ancient Church, have, by the fault of the times, been received without any responsible authority. And to a great extent the ancient rites have been carefully preserved among us. Wherefore we ask His Imperial Majesty to hear us kindly, as to what is preserved in external rites, and what, for any reason, hath been changed.

Part II. Articles Concerning Abuses Which Have Been Corrected in External Rites. Article I. Of the Mass. Our Churches are wrongfully accused to have abolished the mass. For the mass is still retained among us, and celebrated with great reverence; and almost all the ceremonies that are in use are preserved, saving that with the things sung in Latin we mingle certain things sung in German at various parts of the service, which have been added for the people's instruction. For on this very account we have need of ceremonies, that they may teach the unlearned, and that the preaching of God's Word may stir up some to the true fear and invocation of God. Not only did St. Paul command to use a tongue that the people understand (1 Cor. 14:9), but man's law also hath appointed it. We accustom the people to receive the Sacrament together, if so be any be found fit thereunto; and that is a thing that doth increase the reverence and due estimation of the public ceremonies. For none are admitted unless they be first proved. Besides, we put men in mind of the worthiness and use of the Sacrament, how great comfort it bringeth to those who repent, that men may learn both to fear God and to believe, and may practice invocation, and seek for and expect good things from him. This is the true worship of Christians; these services, fear, faith, prayer, hope, etc., God approveth. When, therefore, these services are performed in the use of ceremonies, then doth the use of the Sacrament please God.

When, therefore, the people are accustomed to the ceremony, and advised of its use, masses are said with us after a meet and godly manner; and all things are done in the Church with greater gravity and reverence than in times past.

It is not unknown that these many ages past there hath been public complaint made by good men of the profanation and abuse of masses. For it is easy to be seen how far this abuse hath spread itself in all churches; what kind of men they are that say the masses, contrary to the prohibition of the canons; also how shamefully they are turned to sacrilegious lucre; for there be very many that say masses without repentance, only for the belly's sake. These things are too well known to be passed by unnoticed. Neither from the beginning of the world doth any divine thing appear to be so commonly turned into gain as the mass. But St. Paul doth fearfully threaten them who deal unworthily with the sacrament, when he saith: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord" (1 Cor. 11:27). And in the Decalogue it is written: "He that abuseth God's name shall not be unpunished" (Ex. 20:7). As, therefore the world hath oft at other times been punished for idolatry, so doubtless this enormous profaning of masses will be punished with most grievous penalties; and, perhaps chiefly for this reason, the Church, in these last times, is punished with blindness, discords, wars, and many other plagues. And these manifest abuses, the bishops, although they were not indeed ignorant of them, have thus far not only tolerated, but also mildly smiled at. Now too late they begin to complain of the calamities of the Church, although nothing else hath afforded occasion to the tumults of these times but the abuses themselves, which were already so manifest that they could no longer be tolerated by moderate men. Of what the bishops, in accordance with their office, had, before these times, restrained the avarice and impudence, whether of monks or of others, who, changing the manner of the ancient Church, have made the mass a money-matter!

But we will declare from what source these abuses have originated. The opinion hath been spread abroad in the Church that the Lord's Supper is a work which, celebrated by the priest, meriteth remission of sins, of the guilty and punishment, to him that doeth it and to others; and that, because of the work done, without any good affection of the one using it; also that when applied, on behalf of the dead, it is satisfactory, that is, it meriteth to them remission of the

punishment of purgatory. Thus they interpret the word *sacrifice*, when they call the mass a sacrifice, viz. a work, which, when applied on behalf of others, meriteth for them remission of guilt and punishments, and that, because of the work done, without any good affection of the one using it. Thus they mean that offering is made for the living and the dead by the priest in the mass. And after this persuasion was once received, they taught men to seek forgiveness of sins, and good things of every kind, yea to free the dead from punishment by the benefit of the mass. Nor did it make any difference by what sort of men the masses were said, because they taught that they were available for others without good affection of the user. Afterwards a question arose, whether one mass said for many were as available as one said separately for a particular individual. This disputation infinitely increased both the number of masses and the gain; but we are not now disputing concerning the gain, we are only accusing their impiety. For our divines teach that this opinion of the merit and application of the mass is false and godless. This is the state of this controversy. And judgment concerning this case is easy to the godly, if any one will weigh the arguments that follow.

First. We have above shown that men obtain forgiveness of sins freely by faith, that is, by confidence in mercy for Christ's sake; therefore, it is impossible to obtain forgiveness of sins on account of the work of another, and that without a good affection; that is, without faith of one's own. This reason very clearly refuteth that monstrous and godless opinion concerning the merit and application of the mass.

Secondly. Christ's passion was an oblation and satisfaction, not only for the original fault, but for all other sins; as it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "We are sanctified by the offering of Jesus Christ, once for all;" also: "By one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (Heb. 10:10, 14). In short, a good part of the Epistle to the Hebrews is devoted to confirming the position that only the sacrifice of Christ hath merited the forgiveness of sins or reconciliation for others. He saith that the Levitical sacrifices were oftentimes offered for the reason that they did not take away sins, but that by the sacrifice of Christ satisfaction hath been made for the sins of all. This honor of Christ's sacrifice ought not to be transferred to the work of a priest. For he saith expressly that, by one offering, the saints are made perfect. Besides, it is a

godless thing to transfer to the work of a priest the confidence which ought to be placed in Christ's offering and intercession.

Thirdly. In the institution of the Lord's Supper, Christ doth not command the priests to offer for others, whether quick or dead. Upon what authority, then, was this worship instituted in the Church, without God's command, as an offering for sins? Much more absurd is it that the mass is applied to deliver the souls of the dead. For the mass was instituted for remembrance, that is, that those receiving the Lord's Supper should stir up and confirm their faith and comfort their distressed consciences by the remembrance of Christ's benefits. Neither is the mass a satisfaction for punishment, but it was instituted on account of the remission of the fault—namely, not that it should be a satisfaction for the fault, but that it might be a sacrament, by the use whereof we might be put in mind of the benefit of Christ and the forgiveness of the fault. Since, therefore, the application of the Lord's Supper for liberating the dead hath been received without warrant of Scripture, yea contrary to Scripture, it is to be condemned as a new and ungodly worship.

Fourthly. In the New Covenant a ceremony without faith meriteth nothing either for him that useth it or for others. For it is a dead work, according to the saying of Christ: "True worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth" (John 4:24). The eleventh chapter to the Hebrews throughout proveth the same: "By faith Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice" (v. 4). Also: "Without faith it is impossible to please him" (v. 6). Therefore the mass doth not merit remission of the fault, or of the punishment, for the work's sake performed. This reason doth evidently overthrow the merit, as they call it, which ariseth of the work that is done.

Fifthly. The applying of the benefit of Christ is by a man's own faith; as Paul witnesseth (Rom. 3:25): "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." And this applying is made freely. Therefore the application is not made by or on account of another man's work. For when we use the Sacrament the application is made by our own work and our own faith, and not by another man's work. For if the remission of sins would not become ours but by applying of the masses, it would be uncertain, and our confidence should be transferred from Christ to the work of a priest; and this has come to pass, as is manifest. Moreover, confidence placed in the work of a man hath been condemned. These arguments and many others testify that the opinion of the merit

and applying of the mass for the quick and the dead was necessarily reproved. Now, if it will be considered how widely this error hath been spread, how the number of masses hath increased by this persuasion, how, by this sacrifice, remission of the fault and of the punishment hath been promised the quick and the dead, it will be apparent that, on account of this profanation, the Church hath been disfigured with dreadful sins. Never, O most worthy Emperor, hath a more important or more worthy case occurred concerning which learned and good men should carefully deliberate. It is the duty of all the godly to beseech God with most fervent prayers that the Church be delivered from these sins; and all kings and bishops should endeavor with all their might, that, when this entire matter hath been rightly explained, the Church may be cleansed.

Sixthly. The institution of the Sacrament conflicts with that abuse. For there is no injunction concerning an offering for the sins of the quick and the dead, but it is enjoined that the Body and Blood of the Lord be taken, and that this be done in remembrance of Christ's benefit. This remembrance signifieth, however, not a bare representation of the history, as it were in a show (as they dream who maintain that merit is gained from the work wrought), but it signifieth by faith to remember the promise and benefit, to comfort the conscience, and to render thanks for so great a benefit. For the principal cause of the institution is, that faith may be there excited and exercised when we receive this pledge of grace. Besides, the institution ordaineth that there be a communication, that is, that the ministers of the Church should offer to others also the Lord's Body and Blood. And that this custom was observed in the primitive Church, St. Paul heareth witness to the Corinthians, who commandeth also that one tarry for another (1 Cor. 11:33), that there may be a common partaking.

Therefore, since the abuses of private mass have been discovered, because they all for the most part were used on account of the application for the sins of others, and do not agree with the institution of Christ, they have ceased in our churches. Moreover, one common mass was appointed according to the institution of Christ, wherein pastors of churches consecrate, take and administer to others the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Such mass is used on every holy day, and on other days also if any desire to use the Sacrament. Neither are any admitted to the communion, except they first be proved. Godly discourses also are added, just as Christ has

commanded that there should be discourses when this ceremony is employed. And in these discourses men are not only diligently taught concerning other articles and precepts of the Gospel, but also are admonished for what use the Sacrament was instituted—to wit, not that this ceremony should merit for them remission of sins by the bare work done, but that the Sacrament should be a testimony and a pledge, whereby Christ doth testify that he giveth the things promised to us, and that this promises pertain to us; that Christ tendereth to us his Body, to testify that he is efficacious in us, as in his members; that he tendereth his Blood, to testify that we are washed with his Blood. The Sacrament, therefore, doth profit them who repent and seek comfort therein, and, being confirmed by this testimony, believe that the forgiveness of sins is truly granted them, and are thankful unto Christ for so great a benefit. Thus the application of Christ's benefit is made, not on account of the work of another, but by every man's own faith and his own use of the Sacrament; for when we ourselves use it Christ's institution itself testifieth that the benefit of the Gospel pertaineth to us.

Such a use of the Sacrament is godly and to be taught in the churches, as it both illustrateth the doctrine of faith, and of spiritual exercises, and of true worship, and bringeth to godly consciences great comfort, and encourageth faith. Before these times the churches were taught far otherwise concerning the use of the Sacrament. Nothing was propounded except this work was to be done; but no one taught anything of faith or of the comfort of consciences. And consciences were racked with immoderate care in making confession. This they thought to be the purity which the Gospel requireth, although the Gospel requireth true fear and true trust, and comforteth us by the use of this Sacrament, that they who repent may assuredly believe that, for Christ's sake, God is propitious, even though nature is frail and impure, and even though this inchoate obedience of ours is far distant from the perfection of the law.

From all this it is sufficiently clear that the mass among us agreeth with the institution of Christ and the manner of the primitive Church. Besides, it especially illustrates the true use of the Sacrament. Such a common mass was there in the Church of old time, as Chrysostom testifieth, who saith that "the priest doth stand at the altar, and call some unto the communion and put back others." And by the Decrees of the Nicene Synod it is evident that some one celebrated the Liturgy, as the Greeks call it, and did minister

the Body and Blood of the Lord to all the rest. For these are the words of the decree: "Let the deacons in their order, after the elders, receive the Holy Communion of a bishop or of an elder." Here it doth expressly say that the elders received the Sacrament from some one that ministered it. Neither is there any mention of a private mass before the times of Gregory; but as oft as the old writers speak of the mass it is evident that they speak of a mass that was common. Since, therefore, the rite of the mass among us hath the authority of Scripture and the example of the ancient Church, and only some intolerable abuses have been rejected, we hope that the custom of our churches be not disapproved. Other indifferent rites are, in great part, observed in the usual manner, but the number of masses is not alike. Neither in times past, in the churches whereunto was greatest resort, was the mass said daily, as the Tripartite History, lib. ix., cap. 38, testifieth: "Again, in Alexandria, every fourth and sixth day of the week, the Scriptures are read, and the doctors do interpret them; and all other things are done also, except only the celebration of the Eucharist."

54. REPETITIO CONFESSIONIS AUGUSTANAE, 1551⁵⁶ (Confessio Saxonica)*

Of the Holy Supper of the Lord. Both Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are pledges and testimonies of grace, as was said before, which do admonish us of the promise and of our whole redemption and do show that the benefits of the Gospel do pertain to every one of those that use these ceremonies. But yet here is the difference: by baptism every one is ingrafted into the Church; but the Lord would have the Supper of the Lord to be also the sinew of the public congregation. God will have the ministry of His Gospel to be public, He will not have the voice of the Gospel to be shut up in corners only, but He will have it to be heard, He will have Himself to be known and invocated of all mankind. Therefore He would that there should be public and well ordered meetings, and in these He will have the voice of the Gospel to be heard; there He will be invocated and praised. Also He wills that these meetings should be witnesses of the confession and severing of the Church of God from

*The Confessio Saxonica and the Confessio Wuertembergica were published in English in 1586; we give the strange English of this translation, modernizing only the spelling, not, however, the capitalization.

the sects and opinions of other nations. John assembled his flock at Ephesus and taught the Gospel. And by the use of the sacraments the whole company did declare that they embraced this doctrine and did invoke this God who delivered the Gospel and that they were separated from the worshippers of Diana, Jupiter and other idols. For God will be seen, and have His Church heard in the world, and have it distinguished by many public signs from other nations. So no doubt the first fathers, Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Abraham, had their meetings; and afterward the civil government of Israel had many rites, that their separation from the gentiles might be more evident. Also God gave a peculiar promise to His congregation, Matt. 18. "Whosoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Also, "Whatsoever they agreeing together shall desire, it shall be done to them." And in the 149th Psalm, "His praise is in the congregation of saints." And the promises, wherein God does affirm that He will preserve His Church, are so much the sweeter, because we know that He does preserve and restore the public ministry in well ordered meetings; as also in the very words of the Supper this promise is included, where He commands that the death of the Lord should be shown forth, and His Supper distributed till He come. That therefore we may use this Sacrament with the greater reverence, let the true causes of the institution thereof be well weighted, which pertain to the public congregation, and to the comfort of every one. The first cause is this: The Son of God will have the voice of His Gospel to sound in a public congregation, and such a one as is of good behavior; the bond of this congregation He will have this receiving to be, which is to be done with great reverence, seeing that there a testimony is given of the wonderful conjunction between the Lord and the receivers; of which reverence Paul speaks, 1 Cor. 11, saying, "He that receives unworthily shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Secondly: God will have both the sermon and the ceremony itself to be profitable, both for the preservation and also for the propagation of the memory of His Passion, resurrection and benefits. Thirdly: He will have every receiver to be singularly confirmed by this testimony, that he may assure himself that the benefits of the Gospel do pertain to him, seeing that the sermon is common; and by this testimony and by this receiving He shows that you are a member of His, and that you are washed in His blood, and that He makes this covenant with you. John 15, "Abide in me,

and I in you." Also, "I in them and they in me." Fourthly: He will have this public receiving to be a public confession whereby you may show what kind of doctrine you do embrace and to what company you do join yourself. Also He will have us give thanks publicly and privately in this very ceremony to God the eternal Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both for other benefits, and namely for this infinite benefit of our redemption and salvation. Also He wills that the members of the Church should have a bond of mutual love among themselves. Thus we see that many ends do meet together. By the remembrance of these weighty causes, men are invited to the reverence and use of the Sacrament; and we teach how the use may be profitable. We do plainly condemn that monstrous error of the monks, who have written that the receiving does deserve remission of sins, and that for the work's sake, without any good motion of him that uses it. This Pharisaical imagination is contrary to the saying, Hab. 2, "The just shall live by his faith." Therefore we do thus instruct the Church, that they which will approach to the Supper of the Lord, must repent or bring conversion with them, and having their faith now kindled, they must here seek the confirmation of this faith in the consideration of the death and resurrection and benefits of the Son of God; because that in the use of this Sacrament, there is a witness bearing which declares that the benefits of the Son of God do pertain to you also; also there is a testimony that He joins you as a member to Himself, and that He is in you, as He said John 17, "I in them etc." Therefore we give counsel that men do not think that their sins are forgiven them for this work's sake, or for this obedience; but that in a sure confidence they behold the death and merit of the Son of God and His resurrection, and assure themselves that their sins are forgiven for His sake and that He will have this faith to be confirmed by this admonition and witness bearing; when as faith, comfort, the joy of conscience and thanksgiving do after this sort increase, the receiving is profitable. Neither are any admitted to the Communion, except they be first heard and absolved of the pastor or his fellow ministers. In this trial the ruder sort are asked and oftentimes instructed touching the whole doctrine and then is absolution published.

Also men are taught that sacraments are actions instituted of God, and that without the use whereunto they are ordained the things themselves are not to be accounted for a sacrament; but in the use appointed, Christ is present in this communion, truly and substan-

tially, and the body and blood of Christ is indeed given to the receivers; that Christ does witness that He is in them and does make them His members and that He does wash them in His blood, as Hilary also says, "These things being eaten and drunk do cause both that we may be in Christ and that Christ may be in us." Moreover, in the ceremony itself we observe the usual order of the whole ancient Church, both Latin and Greek. We use no private masses, that is, such wherein the body and blood of Christ is not distributed; as also the ancient Church, for many years after the Apostles' times had no such masses, as the old descriptions which are to be found in Dionysius, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine, and others do show. And Paul, 1 Cor. 11, does command that the Communion should be celebrated when many do meet together. Therefore in the public congregation and such as is of good behavior, prayers and the creed are rehearsed or sung and lessons appointed usually for holy days are read. After that there is a sermon of the benefits of the Son of God and of some part of doctrine, as the order of time does minister an argument. Then the pastor does rehearse a thanksgiving and a prayer for the whole Church, for them that are in authority, and as the present necessity requires; and he prays to God, that for His Son's sake whom He would have to be made a sacrifice for us, He would forgive us our sins and save us and gather and preserve a Church. Then He rehearses the words of Christ concerning the institution of the Supper, and he himself takes and distributes to the receivers the whole Sacrament, who come reverently thereunto, being before examined and absolved, and there they join theirs with the public prayers. In the end they do again give thanks. All men who are not altogether ignorant of antiquity, do know that this rite and this Communion do for the most part agree with the writings of the Apostles and with the custom of the ancient Church, even almost to Gregory's time; which thing being so, the custom of our church is to be approved, not to be disallowed. But our adversaries misliking our custom do defend many errors, come more foul and gross, others colored with new deceits.

Many heretofore have written that in the mass there is an oblation made for the quick and the dead, and that it does deserve remission of sins both for him that makes it and for others, even for the work's sake. And thus were most of them persuaded and as yet are like unto the Pharisees and the heathen. For after the same manner the Pharisees and the heathen did dream that they

for the work's sake did deserve for themselves and for others remission of sins, peace and many other good things. Or, although those which were not so blind did speak more modestly and said that they did deserve, but not without the good intention of the sacrificer, yet they imagined that those sacrifices were merits and a ransom. By reason of this opinion there were a multitude of sacrifices and the crafty means of gain were increased. Such is the merchandise of masses and the profanation of the Lord's Supper almost throughout the whole world. But God will have corrupt kinds of worship to be reprov'd and abolished. Therefore we do simply and indeed propound the voice of God which does condemn those errors, and with all our heart we affirm before God and the whole Church in heaven and in earth that there was one only sacrifice propitiary, or whereby the wrath of the eternal Father against mankind is pacified, to wit, the whole obedience of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified and raised up again. This is that only "Lamb which taketh away the sins of the world," John 1. Of this only sacrifice mention is made, Hebrews 10, "By one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." And this sacrifice is applied to every one by their own faith when they hear the Gospel and use the sacraments, as Paul says, Rom. 3, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood." And Hab. 2, "The just shall live by his faith." And 1 Pet. 1, "Elect through sanctification of the Spirit unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." Other sacraments in the Old Testament were typical, whereof we shall speak more at large in their place, and they did not deserve any remission of sins; and all the righteousness of holy men at all times were, are and shall be sacrifices of praise which do not deserve remission, either for them that did offer them, or for others. But they are services which every one ought to perform, and are acceptable to God for the Mediator's and our High Priest the Son of God's sake, as it is said, Heb. 13, "By Him let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually."

That this is an unchangeable and eternal truth is most manifest. And whereas certain fragments which they call the canons of the mass, are alleged against this so clear light of the truth, it is also manifest that the Greek and Latin canons are very unlike one to the other and that the Greek canons do disagree among themselves in a most weighty matter; and it appears that in the Latin canon many iaggess and peccess were little by little patched together of ig-

norant authors. The ancient Church does use the names of sacrifice and oblation; but thereby it understands the whole action, prayers, a taking of it, a remembrance, faith, a confession and thanksgiving. This whole inward and outward action in every one that is turned to God and in the whole Church is indeed a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving and a reasonable service. And when the Lord says, John 4, "The true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth," He affirms that in the New Testament outward sacrifices are not commanded, which of necessity should be made, although there were no motions of the Holy Ghost in the heart, as in the Law it is necessary that the ceremony of the Passover should be kept. But touching the Supper of the Lord it is said, 1 Cor. 11, "Let every man examine himself, etc." So the Supper of the Lord does profit him that uses it when as he brings with him repentance and faith, and another man's work does not at all profit him.

Furthermore, concerning the dead, it is manifest that all this show is repugnant to the words of the institution of the Supper wherein it is said, "Take, eat, etc. This do in remembrance of me." What does this appertain to the dead or to those that are absent? And yet in a great part of Europe many masses are said for the dead; also a great number not knowing what they do, do read masses for a reward. But seeing that all these things are manifestly wicked, to wit, to offer, as they speak, to the end that they may deserve for the quick and the dead; or for a man to do he knows not what, they do horrible sin, that retain and defend these mischievous deeds. And seeing that this ceremony is not to be taken for a sacrament without the use whereunto it was ordained, what manner of idol worship is there used, let godly and learned men consider. Also it is a manifest profanation to carry about part of the Supper of the Lord and to worship it; where a part is utterly transferred to a use clean contrary to the first institution, whereas the text says, "Take, eat"; and this show is but a thing devised of late. To conclude, what are the manners of many priests and monks in all Europe who have no regard for this saying: 1 Cor. 11, "Let a man examine himself," also, "Whosoever shall eat and drink unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord." Every man of himself does know these things.

Now, although the chief bishops and hypocrites who seek delusions to establish these evils, do scoff at these complaints, yet it is most certain that God is grievously offended with these wicked

deeds, as He was angry with the people of Israel for their profanation of the sacrifices. And we do see evident examples of wrath, to wit the ruins of so many kingdoms, the spoil and waste that the Turks do make in the world, the confusions of opinions, and many most lamentable dissipations of churches. But O Son of God, Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified and raised up again for us. Thou who art the High Priest of the Church, with true sighs we beseech Thee, that for Thine and Thine eternal Father's glory, Thou wouldst take away idols, errors and abominations, and; as Thou Thyself didst pray, sanctify us with Thy truth, and kindle the light of Thy Gospel and true invocations in the hearts of many, and bow our hearts to true obedience, that we may thankfully praise Thee in all eternity. The greatness of our sins, which the profanation of the Supper of the Lord these many years hath brought forth doth surpass the eloquence of angels and men. We are herein the shorter, seeing that no words can be devised sufficient to set out the greatness of this thing, and in this great grief we beseech the Son of God that He would amend these evils, and also for a further declaration we offer ourselves to them that will hear it. But in this question we see that to be chiefly done which Solomon says, "As vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to a wicked heart."

Our adversaries know that these persuasions of their sacrifice are the sinews of their power and riches. therefore they will hear nothing that is said against it. Some of them do now learn craftily to mitigate these things, and therefore they say, the oblation is not a merit, but an application. They deceive in words and retain still the same abuses. But we said before that everybody does by faith apply the sacrifice of Christ to himself, both when he hears the Gospel and then also when he uses the sacraments; and it is written, 1 Cor. 11, "Let a man examine himself." Therefore Paul does not mean that the ceremony does profit another that does not use it. And the Son of God Himself did offer up Himself, going into the holy of holies, that is, into the secret council of the Divinity, seeing the will of the eternal Father, and bearing His great wrath, and understanding the causes of this wonderful council; these weighty things are meant when the text says, Heb. 9. "He offered Himself," and when Isaiah says, Chap. 53, "Thou shalt make His soul an offering for sin." Now therefore what do the priests mean who say that they offer up Christ? And yet antiquity never spoke after

this manner. But they do most grievously accuse us. They say that we do take away the continual sacrifice as did Antiochus who was a type of Antichrist. We answered before that we do retain the whole ceremony of the Apostolic Church; and this is the continual sacrifice, that the sincere doctrine of the Gospel should be heard, that God should be truly invoked; to conclude, as the Lord says, John 4, "Worship the Father in spirit and in truth." We do also herein comprehend the true use of the sacraments. Seeing that we retain all these things faithfully, we do with great reverence retail the continual sacrifice, they do abolish it who many ways do corrupt true invocation and the very Supper of the Lord, who command us to invoke dead men, who set out masses to sale, who boast that by their oblation they do merit for others, who do mingle many mischievous errors with the doctrine of repentance and remission of sins, who will men to doubt, when they repent, whether they are in favor, who defile the Church of God with filthy lusts and idols. These men are like unto Antiochus, and not we, who endeavor to obey the Son of God who says, John 14, "If a man love me, he will keep my words."

Of the use of the whole Sacrament. Let sophistry be removed from the judgments of the Church. All men know that the Supper of the Lord is so instituted that the whole Sacrament may be given to the people, as it is written, "Drink ye all of it." Also the custom of the ancient Church, both Greek and Latin is well known. Therefore we must confess that the forbidding of one part is an unjust thing. It is great injury to violate the lawful testaments of men; why then do the bishops violate the testament of the Son of God which he has sealed up with His own blood? But it is to be lamented that certain men should be so impudent as to feign sophistry against this so weighty an argument that they may establish their prohibition, the refutation of whom, the matter being so clear and evident, we do omit.

55. REPETITIO CONFESSIOINIS AUGUSTANAE, 1551⁵⁷ (Confessio Wuerttembergica)*

Of the Eucharist. We believe and confess that the Eucharist (for so it pleased our forefathers to call the Supper of the Lord)

*Compare note to No. 54.

is a sacrament instituted by Christ Himself, and that the use thereof is commended to the Church, even to the latter end of the world. But because the substance is one thing, and the use thereof another thing, therefore we will speak of these in order. Touching the substance of the Eucharist, we thus think and teach, that the true Body of Christ and His true Blood is distributed in the Eucharist; and we refute them that say that the bread and wine of the Eucharist are signs of the Body and Blood of Christ being only absent. Also we believe that the omnipotence of God is so great, that in the Eucharist He may either annihilate the substance of bread and wine, or else change them into the Body and Blood of Christ; but that God does exercise this His absolute omnipotence in the Eucharist, is not shown by any clear statement of Scripture, and it is evident that the ancient Church was altogether ignorant of it. For as in Ezek. where it is of the City of Jerusalem, inscribed on the outside of a wall, "This is Jerusalem," it was not necessary that the substance of the wall should be changed into the substance of the City of Jerusalem; so when it is said of the bread, "This is my body," it is not necessary that the substance of bread should be changed into the substance of the Body of Christ; but for the truth of the Sacrament it is sufficient that the Body of Christ is indeed present with the bread. And indeed the very necessity of the truth of the Sacrament does seem to require that true bread should remain with the true presence of the Body of Christ. For as to the truth of the sacrament of Baptism it is necessary that in the use thereof there should be water and that true water should remain, so it is necessary in the Lord's Supper that there should be bread and the use thereof and that true bread should remain; Whereas, if the substance of bread should be changed, we should have no proof of the truth of the Sacrament. Whereupon both Paul and also the ancient ecclesiastical writers do call the bread of the Eucharist even after consecration, bread. 1 Cor. 11, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, etc." And, "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, etc." And Augustine in his sermon to young children says, "That which you have seen, is the bread, and the cup, the which thing also your eyes do witness unto you; but that which your faith desires to learn is this: the bread is the Body of Christ, the cup is His Blood."

Now, as touching the use of the Eucharist, *first*, although we do not deny but that whole Christ is distributed as well in the

bread as in the wine of the Eucharist, yet we teach that the use of either part ought to be common to the whole Church. For it is evident that Christ being nothing at all terrified by any dangers, which afterward human superstition invented, or by other devices, gave unto His Church both parts to be used. Also it is evident that the ancient Church did use both parts for many years. And certain writers do clearly witness that "They which do receive bread alone, do not receive the whole Sacrament sacramentally (for so they speak) and that it is not possible to divide one and the self-same mystery without great sacrilege." Wherefore we think that the use of both parts is indeed Catholic and Apostolic, and that it is not lawful for any man at his pleasure to change this institution of Christ, and a ceremony of such continuance in the ancient and true Church, and to take away from the laity, as they call them, one part of the Eucharist. And it is to be marveled at that they who profess themselves to defend the ceremonies of the ancient Church should so far swerve from the ancient Church in this point. Moreover, seeing that the word "sacrifice" is very large, and does generally signify a holy worship, we do willingly grant that the true and lawful use of the Eucharist may in this sense be called a sacrifice; howbeit the Eucharist, according to the institution of Christ, is so celebrated that therein the death of Christ is shown forth, and the Sacrament of the Body and the Blood of Christ is distributed to the Church, and so it is truly an applying of the merit of the Passion of Christ, to wit, to them which receive the Sacrament.

Neither do we condemn godly lessons and prayers which use to go before and to follow consecration, as they call it, and the dispensation of the Eucharist. Yet in the meantime it is not lawful for us to dissemble, or to allow of those errors which have been added to this holy Sacrament rather by the ignorance of private men than by any lawful consent of the true Catholic Church. One error is this, that of the worship which ought to be common to the Church, there is made a private action of one priest who as he does alone to himself mumble up the words of the Lord's Supper, so also he alone does receive the bread and wine. For Christ did institute the Eucharist, not that it should be a private action of one man, but that it should be a communion of the Church. Therefore to the right action of the Eucharist two things at the least are requisite, to wit, the minister of the Eucharist who blesses, and he to whom the Sacrament of the Eucharist is dispensed. For when Christ did

institute this Sacrament, He did not eat thereof alone, but He did dispense it to His Church, which then was present with Him, saying, "Take, eat, etc." and "Drink ye all of it, etc." This institution of Christ the ancient and true Catholic Church did so severely observe that it excommunicated them which being present while this holy Sacrament was administered, would not communicate with the others. Anacletus in his first epistle says, "After that consecration is finished, let all communicate, except they had rather stand without the church doors." And he adds, "For so both the Apostles appointed, and the holy Church of Rome keeps it still." Also the Antiochian Council, chap. 2, says, "All those which come into the Church of God and hear the Holy Scriptures but do not communicate with the people in prayer and can not abide to receive the Sacrament of the Lord, according to a certain proper discipline, these men must be cast out of the Church." Dionysius in his book, "De Eccles. Hierarc." says, "The bishop when he has praised the divine gifts, then he makes the holy and most excellent mysteries and those things which before he had praised, being covered and hid under reverent signs, he brings into sight, and reverently showing forth the divine gifts, both he himself does turn to the holy participation thereof, and does exhort the others to participate them. To conclude, when the holy Communion is received and delivered to all, he rendering thanks, does make an end of these mysteries." Therefore we think it necessary to the retaining of the institution of Christ in the celebration of the Eucharist, and that we may follow the example of the ancient and true Catholic Church, that the private masses of the priests may be abrogated, and that the public communion of the Lord's Supper may be restored.

Another error is this, that the Eucharist is such a sacrifice, as ought to be offered daily in the Church for the purging of the sins of the quick and the dead and for the obtaining of other benefits, both corporal and spiritual. This error is evidently contrary to the Gospel of Christ which witnesses, "That Christ by one offering once only made, hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." And because that Christ by His Passion and death has purchased remission of sins for us, which also is declared unto us by the Gospel in the New Testament, therefore it is not lawful to sacrifice any more for sin; for the Epistle to the Hebrews says, "Where there is remission of sins, there is no more offering for sin." And whereas Christ says, "This do in remembrance of me," He does not command

to offer His body and blood in the Supper unto God, but to the Church that the Church by eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ and by showing forth the benefit of His death may be admonished of that oblation of the body and the blood of Christ which was made once only on the cross for the purging of our sins. For so Paul does interpret this saying of Christ, saying, "For so often as ye eat (he does not say, offer) this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come." And truly we confess that the ancient ecclesiastical writers did call the Eucharist a "sacrifice," an oblation; but they expound themselves that by the name of sacrifice they mean a remembrance, a showing forth or a preaching of that sacrifice which Christ did once offer upon the cross; as also they called the memorial of the Passover and of Pentecost, the Passover and Pentecost itself.

The *third* error is this, that many do think that the Oblation (as they call it) of the Eucharist is not of itself a propitiation for sins, but that it does apply the propitiation and merit of Christ to the quick and the dead. But we have already shown that the Eucharist properly is not an oblation, but is so called, because it is a remembrance of the oblation which was once made on the cross. Moreover, the application of the merit of Christ is not made by any other outward instrument than by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, and by dispensing those sacraments which Christ has instituted for this use; and the merit of Christ being offered and applied is not received but by faith, Mark 16, "Preach the Gospel to every creature." For by the ministry of the Gospel the benefits of Christ are offered and applied to creatures, that is, either to the Jews or to the gentiles. And it follows. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved"; because that by the receiving of the sacraments and by faith the benefits offered and applied are received. Rom. 1, "The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth"; that is, the ministry of the Gospel is the instrument ordained of God, whereby God is able and effectual to save all those that believe the Gospel. Therefore the preaching of the Gospel does offer, or, if it likes any man so to speak, does apply salvation to all men, but faith does receive salvation offered and applied. Now in the private mass, bread and wine are so handled, that the priest does neither publicly declare the Gospel of Christ, but does softly mumble up to himself certain words, and especially the words of the Supper or of consecration; neither does he distribute bread and

wine to others, but he alone takes them. Therefore there can be no applying of the merit of Christ in the private mass. This did our true Catholic elders well perceive, who, as we have declared before, did so severely require that they which were present at the mass and did not communicate should be excommunicated.

The *fourth* error is this, which we have already touched, in that they do require that the words of the Supper or of consecration may be rehearsed softly in the Eucharist, seeing that these words are a part of that Gospel, which according to the commandment of Christ is to be preached to all creatures. For although our ancestors did sometimes call the Eucharist "a mystery," yet they did not so call it with this purpose that they would not have the words of the Supper to be rehearsed before the Church in the Eucharist, publicly and in a tongue known, but because that in the Eucharist one thing is seen and another thing understood. For Christ Himself also is called "a mystery," who nevertheless is not to be hid, but to be preached to all creatures. And because that in the receiving of the Sacrament it is necessarily required that we should have faith, and "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God," it is most necessary that in the Eucharist the word of the Supper, that is, the word of the Son of God should be publicly rehearsed; for this word is the preaching of the Gospel and the showing forth of the death of Christ. Therefore that the Church may understand what is done in the Eucharist and what offered unto her to be received, and that she may confirm her faith, it is necessary that in the Eucharist the words of the Lord's Supper should be rehearsed publicly.

The *fifth* error is this, that one part of the Eucharist is used in show of a singular worship of God to be carried about and to be laid up. But the Holy Ghost does forbid that any worship of God should be appointed without the express commandment of God. Deut. 12. "You shall not do every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes." And again, "What things soever I command you, observe to do it; thou shalt not add thereto nor diminish from it." And Matt. 15, "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Clement in his second epistle to James and in three chapters, "De Consecr. Dist." 2 says, "Certainly so great burnt offerings are offered on the altar as may be sufficient for the people; if so be that anything remain till the next day, let them not be kept, but with fear and trembling, by the diligence of the clerks let them

be consumed." We are not ignorant, how they use to delude these words of Clement by feigning a difference between the work of those that are ready to die and those that are ready to consecrate. But it is evident that the bread which used to be carried about and to be laid up to be adored is not reserved for those that are weak, but in the end is received of them that do consecrate. Cyril, or as others think, Origen, upon the seventh Chap. of Levit. says, "For the Lord concerning that bread which He gave to His disciples, said unto them, Take it and eat it, etc. He did not differ it, neither did He command it to be reserved till the next day, Peradventure there is this mystery also contained therein, that He does not command the bread to be carried in the high way, that you may always bring forth the fresh loaves of the words of God which you carry within you, etc."

56. CONFESSIO BOHEMICA, MAY 18, 1575⁵⁸

Article I. Concerning the Word of God as Contained in the Sacred Writings of the Old and the New Testament. We heartily believe and openly confess, that the sacred writings of the Old and the New Testament, which treat of the one, true Godhead and of the three distinct Persons in the one Godhead, likewise of the perfect will of God, are, without exception, unalterably true, holy, trustworthy, and catholic, that is, ordained and given by God for the whole Church to believe and hold; furthermore, that in the two covenants of the Old and New Testament is fully contained everything needful for our salvation, not in obscure form, but clear and undiminished.

This, the Son of God, Himself, confirms in the word (John 5: 39, 40) . . . To this must be added another saying. According to the narrative of Luke, (24:44), Jesus, Himself, said to the two disciples whom He joined on the road from Jerusalem to Emmaus, that He was spoken of in the law and the prophets, and the scriptures. The Lord also says, (Luke 11:28) . . . Likewise, (John 8:47): . . . As is written in the Gospel of John and as Jesus, Himself, says; the fulness of the Godhead dwells in everyone who keeps the word of the Son of God (John 14, 23). And St. Paul says, Romans 1:16) . . .

All other doctrines, therefore, must unquestionably give way before this Word of God and give place to it, for they are not of like value and may and dare not be cloaked with the same authority as the Word of God, which is like unto a two-edged and piercing

sword. For God, the Heavenly Father, hath spoken from Heaven concerning His Son. (Matt. 3:17). And in the Fifth Book of Moses is written (4:2) . . .

Article 4. Concerning the Fall of the First Man and Original Sin.

We also believe and confess, that the first man, Adam, was created in perfect holiness and innocence, that, however, at the instigation of the devil, he, wholly uncoerced and solely of his own will, by transgressing the divine command, turned away from God and thereby loaded upon himself and all his descendants and the entire human race both temporal and eternal death and all things from which this twofold death doth spring. For all men, begotten according to nature from sinful Adam, are mortally conceived and born with sin, that is, not only with the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but with inner corruption and perversion of the whole man and all his powers, so that, following the loss of his original health, innocence, and righteousness, man henceforth is turned away from the good and, devoid of fear of God and trust in Him, lies in subjection to sin and inherited concupiscence. This is original sin. Because it is and remains sin in truth, it also calls down upon everyone, not reborn through baptism and the Holy Ghost, the wrath of God and finally the other death and eternal damnation.

Article 5. Concerning the Free Will of Men. Concerning the free will of man we confess, that man's will undoubtedly has some liberty for living an outwardly honorable and orderly life in all things subject to the choice of reason. Thus if man, in works of this kind, uses his reason, judgment, and all will for a resolve at variance with the divine law, he cannot find an excuse before God. But without the Holy Ghost, he has no power to work the righteousness pleasing to God, that is, spiritual righteousness, for natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God; but this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word.

Article 8. Concerning the Justification of Man before God. Then, we believe and confess, that the justification of man before God consists in this, that God regards and declares the repentant sinner to be innocent, holy and just; that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merit, or works, but are freely justified purely by divine grace, solely for Christ's sake through faith in His blood, whereby by grace of the Holy Ghost they heartily believe and in no wise doubt, that God according to His faithful promises, forgives all their sin and receives them into His favor for the sake

of the Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ, Who by His holy, perfect obedience and His bitter, innocent death hath humbled Himself and made satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. Even this faith alone in the Lord Christ and His merit God imputeth to perfect righteousness in His sight, as St. Paul writes, Romans 3 and 4. For he who believes, by his faith obtains part in Jesus Christ and thereby is made partaker of the full holiness and righteousness which the Lord Christ owned and wrought for him and his sake, and which He imparts to Him as His member. Therefore, faith is imputed and ascribed as perfect righteousness to every believer, and by reason of this perfect righteousness in Christ, he is granted eternal life, whose pledge is the Holy Ghost. This the Lord Christ Himself confirms, John 6:47.

For the attainment of this saving faith in Christ Jesus, the office of the ministry was instituted, to teach and proclaim the Holy Gospel and administer the Holy Sacraments. For through the Word of God and the Sacraments, as through instruments divinely ordained, the Holy Ghost is given, Who worketh saving faith, where and when it pleaseth God, in them that hear the Gospel, which teaches that God, not for our own merits, but wholly for Christ's sake, receiveth into grace all who believe on Christ, justifieth and sanctifieth them through his holy Spirit unto life eternal.

Thus sanctification, renewal, and regeneration of man are wrought through faith and the Holy Ghost, when by faith we participate in the Lord Jesus Christ and all His merit, and in this manner are made wholly just before God. Hereby also, through fellowship with the Lord Christ, the Holy Ghost is poured out in us, living members of Christ's body, Who sanctifies and renews us, so that we begin to be holy, to die unto all fleshly sins and evil lusts, to live unto God and day by day recover in increasing measure that holiness once lost by Adam, which one day we shall perfectly attain in the life eternal.

But this, our holiness, which the Holy Ghost hath commenced in us, is not yet perfect in this life. There remain in us until death many failings and much weakness, also many transgressions by reason of which we pray unceasingly: "Forgive us our trespasses." Thus we are not yet perfectly holy before God in the holiness begun in us by the Holy Ghost, nor can we be, according to the word of the Lord Christ in the Gospel of Luke, 17:10, and John 1:8. And David prays (Ps. 143:2):

Accordingly, as said above, our justification before God is based solely and entirely on the Lord Christ and is attained only through faith, which was also taught by the ancient teachers of Holy Church. For Ambrose writes: Thus it is ordained by God, that whosoever believeth on Christ is saved without works alone by faith, whereby he freely receiveth the forgiveness of sin.

Article 9. Concerning Faith. Concerning faith we confess, in accordance with the Word of God: Faith consists in this, that man not only believes that God is and that he not only holds everything to be true, which God, out of His grace, has proclaimed to us and promised in His Word—for this the devils also believe, and tremble—but that through the Holy Ghost he implicitly trusts that the gracious promises of God concerning the forgiveness of sin and eternal salvation are meant for everyone who believes on the Lord Christ, thus also for himself in particular, and that according to these promises the everlasting God is ready to forgive for Christ's sake not only the sins of other sinners, but also his own, to receive Him into grace, and sanctify him through the Holy Ghost unto eternal life. Leaning on the enduring promises founded on Christ, he seeks for himself the greatest possible assurance of his election to eternal life and of his salvation, pledged in Christ. Through such a cordial faith and trust in God, he conquers all temptations and wins a lively comfort and peace with God. To this faith he takes confident refuge and cries, Abba, dear Father, as written by the apostle Paul, Romans 5:1.

Because saving faith, when born in man through the Holy Ghost, be it mighty or weak, apprehends the Lord Christ and all His works for us—for only on the one condition that we believe on Him and trust Him with all our heart, does He come to us—and thereby obtains for the believer forgiveness of sin, reconciliation with God, justification, regeneration through the Holy Ghost, and eternal life; it, therefore, is not and cannot be lifeless in man, but must ever work new, eternal life subdue all of man's evil lusts, and engender in his heart love toward God and his neighbor. Thus through love faith effects divers good and holy works, by which, like the tree by its fruits, it is truly known. As little as there can be fire without warmth and the sun without light, so little can there be a true faith, which has any part in Christ, without renewal of life and love, thus, without many good and holy works.

Article 10. Concerning Good works. Concerning good works

we confess: Those are truly good and holy works which God requires in His Word, which come out of faith and are fruits of the Holy Spirit, Gal. 5:22, 23. For all things done by them who are not led by the Word of God and true faith in Christ, or who have been forsaken by the Holy Ghost, all such things, though good and beautiful in the eyes of men, are detestable and hateful in God's sight and must be accounted sin, according to the word of the apostle, Romans 14:24 and Hebrews 11:6.

Therefore, good works, in the true sense, are wrought only by the children of God, who through faith in Christ have obtained all His merit and full salvation, consequently justification and renewal of life, and who, moved by the Spirit of God, do and keep whatsoever God hath ordered and commanded in His Word, according to the Word of Ezekiel 20:11 and of Matt. 15:9.

Such good works are pleasing to God—not however, because of any excellence or perfection in themselves. For there are none such, according to the word of the prophet Isaiah, where he speaks of his own works and those of the whole Church (Is. 64:6), but such works are pleasing to God for Christ's sake only in those men, who have first been justified by Jesus Christ through faith in Him and been made acceptable to God...

Then, we believe and confess, that we ought and are obliged to do good works for the following reasons: First. By reason of our salvation in Christ and of our justification and sanctification. For whosoever is justified in Christ and regenerated and sanctified through the Holy Ghost cannot do other than good works, because he has become a new creature in Christ Jesus to the end that he perform good works, Eph. 2., even as the sun can do no other than shine, because created by God to that end, wherefore, if an unrepentant life and evil works be found in a Christian, God's work is certainly put to naught and such a man can nevermore be called a child of God, who shall be saved.

Secondly. We ought to do good works, because of the divine command and the obedience we owe, according to divine ordinance...

Thirdly. We ought to do good works in order to preserve faith and retain a quiet and untroubled conscience before God. For if we omit to do good and sin against conscience, the Holy Ghost is troubled and driven out. Thus faith is lost, together with true religion...

Fourthly. We ought to do good works in order to escape the

temporal and eternal punishment in body and soul, which God, in His divine righteousness, hath ordained for those who transgress His commandments. . . .

Fifthly. We ought to do good works by reason of our high and sacred vocation in Christ, for we, who have come to faith in Christ, are members of His holy body and temples of Gods spirit (1 Cor. 6:15, 19) and, therefore, Gods dear children (1 John 1:12). We ought to be holy, even as our God is holy. . . .

Sixthly. We ought to do good works in order to obtain the great and abundant reward, which God hath promised our good works, not because of their innate excellence and perfection, but for the sake of the Lord Christ, Whose members we are. . . .

Article II. Concerning the Church of God. We believe and confess, that one, holy and universal Church now is and always will exist, and that in this world she is the visible congregation of believing saints, who everywhere hold fast to the true and pure doctrine of Christ as, laid down faithfully and truly, by the holy evangelists and apostles in Christ's holy Gospel, and who, also, in the bond of love, are guided in all things by the precept and ordinances of their only, King, Bishop, and Head, Jesus Christ, and who observe His mysteries, commonly called sacraments, as instituted by Christ and observed by the evangelists and apostles of the Lord Christ and bequeathed by them in the Holy Scriptures.

Now the Church properly is the Congregation of Saints, who through the ministration of the pure Word and the holy Sacraments, whereby they believe on Christ, have become one body with Him; and, in the communion of one faith, one love, and one spirit, lead a truly spiritual life. Nevertheless, since here on earth, are mingled with the saints many hypocrites, who confess the same truth and who, therefore, frequently cannot be distinguished from the believers and cast out from the Church, we understand under Church, in this life, the whole body of Christians, good and bad, who avow Christ and His law. The Church must be likened to the wheat, mixed with tares, and to the net which encloses both good and bad fish (Matt. 13).

However, this association of good and bad may be called the Catholic, Christian, and Holy Church only in consideration of the good fish and the wheat, that is, the chosen children of God and the truly believing Christians, who are, without exception, holy by reason of the righteousness imputed to them in Christ and begun in them by the Holy Ghost. These only God calls His sheep. Their

community is in truth the Bride of Christ, the House of God, the Pillar and Foundation of the Truth, the Mother of all Believers, and the only Ark, outside of which there is no salvation. Those, however, who merely adhere to the Church, especially all notorious hypocrites and other evil and impious Christians, who continue in the Church and generally make up the majority, these and their like cannot be called the holy Church in the real sense, but merely her dead members. Even though found in the Church of Christ, they by no means, belong to the Church of His body.

Therefore, of all the true and infallible marks of Holy Church, these are the most essential: First, the pure teaching and preaching of God's Word and the Holy Gospel, especially in respect to the fundamentals and the principal articles of the Catholic Christian faith. Secondly, the pure preservation, admonition, and observance of the Lord's sacraments, as instituted by Himself. Thirdly, due and meet obedience in the observance of all things, commanded by the Holy Gospel and the precepts of Christ.

Beside these marks of God's Church are still others: brotherly love, one toward the other, as members of Christ; much cross and trial for truth's sake and God's kingdom, and, finally, the restraint of open crime and sin against God, both, through friendly, brotherly admonition and rebuke, and also through the divinely appointed, orderly act of expulsion from the Christian Church, of those who would not suffer themselves to be corrected by previous warning. This, the holy fathers called church discipline.

However, the infallible marks of God's Church are not always found in like evidence. At times they shine forth exceptionally brightly, at times, however, they are so little discernible, that the true Church can hardly be recognized. This is the case especially then, when God thinks to chastise and purge the Church by taking away the light of His Word and because of the Church's ingratitude and contempt of His Word and benefits, by sending men, who lustily disseminate error and reject the Word of the living God and build the Church upon themselves and their traditions to their own glory. Yet, the pious, even in such times of seduction and darkness in the Church, cannot stray from her, if they will only look on the Head of the Church, the Lord Christ; receive His Word in faith wherever it is preached in truth and purity according to Holy Scriptures, and deviate in no wise, either in doctrine or life, from His truth.

For wherever the Word of the Lord Christ is thus preached to

the faithful and the Holy Sacraments are thus administered, there is certainly a part of His church. And in such a communion the Lord Christ is truly present and, through the ministry of His Word and the sacraments, works salvation in the hearts of the believing according to His establishment, even if at times, the servants of the Church, who administer the Word and the sacraments, are hypocrites and lifeless members of the Church. For the Word of God and the use of the sacraments are a power of God unto salvation for everyone who believes on them, not because of the merit of him who ministers, but because of their institution by the Lord Christ, who is active in them by His real presence and the working of the Holy Ghost. For, as the worthiness of the servant can add nothing to the Word and sacraments of Christ, so his unworthiness and hypocrisy can nothing detract, according to the word of the Lord, Matt. 25:2.

Nevertheless, it behooves the Church to remove from the ministry in the Church all, who lead an openly scandalous and unrepentant life and who will not be corrected by all proper means; furthermore, to strive, as much as possible, that in the Church of God doctrine and life be holy and blameless.

Article 14. Concerning Holy Baptism, the first Sacrament of Christ. Concerning Holy Baptism we confess and believe, that this sacrament, instituted by the Lord Christ Himself, is a washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ, our Saviour, that being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life (Titus 3, 5ff). This baptism or washing of man with water together with the invocation of the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, secures for him, who is thus implanted in the Church of Christ, forgiveness of sin and eternal life, as the Son of God said in the Gospel of Mark, 16:16.

We also confess, that little children should be baptized, since, according to the Lord's promise, the kingdom of God is theirs (Matt. 19:14), and also that they, offered to God in prayer and baptism, are received into grace, according to many testimonies of Scripture.

Article 15. Concerning the Lord's Supper, the Other Sacrament of Christ. Concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Testament and the Last Supper, as it was instituted by Christ Himself before His Passion, we believe and confess, that the bread in the Supper is the true Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, offered for us, and that the wine in the chalice is the true Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,

shed for us, for the remission of sin. We believe that it is given to them, who receive it, for the purpose that they, when eating His Body and drinking His Blood, might do it for a remembrance of Him and a declaration of His innocent death, until He come, as the Lord Christ Himself, at His Last Supper and in His Testament, instituted and attested it with His own word, and as the holy evangelists and the apostle Paul clearly, teach, write, and confess: Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24.

This Holy Sacrament was instituted: first for the awakening and strengthening of the faith, that we participate in the Lord Christ and all His benefits, in order that, when in the sacrament we receive spiritually and substantially, by faith and by mouth, the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, we might never doubt, but firmly believe, that we truly are and, through such use, increasingly become living members of the Lord, Who in this manner incorporates His Body in us, that we as His members, might, like branches from out of the vine, take, as our only true food, from out of His body true nourishment for our souls, real enlightenment, joy, comfort, and all the benefits, which the Lord Christ graciously wrought for us by His death and perfect obedience and which, in His Gospel, He has promised to every penitent, namely, forgiveness of sin, reconciliation with God, justification, communication of the Holy Ghost, and the hope of eternal life.

Secondly, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was instituted, that we might render, in the public assembly of the congregation, most hearty thanks to God for all the good, He has wrought for us through Christ; and that we might, through the use of the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, be truly revived and strengthened so as to remain in the Body of Christ. For this purpose we are united with Him, that we might in Him die unto our many sins and evil lusts, arise unto righteousness, and, in conformity with all of God's laws, live unto God in all godliness and holiness, and through mutual, cordial love preserve the unity of Christ's Body, which is the Church. For we know, that all we, who, in this Sacrament eat of one bread, are united into one Body (as St. Paul says 1 Cor. 10:17), to the end that we, as common members of the one Lord Christ, might love one another with a cordial and sincere affection, in the certain conviction, that we cannot possibly despise or offend our neighbor without, at the same time, offending and despising in him the Lord Christ: and that we cannot love the

Lord Christ, except we love Him in our neighbor, as the Lord saith, Matt. 25:40.

57. CONFESSIO PENTAPOLITANA, AUGUST 2, 1549⁵⁹

I. De Deo. Docemus unam individuam, aeternam, bonam, justam, sapientem, immensam, et Divinam essentiam esse, Iuxta illud deut: 6. Dominus Deus noster, Dominus unus est: Et tamen tres distinctas personas, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, ejusdem potentiae, gloriae, aeternitatis, confitemur. Iuxta distinctionem Domini, Matth: ultimo. Baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filij, et Spiritus Sancti.

II. De Creatione. Docemus et credimus eundem Deum, qui in essentia unus et¹ in personis trinus est, omnia creasse, atque, adhuc creare et conservare res conditas. Fuisseque originaliter in ipsa creatione omnia valde bona: sicut scriptum est Gene: 1. Vidit Deus omnia quae fecerat, et erant valde bona. Sed Lucifer cum suis socijs degeneravit, hominemque, secum in eandem obedientiam traxit. Hinc omnia, quae mala sunt habent originem suam. Deus enim propter peccatum maledixit terrae. Et sicut mors propter peccatum intravit in mundum: Rom. 5. Sic. etiam omnes plagae sunt poenae peccatorum.

III. De Peccato Originis. Docemus et credimus, primos parentes origine justos fuisse, in lapsu autem justitiam amisisse, omnesque homines cum originali injustitia et peccato, quod aeterna morte dignum est, nasci, neque ab hoc ullis suis viribus liberari. Iuxta illud Psal: 51. Ecce in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, etc. Et Gene: 6 et 8. Omnis cogitatio humani cordis ad malum prona est.

IV. De incarnatione Christi. Docemus et credimus, mediam personam in divinitate, quae nunc Verbum, nunc filius Dei vocatur in scriptura, veram carnem humanam ex utero intactae virginis sumpsisse. Vereque Deum et hominem in una persona de Virgine natum esse, Iuxta vaticinium Esa: 7. Ecce Virgo concipiet, et pariet filium et vocabitur nomen ejus Emanuel: Et historiam Lucae 1. et 2. Quodque idem factus est hostia pro peccatis totius mundi satisfaciens. Esa: 53. Posuit Dominus iniquitates omnium nostrum super eum. Et Ioan: 1. Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, 2. Cor: Pro omnibus mortuus est. Item, Quod tertia die resurgens a morte, justitiam quae coram Deo nobis imputatur, attulit. Roma: 4. Traditus est, propter peccata nostra, et resurrexit propter justificationem nostri. Item, Quod ascendit ad coelos, et venturus sit ad vivos pariter et mortuos judicandos, Iuxta Symbolum Apostolorum, et testimonium

Angelorum Acto: 1. Sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis eum, euntem in coelum.

V. De Iustificatione. Et quoniam oportuit Filium Dei pro peccatis totius mundi tradi et conteri, docemus et credimus, homines nullis suis viribus, nec operibus posse placare Deum, nec assequi iustitiam, quae in iudicio Dei consistat: iustificari autem gratis absque suo merito, si detestando peccatum credunt in Christum, quod unica oblatione, in cruce facta, Pater sit placatus omnibus, qui huius Mediatoris fiducia ad misericordiam ejus confugiunt. Qui igitur hanc fidem habent, iidem habent remissionem peccatorum, et pro iustis reputantur. Rom: 3. Omnes peccaverunt, et justificantur gratis per fidem in Christum propiciatorem.

VI. De Fide. Fides autem, qua tanta beneficia apprehendimus, non est humanum aliquod opus, aut notitia, quae etiam in impijs et daemonibus existere potest sed est donum Spiritus Sancti. Quod ut assequamur, ministerium est institutum, in quo sonat pura doctrina Evangelij, et Sacramenta administrantur, per hoc enim ministerium Spiritus Sanctus est efficax in auditoribus non repugnantibus, sed obtemperantibus ministerio, Iuxta illud Pauli Roma: 10. Fides est ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Dei.

VII. De Bonis Operibus. Nec tamen ita docemus fidem, quasi bona opera non sint facienda. Est enim credentibus necessaria bona conscientia, quae non habet locum in ijs, qui contra mandatum Dei de industria indulgent, nec repugnant suis cupiditatibus. Sumus enim debitores non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus, ut Rom. 8. scriptum est, sed liberati a regno Diaboli. et translati in regnum Dei, Iam huic Domino servire, hoc est, voluntati ejus obedire debemus. Sed docemus huic novae obedientiae non esse confidendum, quasi per eam mereamur remissionem peccatorum, iustitiam, et vitam aeternam coram Deo. Manifesta est enim sententia Domini: cum feceritis omnia, dicite, servi inutiles sumus. Et Ephes: 2. Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis, Dei enim donum est, Non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur.

VIII. De Ecclesia. Docemus praeterea et credimus, unam tantum Catholicam sive universalem Ecclesiam ab exordio Mundi fuisse, semper mansisse, mansuramque esse in perpetuum, quanquam aliquando multis erroribus obscuratur. Et fatemur, eam non loco, non personis, non ritibus humanitus institutis alligatam esse, Sed

tantum verbo Dei et Sacramentis, Iuxta illud: Ioan: 10. Oves meae vocem meam audiunt: quem admodum Pater mandavit. Psal: 2. Osculamini Filium. Et Matth: 17. Ipsum audite, Ioan: 14, Si quis diliget me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus. Etsi vero Ecclesia corpore et rebus civili potestati subjecta est, tamen in religione nullum aliud caput agnoscit, nisi Christum Ephes: 1. Colos: 1. Neque enim magistros ac dominos, sed ministros constituit Deus in medio ejus, qui serviant ei, verbo et Sacramentis. Satis est igitur, Ecclesiam ubique habere synceram doctrinam, et verum usum Sacramentorum, etiamsi aliqua est in humanis ritibus dissimilitudo. Et quanquam vera Ecclesia sunt illi demum, qui vere Sancti et justi sunt, regunturque Spiritu Sancto per verbum, tamen mali quoque in hoc coetu, qui quodammodo in doctrina usuque Sacramentorum consentiunt, sunt externa membra Ecclesiae, 2 Timot: 2. In magna domo sunt etiam vasa lignea et testacea. Est igitur Spiritus Sanctus efficax per ministerium etiam impiorum ministrorum, si non corrumpant verbum et Sacramenta, sicut Iudae ministerium multis profuit.

IX. De Baptismo. Docemus etiam et sentimus, quod homines per Baptismum sive infantes, sive adulti, incorporantur Ecclesiae, et consequuntur remissionem peccatorum, vereque mundantur, non quod nullum peccatum sit residuum apud Baptizatos, sed quod non imputetur, modo odium peccati et fides in Christum adsit. Iuxta promissionem: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit.

X. De Coena Domini. In Coena Dominica docemus et credimus, verum corpus et sanguinem Domini, de Virgine natum, et in cruce passum, sumi ab Ecclesia. Dicit enim Dominus, hoc est Corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur, etc. Unamque communem coenam sive missam, ut vocant, quolibet die festo celebrantes, porrigimus singulis, aut pluribus, qui coram Sacerdote rationem suae fidei reddentes, emendationem vitae promittunt, petuntque in consolationem, absolutionem, et confirmationem fidei suae usum venerabilis Sacramenti: Iubet enim Dominus coeli et terrae, integro uti Sacramento, idque mandatum dat omnibus. Et Paulus universae Ecclesiae Corinthiorum usum integri Sacramenti commendat.

XI. De Confessione. Privatam Confessionem propter tres causas omnino retinemus. Primum ut rudes examinentur et instituantur. Secundo, ut illi qui speciales perturbationes conscientiarum habent, specialem quoque consolationem ex verbo Dei petant. Tertio, ut singulis seorsim absolutionis sacramentum impetietur.

XII. De Poenitentia. Caeterum perpetuo urgemus doctrinam poenitentiae, sine qua nec ingredi quisquam in Ecclesiam, nec ingressus perseverare potest. Quodque haec constat Primum contritione, quando corda tanguntur ira Dei, mortemque aeternam sentiunt, revelante lege Dei peccata. Deinde fide, Quando Evangelio offerente meritum et satisfactionem Christi, corda ex pavoribus eriguntur fiducia misericordiae Patris, quem Christus conciliavit omnibus agentibus poenitentiam, et in ipsius nomen credentibus.

XIII. De Vsu Sacramentorum. Sacramenta sentimus non ideo tantum a Christo instituta esse, ut discrimen faciant inter Christianum et non Chrisitanum, sed potius ut sint sigilla divinae voluntatis erga nos, ad hoc proposita, ut in singulis per haec pacta divina excitetur et confirmetur fides. Nisi igitur adsit fides, apprehendens pactum et promissionem Dei, inanis est usus Sacramentorum; Imo edunt in judicium. Iuxta Pauli testimonium.

XIV. De Ministris. Sentimus, nemini licere fungi officio publico docendi et administrandi Sacramenta in Ecclesia, nisi legitime vocatus fuerit ab Ecclesia, et a fidelibus eruditisque, antea denique probatis ministris verbi Dei, approbatus et in ordinem assumptus: Iuxta ritum veteris Ecclesiae Actor: Cap.: 1. Et primo lib: Epistolarum Cypri: Epistola 4.

XV. De Ceremoniis. Ceremonias in Ecclesia et servamus, et servandas esse sentimus, quae ornant ministerium, possuntque bona conscientia servari; ut sunt certae feriae, cantiones, lectiones sacrae, et orationes additae ad Dominicam Coenam celebrandam. Item, Vestes speciales ministrorum et alia multa. Quae tametsi absque peccato omitti possent in Ecclesiis recte et satis institutis; tamen quia ornant ministerium, ea studiose retinemus.

XVI. De Rebus Politicis. Magistratus, Iudicia, Rerum proprietatem, Contractus legitimos et alia rectae rationi consentanea probamus, ut bonas Dei ordinationes, quas Evangelium non modo non improbat. verum confirmat, et praecipit ut in magno honore habeantur secundum DEVM.

XVII. De Matrimonio. Ita sentimus, et matrimonium esse ordinationem divinam ac propterea damnatis vagis libidinibus contrahendum esse ab idoneis hominibus, si donum castitatis virgineae non habent. Nam scortatores non habent partem in regno Dei.

XVIII. De Resurrectione Mortuorum. Resurrectionem mortuorum justorum et injustorum in die iudicij certissime futuram esse

statuimus in qua pij aeterna praemia consequentur, inpij vero aeternas poenas.

XIX. De Libero Arbitrio. Liberum arbitrum fuisse in primis parentibus ante lapsum affirmamus, sicut Angeli qui lapsi non sunt, adhuc habent, sed post lapsum amiserunt libertatem, secut et alia dona integrae naturae; Ita ut in externis duntaxat rebus aliquam habeamus eligendi libertatem, ut possimus hoc vel illo colore vestiri, hoc vel illo cibo vesci, honeste vivere, scandala vitare vitamque nostram foris ad normam Decalogi gubernare, tametsi haec ipsa voluntas saepe et varie impediatur. Sed verum timorem, fidem ac dilectionem Dei et caetera praestare: Item Evangelio credere, non est in nostris viribus: Iuxta illud, Nemo novit Filium nisi Pater, et Patrem nemo nisi Filius, et cui Filius voluerit revelare. Item. Nemo venit ad me, nisi Pater traxerit eum.

XX. De Invocatione Sanctorum Sanctos vita defunctos omni quidem laude dignos esse docemus, ut qui praelucent nobis doctrina, multisque praeclaris exemplis. Coeterum quod invocandi sint, in eo nos prohibet, non modo quod nullum extat mandatum Dei, neque Sanctae Ecclesiae testimonium. Verumetiam quod primo et secundo praecepto prohibemur: Non habebis Deos alienos. Item. Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui invanum. Invocatio enim sicut alij cultus primae tabulae nulli debentur nisi Deo.

CONFESSIO HEPTAPOLITANA, DECEMBER 6, 1559.

V. De justificatione. Et quoniam oportuit filium Dei pro peccatis totius mundi tradi et conteri, docemus et credimus, homines nullis suis viribus, nec operibus, posse placare Deum, nec assequi iustitiam, quae in iudicio Dei consistat; Justificari autem gratis absque merito, si detestando peccata, credunt in Christum, mediatorem, quod unica oblatione facta in cruce, Pater sit placatus omnibus, qui hujus mediatoris fiducia, ad misericordiam ejus confugiunt. Qui igitur habent fidem, iidem habent remissionem peccatorum, et pro iustis reputantur. Rom. 3. Ut omne os obturetur, et reus fiat totus mundus Deo, quia ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro in conspectu ejus; iustificantur autem gratis, per illius gratiam per redemptionem I. C. Irenaeus Lib. 4. Cap. 13. Fides, quae est ad Deum, iustificat hominem. Hilarius in Matthaicum Canone 8. Movet scribas, remissum ab homine peccatum. Hominem enim tantum in Jesu Christo contuebantur, et remissum ab eo, quod lex laxare non poterat: Fides enim sola iustificat. Ambrosius I. Cor. I. Hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum salvus sit sine opere, sola fide, gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum. Idem Ambrosius ad Rom. 3. Iustificati sunt gratis, quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes sola fide iustificati sunt dono Dei. Et Hieronymus ad Rom. Cap. 4. Convertentem impium, per solam fidem Deus iustificat, non opera bona, quae non habuit.

VI. De fide. Fides autem, qua tanta beneficia apprehendimus, non est humanum aliquod opus, aut tantum notitia de Christo, quae etiam in impiis et diabolis existere solet: sed est donum Spiritus Sancti, quod ut assequamur, ministerium est institutum, in quo sonat pura doctrina Evangelii, et administrantur sacramenta. Per hoc enim ministerium Spiritus S. est efficax in auditoribus non repugnantibus, sed obtemperantibus ministerio juxta illud: Rom. 10. Fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Dei. Augustinus in Psalmo 50: Non magnum est, credere, quia mortuus est Christus; hoc enim et pagani, et Judaei, atque omnes impii credunt, quia mortuus est, sed fides Christianorum resurrectio Christi est, i.e. *assentiri et certa fiducia statuere Christum propter justiciam nostram resurrexisse.* Ambrosius ad 2. Tim. II. Fundamentum Dei fides est, quae continet, quae promisit Deus: signaculum promissionis Dei, fides nostra est, quae confirmat verbum Dei. Ambrosius lib. III. de virginibus. O thesaurus omnibus opulentior fides! O virtutibus corporis fortior fides!

VII. De bonis operibus. Nec tamen ita docemus fidem, ut plurimi nos blasphemant, quod bona opera non sint facienda, sed fatemur et urgemus, *fidelibus opus esse bona conscientia, et ab ipsis opera divinitus mandata, necessario requiri.* Rom. 8. Sumus enim debitores, non carni, ut secundem carnem vivamus, liberati a regno diaboli et translati in regnum Dei, ut Deo serviamus. Sed tamen docemus, huic novae obedientiae non esse confidendum quasi per eam mereamur remissionem peccatorum justitiamque et vitam aeternam coram Deo. Manifesta est enim sententia Christi, cum feceritis omnia, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus. Luc. 17. et ad Eph. II. Gratia salvati estis per fidem et non hoc ex vobis cet. Chrisost. ad Galat. cap. 5. Nihil opus habemus illis legalibus; sufficit enim fides ad hoc, ut donet Spiritum Sanctum per hunc justitiam, multaque insuper et magna dona. Hilarius in Psalm. 52. Jesus, ut saepe diximus, ipso nomine salutaris est. Lex autem ex Sion non fuit salutaris, opere quidem vivificans, sed non justificans ex fide.

VIII. De ecclesia. Ecclesia est coetus visibilis audientium, credentium et amplectentium puram et incorruptam doctrinam Evangelii et utentium sacramentis ita, ut a Christo sunt instituta, in quo coetu Deus per ministerium est efficax, et multos ad vitam regenerat, cui in hac vita adjuncti sunt multi, non renati, sed tantum de doctrina consentientes. Haec definitio confirmatur clarissimis dictis, videlicet Joh. 10. Oves meae vocem meam audiunt. Esai 24 [26]. Aperite portas, et ingrediatur gens justa, custodiens veritatem. Eph. 5. Christus dilexit ecclesiam et sanctificavit eam mundatam lavacro aquae per verbum. Cum autem certum sit, in nostris ecclesiis puram doctrinam proponi, et sacramenta administrari legitime, sitque consensus in doctrina in omnibus locis, affirmamus sine omni arrogantia, *nos esse cives et membra verae ecclesiae, et falso accusari haereseos et schismatum:* sic enim Dominus ait Joh. 15. Si praecepta mea servaveritis, manebitis in dilectione mea. Et ibidem: Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis, quaecumque praecipio vobis. Eph. 5. Ecclesia subdita est Christo in omnibus. *Quia vero adversarii nostri doctrinam Evangelii, formam et usum sacramentorum corrumpunt, et pios homines interficiunt, docemus, illos non esse Ecclesiam Dei, sed illum coetum, de quo Christus inquit: Joh. 8. Vos ex patre Diabolo estis cet.* Ille mendax et homicida erat ab initio et in veritate non stetit, et desideriis patris vestri obsequimini. Luc. 11. Qui non est mecum, contra me est. Item, qui non diligit me, sermones meos

non servat. Vehementer etiam adversariorum nostrorum impudentiam miramur. Etsi enim in regno pontificio, omnia illa gravissima et horribilia peccata, quae ad Rom. primo gentibus tribuuntur, non conspiciuntur tantum, sed etiam publice regnant: tamen adeo de mente et sanitate deturbati sunt, ut augustissimum et sanctissimum Ecclesiae Christi, expertis omnis rugae et maculae nomen sibi tribuant, ut vel hinc appareat, oculos ipsorum horrendo coecitate percussos, et dorsum eorum prorsus incurvatum esse. Cum autem scriptum sit: Non habebit Deus insontem illum, qui nomen ejus vane usurpaverit. Item Psalm. 50. Peccatori dicit Deus: quare tu enarras justitias meas, cum oderis disciplinam? et cum furibus et adulteris commercium habeas? Gravissimas poenas dabunt pontificii, qui impudenter contra conscientiae suae testimonium et omnium sanorum intelligentiam, titulum ecclesiae sibi attribuant. Lyra super Matth. 16. Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis, vel dignitatis ecclesiasticae, vel secularis; quia multi principes et summi pontifices et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostatasse a fide, propter quod ecclesia consistit in illis personis, in quibus est notitia vera et confessio fidei veritatis. Et Hieronym. Qui ergo peccator est, aliqua sorde maculatus, de ecclesia Christi non potest appellari, nec Christo subjectus esse.

CONFESSIO SCEPUSIANA, OCTOBER 26, 1569.

VIII. De Ecclesia. Ecclesia est coetus visibilis, audientium, credentium et amplectentium puram et incorruptam doctrinam Evangelii, et utentium Sacramentis, ita ut a Christo sunt instituta, in quo coetu Deus per ministerium est efficax, et multos ad vitam aeternam regenerat, cui in hac vita adjuncti sunt multi, non renati, sed tamen de doctrina consentientes. Haec definitio confirmatur clarissimis dictis, Joan. 10. Oves meae vocem meam audiunt. Esa. 26. Aperite portas, et ingreditur gens justa custodiens veritatem. Eph. 5. Christus dilexit Ecclesiam et sanctificavit eam; mundatam lavacro aquae per verbum. Joan. 6. Verba quae ego loquor vobis, spiritus et vita sunt. Matth. 13. Simile est regnum coelorum sagenae missae in mari, et capientis omnis generis pisces. Chrysost. in Matth. cap. 24. Homil. 49. Qui vult cognoscere quae sit vera Ecclesia Christi, unde cognoscat nisi tantummodo per scripturas. Cum autem certum sit in nostris Ecclesiis puram Evangelii Doctrinam proponi, et Sacramenta administrari legitime, sitque consensus in doctrina in omnibus locis, affirmamus sine arrogantia, nos esse cives et membra verae Ecclesiae, et falso accusari haereseos et schismatum, juxta illud Joan. 15. Si praecepta mea servaveritis, manebitis in dilectione mea. Item: Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quaecunque ego praecepit vobis. Ad Ephes. 5. Ecclesia subdita est Christo.—Et haec sunt praecepta fidei, per quae inserimur Ecclesiae et servamur.

Quia vero Adversarii nostri doctrinam Evangelii firmam [formam] et usum Sacramentorum corrumpunt, et pios homines interficiunt, docemus illos non esse Ecclesiam Dei, sicut gloriantur, sed illum Coetum, de quo Christus inquit Joan 8. Vos ex patre Diabolo estis, ille mendax et homicida erat ab initio, et in veritate non stetit, et desideriis Patris vestri obsequimini. Luc. 11. Qui non est mecum, contra me est. Item: qui non diligit me, sermones meos non servat. Lyra super Matth. cap. 16. Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticae vel secularis, quia multi principes, et summi Pontifices, et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostatasse a

Fide, propter quod Ecclesia consistit in illis personis, in quibus est notitia vera et Confessio fidei et veritatis. Hieron. Qui ergo peccator est aliqua sorde maculatus de Ecclesia Christi non potest appellari, nec Christo subjectus dici.

58. FORMULA PII CONSENSUS FOR TRANSYLVANIA, 1572⁸⁰

De doctrina. Unanimi consensu, corde et fide credimus, ac ore palam coram deo et sancta ecclesia in coelo et in terra confitemur, unam solam in humano genere exstare veram de deo et aeterna salute doctrinam, quae scriptis prophetarum et apostolorum comprehensa est. Hanc toto pectore amplectimur in ea nativa sententia, quam pia scripturarum divinae inter se collatio gignit, et quae deinceps expressa est in piis symbolis, apostolico, Nicaeno et Athanasiano, cum quibus etiam consentit pia confessio, quae a reformatis piis ecclesiis Germanicis Augustae exhibita est caesari Carolo V. et statibus imperii Germanici, cui et nostrae ecclesiae Saxonicae in Transylvania firmiter dei beneficio hactenus consenserunt, ac in eadem vera confessione doctrinae Christianae, deo juvante, constanter usque ad finem perseverabunt.

Oramus autem aeternum patrem domini et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, ut nostras mentes suo sancto spiritu gubernet et in vera fide et salutari doctrina conservet, ut ecclesiae Christi in omni aeternitate cives simus! Amen.

Quidquid autem ab hac verae doctrinae norma discedit, aut discrepaverit, execramur et damnamus, ut sunt ethnicorum idololatriae, Judaeorum et Mahometistarum blasphemiae, Manichaeorum deliria, enthusiastarum, anabaptistarum, Arianorum, veterum et recentium impiae et portentosae opiniones, furores et tetri errores. Detestamur etiam idololatricos cultus et corruptelas impias Romanorum pontificum et Jesuitarum, quae verbo dei et ecclesiae orthodoxae contrariae sunt, quales etiam sunt multae horrendae blasphemiae, nunc recens sparsae in nostra patria per fanaticos spiritus, ex diabolo ortos.

2. *De deo et tribus personis divinitatis.* Consentienti quoque corde et ore confitemur et dei auxilio constanter ex verbo dei defendimus doctrinam de trinitate, de uno solo vero deo et tribus personis ὁμοουσίους, aeterno patre, filio λόγῳ, et spiritu sancto, sicut se aeterna divinitas patefecit divinis testimoniis, et eadem doctrina in symbolo apostolico, Nicaeno et Athanasiano, item in confessione Augustana et alibi pure explicata est. Credimus autem in deo divinae essentiae unitatem, et personarum in eadem existentium trinitatem, non propter humanas

aut philosophicas rationes et speculationes, sed quia aeterna divinitas sic se manifesto verbo revelavit illustribus testimoniis et apparitionibus, ut in baptismo Christi, et in symbolo fidei Christianae. Idem pure confitemur cum apostolica ecclesia, quod aeternus pater, filius et spiritus sanctus sit unus idemque deus, aeternus, infinitus et in se ipso perfectissimus, in quem deum vera fide credimus, baptizamur et salvamur. Et libenter his formulis loquendi de deo cum orthodoxa ecclesia utimur, ut discernamus nostram confessionem veram a Judaeorum, Mahometistarum et Arianorum blasphemis, et quia hae phrases cum verbo dei et fundamento conveniunt, et propriissime suis notis verum unicum deum exprimunt. Nec tamen nominando tres personas divinitatis tres deos affirmamus, nec quaternitatem effingimus, sed hos tres, patrem, filium et spiritum sanctum verum deum dicimus, unum et indivisum essentia, trinum et distinctum personis, juxta patefactionem divinitus in verbo dei revelatam. Sic autem has tres personas divinitatis certis proprietatibus distinguimus, eas non confundimus, nec in essentia separamus. Aeternus enim pater ingenuus est, qui ab aeterno filium gignit, imaginem suam coaeternam et consubstantialem, et hunc filium suum temporis plenitudine misit in mundum ad assumendam humanam naturam, et ad implendam promissionem, de redemptione generis humani factam. Filius dei aeternus ex patre ante saecula ab aeterno genitus est, secundum divinam naturam. ac promisso tempore descendit de coelis et homo factus est, natus ex Maria virgine secundum carnem. Hic filius mediator verus deus et homo est, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae, quia in hoc filio dei unigenito hae duae naturae, divina et humana, inseparabiliter unitae sunt, sic, ut deus et homo unus tantum sit Christus, redemptor, salvator et mediator, qui est via, veritas et vita.

Spiritus sanctus non est tantum motus creatus in sanctis, sed est revera persona subsistens ejusdem essentiae et divinitatis cum patre et filio, *ὑποούσιος* et verus deus; procedit enim spiritus sanctus a patre et filio et mittitur in corda credentium, in quibus est efficax.

Haec doctrina in nostris ecclesiis pure ex verbo dei declaratur et copiosius proponitur divinis testimoniis. In hoc tamen sanctissimae trinitatis arcano mysterio docemus, non esse indulgendum curiosis humanis speculationibus, nec perniciosis disputationibus mentes piorum esse involvendas, quibus fides et veritas labefactatur, sed simplici puro verbo dei et divinis patefactionibus acquiescendum esse.

Cum autem haec doctrina sit praecipuum fundamentum et basis

fidei Christianae, non potuit infensissimus hostis generis humani, diabolus, auctor omnis mali et pater mendacii, hanc veritatem incontaminatam et inconcussam relinquere, sed ad evertendam eam omne virus suum effudit in ecclesiam dei, ac omnibus viribus conatus est, hanc veram dei agnitionem et invocationem obscurare et penitus delere. Excitavit igitur contra hanc immotam veritatem horribiles errores et perniciosas haereses, quibus studuit Christum, aeternum filium dei ex sua gloria coelo deturbare et divinitatem ipsius spoliare. Et ad hos detestandos conatus perficiandos protrusit Satanas semper sua pestifera organa, homines contentiosos, vana gloria tumidos, veritatis et pietatis osiores. Tales fuerunt hostes ecclesiae dei temporibus Joannis evangelistae Ebion et Cerinthus, negantes et oppugnantes divinitatem filii dei, domini nostri Jesu Christi. Quorum blasphemia paulatim latissime serpsit, cum eandem post multos annos renoverant impius Samosathenus et Arius, quos deinde multi Antichristi discipuli et pseudoapostoli secuti sunt, eandem impietatem propugnantes, et quidem diversis et pluribus inde crescentibus aliis blasphemiiis in filium dei. Quidam enim divinitatem Christi, quidam humanitatem negantes, alii confundentes duas naturas in Christo, aut prorsus tollentes, in lapidem offendiculi horribilem impegnerunt, quorum in numero fuerunt Photinus, Sabellius, Eutiches, Praxeas, Macedonius, qui divinitatem spiritus sancti negavit, Eunomius, Nestorius, item et multi alii, de quibus tradunt historiae ecclesiasticae. Fuerunt isti omnes hostes et pestes ecclesiae filii dei in oriente, et maximam partem orbis terrarum in ipsorum blasphemiam traduxerunt, nec solum istis furoribus ecclesias concusserunt et vastaverunt. sed urbes etiam, regna et imperia orientis ad mutuas caedes concitaverunt ac everterunt, donec postremo ista impia Ariana lues quodammodo proprias sedes nacta est in imperio Mahometico, ubi et nunc locum genuinum habet.

De his autem horrendis confusionibus cogitantes nos toto pectore cohorrescimus, cum videamus, his postremis temporibus similes tragicas contentiones excitari in ecclesia domini in his regionibus a quibusdam perversis hominibus, qui olim damnatas exitiosas haereses et confutatas ab orthodoxa ecclesia denuo ex inferis resuscitant et diabolica audacia et temeritate revocant. Tales perturbatores piarum ecclesiarum, fanatici spiritus, qui non ex schola spiritus sancti prodierunt, sed ex lacunis diaboli, discipuli Mahometis et Alcorani, fuerunt nostro tempore Servetus Hispanus, in partibus Galliae combustus, Valentinus vere Gentilis, Socinus, Alcicius et alii Italici

nominis viri, qui erronei passim Christianorum regna pervagati, nullius ecclesiae cives existentes, haec incendia blasphemiarum non sine multarum animarum perditione excitarunt. Quorum sequaces antitrinitarii etiam in nostram patriam, alias afflictam, in magnam perniciem introducti sunt, studio Georgii Blandratae, medici, et Francisci Davidis Claudiopolitani, qui eosdem damnatos errores cum cohorte Ariana tuentur.

Hos vero omnes, doctrinam de sacrosancta et individua trinitate oppugnantes, blasphemias voces foedissimis linguis evomentes in filium dei et spiritum sanctum, ac negantes eorundem divinitatem, toto pectore detestamur ac tales cum orthodoxa ecclesia merito damnamus ac iudicio dei tradimus. Cumque jam multoties a piis ecclesiis earumque doctribus, viris doctriissimis harum et peregrinarum regionum, ad emendationem errorum sunt admoniti, et tamen in iis pertinaciter perseverant, iudicamus, hos tanquam inemendabiles, deinceps minime ab ecclesia vera audiendos, sed juxta admonitionem Christi et Pauli cavendos et vitandos esse. Interim tamen deum orabimus, ut sua clementia eos respicere velit, et suo sancto spiritu in viam veritatis et ad piam concordiam verae ecclesiae reducere dignetur.

3. *De lege et evangelio.* Universa doctrina Christiana in libris prophetarum et apostolorum comprehensa dividitur in legem et evangelium, quae duo genera doctrinarum semper in ecclesia sonuerunt, et deinceps inter nos sonabunt, quibus deus suam essentiam et voluntatem generi humano patefecit. Estque harum doctrinarum illustre discrimen perpetuo observandum. Id enim lucem affert universae scripturae sacrae, sicut ignorantia hujus discriminis semper magnas tenebras et errores peperit in ecclesia.

Lex enim est doctrina divinitus patefacta, quam deus et in prima creatione cordibus hominum indidit, et postea in monte Sinai et alibi repetivit, praecipiens, quales nos esse oporteat, quae facere et omittere deceat, requirens perfectam obedientiam seu conformitatem cum voluntate dei sine ullo peccato, et promittens bona praestantibus obedientiam, et denunciando iram et aeternas poenas omnibus, qui non permanent in iis, quae scripta sunt in lege dei.

Evangelium vero est doctrina, non natura nota, sed ex arcano consilio divinitatis per filium manifestata, in qua deus per Christum gratis promittit remissionem peccatorum, donationem spiritus sancti et vitae aeternae omnibus agentibus poenitentiam et fide promissionem amplectentibus.

Licet vero legis doctrina in hac depravatione naturae nobis impossibilitatis sit, nec huic nostris viribus satisfacere possimus, multo minus inde consequi justitiam et remissionem peccatorum,—non enim justificabitur ex operibus legis omnis caro: tamen haec doctrina in suo genere necessaria est in ecclesia et suum usum habet. Praebet enim testimonium de deo, quis et qualis sit, quidve a nobis requirat, praescribit deinde normam recte vivendi et disciplinam gubernandi, arguit etiam peccata in omnibus hominibus et damnat omnem immunditiam, terret conscientias, poenas gravissimas denunciando, et ad poenitentiam invitat. Est quoque lex paedagogus ad Christum. Cum enim lex vulnera nostra sanare non possit, ostendit, aliunde verum remedium quaerendum esse, nempe in Christo mediatore. Haec antinomis opponenda sunt, qui legem Mosis in universum ex ecclesia dei explodunt, nec esse docendam clamitant; poenitentiam enim non ex decalogo, sed ex evangelio Christi proponendam esse asserunt, cum tamen evangelium legem non aboleat, sed eam potius declaret et ad verum usum ipsius deducat, ac quomodo legi dei satisfieri possit docet, nempe per Christum, qui est finis legis.

4. *De peccato.* Sicut deus in se perfectissimus, est, ita etiam ab initio in prima creatione omnes suas creaturas perfectissime condidit, sine ulla labe, defectu, vel vitio; omnia enim, quae fecerat deus, erant valde bona. Sic et angelos et homines summa sapientia condidit, non ad corruptionem, peccatum aut interitum, sed ad suam imaginem creavit perfecte bonos, justos et sanctos, in summa perfectione, congruentes cum mente et voluntate divina, praestantes integram obedientiam deo, et plenam habentes libertatem voluntatis. et communicavit ipsis suam lucem, sapientiam, bonitatem, justitiam, sanctitatem et immortalitatem, ut essent templa et domicilia dei, in quibus ipse deus habitaret et esset omnia in omnibus.

Errant igitur, qui temerarie asserere audent, homines a deo sic conditos esse, ut necessario peccarent, deum auctorem peccati constituentes, cum tamen, ut psalmo quinto dicitur: Quoniam non deus iniquitatem volens tu es, deus nec condidit, nec vult, nec delectatur, nec approbat, nec juvat peccata, nec impellit ad ea. sed horribiliter irascitur sceleribus, et severissime punit, ut vox divina in decalogo et exempla testantur. Quare causa et origo peccati aliunde quaerenda est, nec in deum contumeliose conjicienda, qui peccata et scelera, tanquam res abominandas sua voce arguit, in omnibus hominibus detestatur et punit, nisi fiat remissio per Christum mediatorem.

Est autem causa peccati libera voluntas diaboli et primorum

parentum, qui abusi libertate voluntatis suae defecerunt a deo sua sponte, et hac inobedientia facti sunt rei irae dei, et amiserunt justitiam, sapientiam et omnem rectitudinem, in qua conditi erant a deo. Damnamus igitur furores Marcionis et Manichaeorum et eorum, qui Stoicam necessitatem peccandi asserunt; hi enim cum consensu ecclesiae dei pugnant.

De peccato originis perspicue asserimus, nos docere cum ecclesia dei inde usque a primis patribus, prophetis et apostolis, quod omnes homines post lapsum Adae a natura, carnali generatione et propagatione a parentibus secum afferant peccata, sicut Paulus testatur Rom. 5, 12; Eph. 2; Rom. 8; Psalm. 51. Istud peccatum originis, defectus et pravae inclinationes manent etiam post baptismum in infantibus et regeneratis, licet quod ad reatum et damnationem attinet, gratuita misericordia dei remittitur, neve imputatur credentibus.

Perversa igitur est sententia Pelagianorum, quam damnamus, et qui horum deliria secuti sunt, ut Manichaeorum et anabaptistarum, qui negant, in infantibus baptizatis esse peccata, et malam concupiscentiam, quae reliqua est, negant aliquid esse, pugnans cum lege dei, hoc modo extenuantes et annihilantes peccatum originis, quod nobiscum nascitur.

De remissione peccatorum et de justificatione hominis coram deo. Cum hic articulus fidei de justificatione hominis coram deo sit praecipuus scopus vitae et salutis nostrae, ad quem omnia referenda sunt, diligenter ex puro verbo dei in ecclesiis nostris docetur et proponitur ac defenditur contra omnes corruptelas et errores, quibus tenebrae evangelio inducuntur, beneficia filii dei obscurantur, et quibus vera consolatio in mentibus tollitur.

Discernimus enim veram justitiam fidei, quae sola coram deo valet, et justitiam legis, operum seu disciplinae, cum de utraque testimonia in scripturis exstent. Nam justitia operum seu disciplinae, etsi a deo mandata est et ingens decus est hominis in hac infirmitate naturae, posse utcumque decenter moderari externas actiones in vita; tamen haec nequaquam est impletio legis, nec meretur remissionem peccatorum, nec est justitia illa, qua coram deo sumus justī et accepti, (non enim justificabitur ex operibus legis omnis caro, Rom. 3); sed justitia fidei, de qua nos filius dei in evangelio docet, est longe alia, quae sola fide in Christum consequitur remissionem peccatorum. spiritum sanctum et vitam aeternam ex gratuita bonitate et misericordia dei, per et propter solius filii dei, domini nostri Jesu Christi, pro nobis passi, crucifixi et resuscitati meritum, obedientiam,

gratiam, satisfactionem et intercessionem, sine ulla nostra dignitate, absque nostris operibus, virtutibus et meritis. Nam haec beneficia justificationis gratis donantur et imputantur in Christum credentibus per fidem, qua et personam et beneficia filii dei agnoscimus ac nobis applicamus et omnibus articulis fidei assentimur, et certo statuimus, nobis peccata remitti propter Christum, juxta promissionem in evangelio revelatam.

Haec est brevissima et verissima summa de justificatione hominis coram deo, quod sola vera fide in Christum recipimur in gratiam, cum mentes nostrae vera consolatione acquiescunt in solo mediatore, et firma fiducia apprehendunt per spiritum sanctum meritum filii dei, quo nostra peccata expiata sunt, et credentibus donata et parta est justitia, salus et vita aeterna. Necessario autem in explicatione hujus articuli retinendae sunt particulae exclusivae, quibus divus Paulus usus est, nempe: gratis justificamur, sine operibus, sine lege. Loquuntur enim de imputatione justitiae et gratuita acceptione, qua credentes gratis, sine propriis meritis a deo justificantur. Ac ista phrasi tribuitur debitus honos Christo justificatori, quod per ipsum haec beneficia nobis gratuito donantur. Deinde et conscientiae nostrae inde certam et firmam consolationem hauriunt in desperatione et pavoribus, ex sensu irae dei adversus peccata ortis. Accedit quoque huic invocationis certitudo et fiducia; mens enim dubitans de reconciliatione fugit deum, nec potest firma fiducia et oratione ad thronum gratiae accedere.

Sic etiam aliam particulam exclusivam: *Sola fide* necesse est retineri in ecclesia ac recte explicari, videlicet quod vocabulum: *Sola* non excludat poenitentiam, seu contritionem, timorem dei, novitatem vitae, et ceteras virtutes, quae in conversione exsistunt, sic ut non adsint, nec etiam dignitati, seu merito filii dei, quatenus est virtus in nobis, tanquam causae justificationis (remissionem peccatorum) tribuat, sed quod neget, nostram contritionem et ceteras virtutes esse causam, seu meritum remissionum peccatorum, et asseveret, solius Christi obedientiam, passionem et mortem esse causam et meritum, propter quod remissio peccatorum, et hereditas vitae aeternae credentibus donetur, et haec beneficia sola fide a nobis agnoscere, accipi et nobis applicari.

Repudiamus igitur et damnamus omnes hujus articuli errores et corruptelas, pugnantes cum verbo dei, ut: papistarum et monachorum doctrinam de opere operato, quod fingunt, homines propriis virtutibus, qualitatibus et meritis consequi posse justitiam, remissionem pecca-

torum et vitam aeternam. Damnamus etiam Pharisaeicam justitiam de disciplina externa, quam Pelagius et Origines cum aliis asserunt, quasi hac possimus legi dei satisfacere. Rejicimus quoque callidam *συνεκδοχήν* de fide formata et copulatione omnium virtutum seu operum cum fide in justificatione, quam artificiose doctores moderni pontificii tueri conantur, et qui asserunt, fidem tantum esse notitiam et praeparationem, ut postea per dilectionem et ceteras virtutes vere justificemur. Similiter eos, qui particulas: *gratis*, item: *sola* abjiciendas esse affirmant, et qui in justificatione docent sufficere in genere, credendum esse remissionem peccatorum, in specie autem, cum a singulis fit applicatio beneficiorum et meritorum Christi, semper dubitandum esse propter nostram indignitatem. Rejicimus etiam cum piis ecclesiis Osiandri *κενοφωλίαν* de recens efficta essentiali et in nobis habitante justitia, qua derogatur merito et justitiae filii dei, domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui soli gloriam, justitiam, redemptionem et nostram salutem tribuimus.

6. *De bonis operibus et eorum necessitate, seu de nova obedientia.*

De hac parte doctrinae fideliter consensum retinemus, et in nostris ecclesiis bonorum operum usum et exercitia assidue ex verbo dei inculcamus. Scimus enim ea placere deo in regeneratis, et omnino requiri in conversione. Nam in perseverantibus in delictis contra conscientiam spiritus sanctus minime est efficax, nec habitat in eis, sed tales sunt hostes dei, qui non habent veram fidem.

Docemus itaque, in omnibus fide per Christum reconciliatis necessario novam obedientiam cum voluntate dei congruentem, seu bona opera sequi debere. Est enim ordo necessarius et immutabilis, ut creatura rationalis deo creatori obtemperet, ideoque fit conversio et recipimur a deo, ut deinceps vitemus peccata et novam obedientiam et vitam conformem voluntati divinae agamus. Et certum est, gratiam dei, spiritum sanctum et hereditatem regni coelorum amitti ab iis, qui se polluant malis operibus, ut 1. Cor. 6, Eph. 5 et alibi expresse dicitur. Et deus horribilibus poenis, praesentibus et aeternis, mala opera seu scelera punit, ac vult in hac vita disciplinam coli, et societatem politicam conservari tranquillam, et honestis exemplis alios ad agnitionem dei et exercitia virtutum invitari. Propter has causas docemus, necessaria esse bona opera seu novam obedientiam. Nequaquam tamen asserendum est, bona opera ad salutem et vitam aeternam consequendam necessaria esse, tamquam aliquam causam. Ut enim remissio peccatorum propter solum Christum, sine ullis operibus gratis donatur et sola fide accipitur, ita etiam salus

et hereditas vitae aeternae propter solum Christum sine ullis operibus gratis donatur. Rom. 6.

Horribilis igitur blasphemia est, honorem soli Christo debitum, qui solus sua morte et resurrectione iustitiam et vitam aeternam omnibus piis donandam promeruit, nostris operibus et meritis tribuere. Et tetra conscientiarum carnificina est, et pavidas mentes ad desperationem adigit, causam justificationis transferre ad nostra opera. Nam impossibile est, hominem justificari ex operibus legis.

Bona autem et necessaria opera vocamus ea, quae sunt praecepta in decalogo, quae fiunt praelucente fide in Christum, quae opera placent in regeneratis fide deo, et habent insuper dulcissimas promissiones et praemia spiritualia et corporalia, quibus vult deus auctorem se agnosci omnium beneficiorum. Vult enim fide et bona conscientia haec bona corporalia a se peti, de quibus dicitur 1. Tim. 4; Mar. 10; Matt. 5. Haec tamen praemia ita accipienda sunt, non quod nostris operibus tanquam merito ea consequamur, sed ex gratuita dei clementia et misericordia, quae credentibus fide in Christum firmiter promissa est.

De reliquis autem operibus, non mandatis a deo, ut superstitionis cultibus, a pontificiis excogitatis extra verbum dei, pronunciamus juxta regulam Christi: Matt. 15, 19. Talia enim opera nec necessaria sunt, imo displicent deo, et prorsus damnanda sunt, ut missarum mercatura, invocatio sanctorum, cultus idolorum et similes horrendae profanationes.

7. *De praedestinatione.* In praedestinationis mysterio non humana curiositate de dei occulto consilio et numero electorum perscrutando populum docemus, sed mentes piorum ad expressam dei voluntatem, in verbo patefactam deducimus, qua sine dubio vult homines omnes salvos fieri. Nec est in deo *πρόσωποληψία*, vel respectus personarum, aut inaequalitas, vel injustitia statuenda, sed deus immensa sua misericordia dives est erga omnes invocantes se et vera fide ad se confugientes, quos ex mera gratia recipit per filium, et vocat omnes peccatores ad salutem et poenitentiam. Non enim vult interitum nec mortem peccatoris, sed potius ut convertatur et vivat. Quod vero non omnes per verbum vocati accipiunt oblatam gratiam et multi sunt reprobi, docemus, causam non in deum conferendam esse, qui hominem ad immanem suam et aeternam vitam condidit, non ad interitum aut aeternam damnationem; sed in nos ipsos culpa recidit, qui divinae voluntati contumaciter reluctamur, et peccatis nostris

iram dei et poenas erga nos provocamus, sicut apud Oseam dicitur: Perditio ex te Israel, ex me solo salus tua est.

Haec autem in genere de praedestinatione docemus, quod aeternus deus, nondum jactis fundamentis mundi, suo arcano consilio praescivit et praecognovit omnia futura in rebus creatis, ut quem nihil lateat unquam. Hic praecognoscens et praevidens omnia, quo suam gloriam patefaceret, condidit coelum terram et omnes creaturas; condita tota rerum creatura valde bona, praecognovit et praevidit lapsum angelorum et hominum, quos tamen considerat ad suam imaginem et ornaverat libera voluntate, ut tum ad bona, tum ad mala declinare possent. Hunc spontaneum et tristissimum lapsum deus praesciens etiam creatura nondum condita, deliberavit de redemptione et restitutione generis humani, idque juxta suae voluntatis beneplacitum, quod proposuit in semet ipso et caritate et gratia. Sed hac praedestinatione seu inevitabili fato deus nullam necessitatem imposuit ulli hominum vel ad salvationem vel ad perditionem, sed praeordinavit certam et distinctam formam electionis, qua conclusit deus, deperditum humanum genus ex gratia salvare per filium, et sua misericordia liberare. Ac voluit id fieri non simpliciter, sed certis mediis, nempe per Christum, et quidem per fidem, acquiescentem in verbo et promissionibus ipsius, ut omnes, quotquot filium suum unigenitum fide vera apprehenderint, sint electi, nec pereant, sed habeant vitam aeternam. Quotquot autem sua incredulitate hunc filium spreverint, sint judicati, et ira dei maneat super eos.

Sic docemus in praedestinatione salvandorum electionem et decretum dei non particulariter, saltem de aliquibus, accipienda esse, sed de singulis et universis recipiendis, quotquot hunc filium agnoverint, et huic normae, juxta quam deus hanc electionem instituit, reverenter obedierint, sicut Joannis 1 dicitur: Quotquot receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem, filios dei fieri, qui credunt in nomine ejus. Nec in praedestinatione imaginandi sunt raptus violenti, entusiasmi, aut aliqua coactio extra verbum dei. Nam extra coetum vocatorum nulli sunt electi. Sicut Paulus dicit Rom. 8.

Detestamur autem in hac doctrina eorum sententiam, qui docent, praedestinationem dei esse causam scelerum in hominibus, et qui necessitatem Stoicam in omnibus actionibus urgent, et qui inaequalitatem in deo asserunt, ac tantum paucos quosdam in fatalibus tabulis deum scripsisse, quos etiam invitos et repugnantes ad se trahat, reliquos vero rejici, etiamsi ad filium dei confugiant. Nam talis

imaginatio extra verbum dei perniciosa est ac parit dubitationes et desperationes in mentibus hominum alias languidis.

8. *De libertate voluntatis humanae, seu libero arbitrio.* De libero arbitrio hanc simplicem et veram sententiam amplectimur, in homine, etiam non renato reliquam esse talem libertatem voluntatis, quae externa membra utcunque regere potest in externa disciplina, seu in externis actionibus. Sed ea libertas voluntatis nequaquam locum habet in conversione ad deum et justificatione. Nam ea novitas spiritualis ex deo tantum existit, qui per filium suum vivificantem nos spiritu suo sancto regit ac ducit, ut Paulus loquitur: Si quis spiritum Christi non habet, hic non est ejus; quicumque spiritu dei ducuntur, hi sunt filii dei, si autem filii, et heredes. Sunt autem in hoc loco haec praecipue observanda:

Primo. In hac doctrina Stoicorum furoribus adversamur, qui contendunt, omnes eventus et actiones humanas, bonas et malas, ut scelera Judae, Neronis, Caligulae, necessario et deo impellente, et efficaciter volente, fieri. Certissimae enim sunt hae sententiae: Deus noster absque ulla iniquitate rectus et justus est, item: Non deus volens iniquitatem tu es; Vivo ego, nolo mortem peccatoris.

Secundo. Fons contingentiae est libertas voluntatis in deo, angelis et hominibus, hoc est: facultas, qua voluntas potest eligere actionem, vel non eligere, vel suspendere electionem, vel sic, vel aliter agere.

Tertio. Certum est, reliquam esse libertatem voluntatis humanae in actionibus externis, loco motivae regendae, ut in actionibus artificum, moribus externis honeste gubernandis.

Quarto. In actionibus spiritualibus, in vera agnitione dei, poenitentia, contritione, timore dei, fide, invocatione, patientia, perseverantia certum est, voluntatem humanam non posse suis viribus quidquam velle aut perficere, nisi praeveniat spiritus sanctus seu ipse deus per verbum et afflatum divinum, movens et impellens voluntates, ut assentiantur et obtemperent.

Quinto. Post hunc motum et impulsum voluntatis, divinitus factum voluntas humana non est pure passiva, nec similis est trunco vel lapidi, sed mota et adjuta a spiritu sancto non repugnat, assentitur, obtemperat deo, et est *ὀυνεργος*, ut Paulus loquitur 1. Cor. 16. In Iosepho retinenti casti pudoris decus, et abstinenti ab herili conjugae voluntas non est pure passiva, sed impulsiva et adjuta a deo; per spiritum sanctum assentitur, repugnat illecebris et cohibet externa membra. In Davide, audiente absolutionem a Nathan: Dominus transtulit pec-

catum tuum, voluntas non est prorsus otiosa, sed assentitur, repugnat diffidentiae et dubitationibus, ut secum ipse hic testatur. Hanc sententiam veram et piam esse judicamus, verbo dei consentaneam et pietati convenientem.

9. *De sacramentis.* Doctrinam sacramentorum semper verbo dei conjungendam et docendam esse dicimus. Sunt enim sacramenta, ut Augustinus inquit, verba visibilia, verbo tanquam certa testimonia et sigilla addita, quae incurrunt in oculos, ac veram doctrinam et fidem in mentibus confirmant. Nec sunt tantum notae professionis, aut tantum ritus discernentes veram ecclesiam a ceteris gentibus, sed etiam sunt signa gratiae et tales externae caerimoniae, quae nos monent de remissione peccatorum et omnibus beneficiis filii dei, quodque haec ad singulos pertineant, qui vera fide his sacramentis legitime utuntur.

Sunt autem duo sacramenta novi testamenti, baptismus et coena domini, quibus conjungitur absolutio. Quod autem ab ecclesia Romana plura adnumerantur sacramentis, id improprie et perpere fieri judicamus.

10. *De baptismo.* Baptismus est caerimonia instituta a Christo, constans immersione et ablutione aquae et pronuntiatione verborum: Ego te baptizo in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, quae testantur, promissionem gratiae vere ad hunc pertinere, qui baptizatur, eumque denique recipi a deo, donari spiritu sancto et acceptari ad hereditatem vitae aeternae. De hoc baptismo Petrus docet cap 3., quod non est sordium corporis depositio, sed stipulatio bonae conscientiae erga deum per resurrectionem Jesu Christi, hoc est, est foedus novum inter deum et baptizatos initum, quod deus eos recipit in gratiam et mundet a peccato. Baptizati vero spondent fidem, obedientiam et verum cultum dei. In hac actione deus per spiritum sanctum est efficax, et fit regeneratio, ut Paulus loquitur ad Titum 3; item ad Gal. 3; Joannis 3.

Damnamus et rejicimus anabaptismum tanquam horrendam impietatem et contumeliam in nomen divinum, quo abutuntur anabaptistae, qui profanant nomen dei et irritam faciunt invocationem nominis divini, factam per priorem baptismum. Non est igitur iterandus baptismus, licet administratus fuerit a ministris hypocritis, et quorum mores vitiosi fuerint, si modo retinuerint integram et veram sententiam verborum et institutionis Christi. Nam efficacia sacramentorum non pendet ex dignitate personae, sed ex auctoritate insti-

tutionis Christi, qui per verbum et sacramenta operatur in nobis, dando spiritum sanctum et beneficia coelestia largiendo.

Aliud tamen iudicium est de iis, qui ab haeticis et Arianis sunt baptizati, qui et fidem sacramentorum annihilant et veram sententiam ac formam verborum evertunt. Detestamur etiam anabaptistarum errorem vel furorem, qui infantes a baptismo arcent et prohibent, stulte sibi vendicantes iudicium domini in parvulos, ad quos tamen aequae salus pertinet et promissio gratiae, non solum ad adultos, sicut expresse dicitur Matth. 10; item 18; Joannis 3. Credimus enim, et infantes placere deo, ideoque et in ipsis esse efficaciam fidei. licet non cadat sub sensus nostros. Est enim fides singulare donum dei et humanis viribus imperscrutabile.

Rejicimus etiam perniciosum errorem Novatianorum, qui negant, post baptismum lapsos rursus posse converti ad deum. Hos namque manifeste vox filii dei convincit, cum dixit Petro, ut septuagesies septies remittat.

11. *De coena domini.* De sacra coena domini firmiter credimus, cum administratur legitime, sicut a Christo instituta est, vere Christum praesentem esse, ac distributis et acceptis externis symbolis, pane et vino, distribui et sumi verum et substantiale corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi in hunc finem, ut promissio de remissione peccatorum singulis applicetur, et fides in summentibus confirmetur, et membra verae ecclesiae dei ab impiis discernantur.

Damnamus autem in hoc articulo multa tetra idola. abusus et superstitiones, quibus coena domini a papistis contaminata est, dum coenam domini in horrendam idololatriam convertunt, et figunt panem consecratum transformari et mutari, et mutilant sacramentum laicis adimendo alteram partem.

„Adest Christus in coena cum administratur, sicut ab ipso instituta est, praesens, voluntaria praesentia, propter suam institutionem. Nec magica virtute verborum attrahitur in panem corpus Christi, sic, ut in pane incluso aut circumgestato manere cogatur extra actionem et usum a Christo domino institutum; sed in actione, seu, cum accipitur, comeditur et bibitur, adest Christus, et est efficax, et suum corpus, et sanguinem communicantibus impertit, juxta Pauli sententiam 1. Cor. 10.

Est igitur detestanda idololatria, quod papistae panem consecratum circumgestant extra usum et adorandum proponunt, tanquam deum, non secus, ac olim Persae et Chaldaei ignem Orimasdae in publicis pompis regibus proferre solebant, ut velut deum adorarent.

Nec minus tetra sunt, et in Christi sacrificium contumeliosa missarum spectacula et novationes et alii abusus idololatriæ, quibus Christum offerunt pro vivis et mortuis.

Improbamus etiam anabaptistarum et sacramentariorum errores, qui negant veram corporis et sanguinis Christi praesentiam in coena, et fingunt, panem et vinum tantum nuda esse symbola absentis corporis et sanguinis Christi, ac verba filii dei transformant in figuratas locutiones, inde alium sensum elicientes, a verbis Christi peregrinum. Sentimus enim, haec verba filii dei simpliciter et proprie accipienda esse, sicut sonant, ac Christum veracem et omnipotentem esse, qui et velit et possit ubique esse praesens, quocunque se suo verbo alligavit, et quanquam ratio humana, sicut in ceteris fidei articulis, fremens absurditate offenditur, tamen firmitus est, verbo Christi tam manifesto fidem adhibere, quam humana ratione aliquid novi effingere.

12. *De potestate clavium et absolutione.* Retinentur in nostris ecclesiis et publica et privata absolutio, ubi non urgentur homines ad enumerationem peccatorum, quae impossibilis et superstitiosa est, sed fit in genere agnitio et confessio peccatorum a singulis, et petitur ex verbo dei consolatio a ministro ecclesiae, et annunciatio remissionis peccatorum in nomine Christi, qui dicit: Quorumcunque remiseritis peccata remissa sunt; quicquid solveritis in terra, erit solutum in coelis. Quae forma absolutionis in ecclesia exempla habet. Sic enim Christus absolvit mulierem in domo leprosi, sic paralyticum, sic Paulus jubet absolvi incestuosum. Sic Nathan absolvit Davidem.

Habet autem haec confessio et absolutio privata, in nostris ecclesiis usitata, plurimas utilitates; nam et consolationi, disciplinae et bono ordini conducit. Fit enim hoc modo applicatio remissionis peccatorum ad singulos, et rudes antequam ad sacramenta admittuntur, in doctrina diligenter instituuntur, ac ministri ecclesiae tanquam pio colloquio singulorum profectum in catechesi explorant, liberius etiam ad poenitentiam et vitae emendationem homines hortantur, ne indigne accedant, et multi scrupuli conscientiarum hoc examine privato absolutionis tolluntur pia et singulari institutione ministerii. Auricularem tamen mussitationem papisticam, quae idololatria est, non approbamus. Sternit enim viam ad superstitiosam satisfactionem, fidem languefacit, et ducit mentes ad desperationem, cum enumeratio omnium peccatorum, quae ibidem urgetur, sit impossibilis. Delicta enim quis intelligit?

13. *De poenitentia.* Doctrina de poenitentia perpetuo in ecclesia reti-

nenda est, quia necessaria est in conversione et ipse filius dei hanc nobis commendat Luc. 24, complectens summam evangelii, cum ait: Ite praedicantes in nomine meo poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum; item: Nisi poenitentiam egeritis, similiter peribitis. Sic Joannes baptista exclamat: Poenitentiam agite et dignos fructus poenitentiae facite.

Poenitentiam vero non intelligimus papistarum proprias satisfactiones, pro remissione peccatorum consequendas per stultissimas et supersitiosas quasdam observationes humanas, quibus merito filii dei manifeste derogatur; sed poenitentiam vocamus totam conversionem ad deum, quae est expavescere agnitione peccatorum et irae dei, et rursus erigi fide, quam comitatur nova obedientia. Nam haec tria poenitentia in se complectitur contritionem, fidem et novam obedientiam.

Contritio est, expavescere vero dolore, agnitione irae dei adversus peccata.

Fides vero est credere evangelio, assentiri promissioni gratiae, et firma fiducia statuere, sibi vere remitti peccata a deo propter Christum gratis. non propter nostra merita.

Nova obedientia in conversione nihil aliud est, quam militare bonam militiam, et retinere fidem et bonam conscientiam, ut Paulus loquitur. Et quanquam haec obedientia in hac vita imperfecta est, tamen cum in regeneratis inchoatur, placet deo, praelucente fide, in Christum mediatorem.

59. ARTICLES AGREED UPON BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF HENRY VIII AND THE WITTENBERG THEOLOGIANS, SPRING 1536.

I. Quod ad primum, tertium, septimum et decimum septimum articulos confessionis nostrae attinet, confitemur simpliciter et plane sine ulla ambiguitate, nos credere, tenere, docere et defendere omnia ea, quae sunt in Canone Bibliae et in tribus Symbolis apostolico, Niceno et Athanasii, ad illum ipsum, quem et tradunt illa symbola et approbati sancti patres eadem tractant et defendunt. Et volumus ea teneri et haberi pro sacrosanctis et immotis et non labefactandis cuiusquam autoritate aut opinione contraria. Ad haec sentimus eos articulos fidei in illis traditos ita necessarios esse ad animarum salutem, ut, qui contrarium sentiunt, non possint esse membra ecclesiae, sed sint prorsus idololatrae.

Porro sentimus summa fide retinendam esse ipsam verborum formam in illis articulis, quae extat in ipsis symbolis, nec ab ea forma verborum unquam recedendum esse. Proinde magno consensu damnamus Valentinianorum, Manichaeorum, Samosatenum, Arrianorum, Pneumatomachorum et reliquorum similes haereses omnes, quas hactenus ecclesia in sanctis synodis quatuor Nicena, Constantinopolitana, Ephesina et Chalcedonensi damnavit.

II. De peccato originali. Quod ad secundum articulum attinet de peccato originis, prorsus et sine ulla ambiguitate sentimus, docemus et defendimus id, quod docet S. Paulus, et ad eum sensum, quem interpretatur et defendit S. Augustinus adversus Pelagianos et ceteri, qui sequuntur Augustini sententiam, ut Anselmus et Bonaventura, et hanc Augustini sententiam de peccato originis veram esse sentimus et recte approbatam in synodis.

Deinde maxime probamus definitionem Anselmi, qui ait peccatum originis esse carentiam iustitiae originalis debitae inesse, sicut enim iusticia originis fuit non tantum acceptatio, sed etiam integritas virium, hoc est rectitudo voluntatis, seu aptitudo ad vere obediendum legi Dei, seu perfecta habitualis obedientia erga Deum. ita econtra peccatum originis est non tantum reatus seu imputatio, sed etiam corruptio secuta lapsum Adae in omnibus secundum naturam propagatis. Et haec corruptio non tantum defectus est rectitudinis, quae fuerat in natura hominis ante lapsum, videlicet non habere firmam noticiam Dei, non habere rectitudinem voluntatis seu aptitudinem ad perfectam obedientiam, ad verum timorem Dei, ad veram fidem, ad veram dilectionem Dei et proximi, sed etiam est concupiscentia, hoc est, rebellio contra legem Dei et inclinatio ad omnis generis peccata contra primam et secundam tabulam legis Dei.

Tenemus et hoc, quod omnes homines, secundum naturam propagati, nascuntur cum peccato originis, et hoc peccatum originis est vere peccatum afferens nunc quoque aeternam mortem iis, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et spiritum sanctum.

III. De Baptismo. Quod ad articulum nonum attinet, etiam plane et sine ulla ambiguitate confitemur, docemus et defendimus universalis ecclesiae consensus de baptismo videlicet, quod Baptismus a Christo institutus sit et sit necessarius ad salutem, et quod per Baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum et gratia Christi infantibus et adultis, et quod non debeat iterari Baptismus, et quod infantes debeant baptizari, et quod infantes per Baptismum consequantur remissionem peccatorum, gratiam et fiant filii Dei, quia promissio

gratiae et vitae aeternae pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes, et haec promissio per ministerium in ecclesia infantibus et adultis administrari debet.

Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis, habent opus remissione illius peccati, et illud ita remittitur, ut reatus tollatur, sed materiale peccati, videlicet corruptio naturae seu concupiscentia, manet in hac vita, etsi incipit sanari, quia spiritus sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax et eos mundat suo quodam modo. Nemo enim intrare potest in regnum coelorum, nisi renatus ex aqua et spiritu sancto. Probamus igitur sententiam ecclesiae, quae damnavit Pelagianos, qui negabant in infantibus esse peccatum originis, damnamus et Anabaptistas, qui negant infantes baptizandos esse.

De adultis vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur per Baptismum remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, si baptizandi attulerint poenitentiam veram, confessionem articulorum fidei, et promissione, quae est addita Baptismo, se confirment et credant, vere ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem propter Christum, sicut Evangelium dicit (Marc. 16, 16): Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, et Petrus ait in actis (2, 38): Poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum et accipietis donum spiritus sancti. Et quum Eunuchus petivisset baptismum, inquit Philippus (Act. 8, 37): Si credis ex toto corde, licet. Et respondet Eunuchus: Credo filium Dei esse Jesum. Et ad Titum III (5): Non ex operibus iustitiae, quae fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis spiritus sancti etc. Et Petrus ait (1. Petri 3, 21): Bonae conscientiae pactum.

IV. *De poenitentia et iustificatione.* Quod ad quartum, quintum, sextum, duodecimum et vicesimum articulos attinet de doctrina poenitentiae et iustificationis et bonorum operum, confitemur, docemus et defendimus eam doctrinam, quae de his rebus traditur in Canone Biblicae, quam et in ecclesia sancti patres Ambrosius, Augustinus et quidam horum similes docuerunt, et iudicamus, magnopere prodesse, ut haec doctrina pure tradatur in ecclesiis, ut gloria Christi illustretur et eius beneficia recte intelligantur et conscientiae habeant firmam consolationem et discant veros cultus Dei. Cum igitur Christus clare mandaverit, ut praedicentur poenitentia et remissio peccatorum in nomine ipsius, nos quoque docemus, quod ad consequendam salutem et vitam aeternam necesse sit habere poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum.

Primum igitur de poenitentia confitemur et defendimus consensum catholicae ecclesiae, quae sentit iuxta scripturas, quod lapsis post Baptismum necessaria sit poenitentia, et quod lapsi, qui in hac vita non agunt poenitentiam, certo damnentur, contra autem, quod lapsi, quandocunque et quocunque tempore agunt poenitentiam et convertuntur, vere consequuntur remissionem peccatorum, et quod ecclesia debet talibus impartire absolutionem. Damnamus igitur Novatianos, qui secus senserunt.

Ut autem sine ulla ambiguitate constet, quid sit poenitentia, clare et plane profitemur iuxta scripturam canonicam et sanctos patres, poenitentiam veram et integram, quam Christus praecipit, constare his tribus partibus, contritione, fide seu fiducia misericordiae Dei, quae propter Christum promissa est, et novitate vitae seu nova obedientia. Est autem contritio, cum conscientia, quae arguitur verbo Dei, agnoscit peccatum et vere sentit, Deum irasci peccato, et veros terrores concipit et dolet se peccasse, vere pudefit et sentit, se nulla nostra opera aut merita posse opponere irae Dei, sicut multis exemplis et sententiis in scriptura praecipitur et describitur contritio, ut in Psal. (38, 4): Non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum. Et in actis dicitur (2, 37): His auditis compuncti sunt corde etc.

In his terroribus et doloribus necesse est proponi doctrinam de fide in Christum et remissione peccatorum. Cum igitur fides accedit, hi pavores et dolores fiunt timor filialis et bona opera, cultus Dei et sacrificia, de quibus dicit Psal. (51, 19): Sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum et humiliatum deus non despicies.

Ideo secundam partem poenitentiae esse fidem necesse est, qua credimus, nobis ipsis a Deo remitti peccata et nos iustificari ac iustos reputari et fieri filios Dei non propter dignitatem contritionis aut aliorum operum, sed gratis propter Christum. Hac fide eriguntur in terroribus conscientiae et redduntur pacata corda et liberantur a terroribus peccati et mortis, sicut Paulus inquit (Rom. 5, 1): iustificati fide pacem habemus erga deum. Quia si iudicio Dei adversus peccatum opponeremus dignitatem nostram et merita nostra pro peccato, promissio reconciliationis fieret nobis incerta et conscientiae nostrae adigerentur ad desperationem, sicut Paulus ait (Rom. 4, 15): Lex iram operatur, sed opponi debent pro peccato meritum Christi et gratuita promissio misericordiae, quae donatur propter Christum, sicut Paulus inquit (1. Cor. 15. 56. 57): Aculeus mortis peccatum est, potentia peccati lex, gratia autem Deo, qui dat nobis victoriam per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

Haec autem fides, quae. ut dictum est, consolatur perterrefactas mentes, concipitur et confirmatur ex Evangelio et ex absolutione, quae singulis applicat promissionem gratiae, Cumque hoc modo per verbum Evangelii et absolutionem, quae et ipsa est vox Evangelii, sustentant se conscientiae, simul concipiunt spiritum sanctum, sicut Paulus docet ad Galatas (3, 14) : Ut promissionem spiritus accipiamus per fidem. Item (Rom. 10, 17) : Fides ex auditu est.

Et cum spiritus sanctus sit efficax, parit iam novos motus in cordibus consentientes legi Dei, scilicet fidem, dilectionem Dei, timorem Dei, odium peccati, propositum non peccandi et reliquos bonos fructus iuxta illud (Jer. 31, 33) : Dabo legem meam in cordibus eorum. Igitur iustificatio, quae fit fide hoc modo, ut dictum est, est renovatio et regeneratio.

Haec est sententia et scriptura et sanctorum patrum de remissione peccatorum et de fide. Sic enim et Bernhardus inquit : Necesses est primo omnium credere, quod remissionem peccatorum habere non possis nisi per indulgentiam Dei, sed .adde adhuc ut credas et hoc, quod per ipsum peccata tibi donantur. Hoc est testimonium, quod perhibet spiritus sanctus in corde tuo, dicens : Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua, sic enim arbitratur Apostolus gratis iustificari hominem per fidem. Haec sunt verba Divi Bernhardi in sermone de annunciatione, et huiusmodi multa praeclara testimonia in hanc sententiam extant passim in praecipuis patribus.

Haec autem fides, de qua loquimur, non tantum est noticia in intellectu, sed etiam est fiducia in voluntate, qua voluntas nostra vult et accipit beneficium Christi et acquiescit propter Christum et repugnat dubitationi et vincit terrores peccati et mortis et certo statuit, quod propter mediatorem Christum habeamus Deum placatum et propitium et simus filii.

Complectitur ergo haec fides omnes articulos fidei et in iis hunc quoque, videlicet remissionem peccatorum, quia hic est finis, ad quem reliqui de Christo destinati sunt. Ideo enim filius Dei incarnatus, passus, resuscitatus est etc., ut nos habeamus remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam propter ipsum. Quare non loquimur de fide, qualis est in impiis et diabolis. Nam hi non credunt omnes articulos fidei, non enim credunt remissionem peccatorum, sed loquimur de hac ipsa fide, quae et ceteros articulos credit et hunc, quod nobis donetur remissio peccatorum propter Christum.

Ad haec plane et clare docemus, quod oporteat in omni vita con-

jungi haec duo contritionem et fidem. Non enim potest existere haec fides in his, qui carnali securitate contemnunt iudicium Dei et indulgent viciosis affectibus nec habent contritionem iuxta illud Esaiæ 66 (2): Ad quem respiciam, nisi ad contritum spiritu et tremmentem sermones meos. Rursus contritio sine hac fide fit desperatio. Ideo docenda est ecclesia, quod haec fides seu fiducia, quae credit, nobis remitti peccata propter Christum et nos iustos reputari, sit praecepta, quia praeceptum est credere promissioni Dei. Promissio enim requirit fidem Rom. 4. Et Johannes ait (1. Joh. 5, 10): Qui non credit, mendacem facit eum, et Christus inquit (Joh. 6, 40): Haec est voluntas ejus, qui misit me, ut omnis, qui videt filium et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam.

V. *De bonis operibus.* Tertia pars poenitentiae est novitas vitae seu nova obedientia, sicut Joannes ait (Luc. 3, 8): Facite fructus dignos poenitentiae, et Esaias (1, 16): Desinite male facere etc. Confitemur enim, quod sentit et confitetur ecclesia catholica Christi, quod reconciliationem necessario sequi debeat nostra obedientia erga Deum, hoc est bona opera nobis mandata a Deo. Etsi enim acceptatio ad vitam aeternam coniuncta est cum iustificatione, hoc est, cum remissione peccatorum et reconciliatione, et bona opera non sunt precium pro vita aeterna, tamen sunt necessaria ad salutem. quia sunt debitum, quod necessario reconciliationem sequi debet, sicut Paulus ait (Rom. 8, 12): Debitores sumus, et Christus inquit (Matth. 19, 17): Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata, et Paulus de malis operibus (Gal 5, 21): Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt. Sed necesse est ad doctrinam de bonis operibus illustrandam multa moneri ecclesiam. Primum, qualia opera requirantur, secundo, quomodo fieri possint, tertio, quomodo placeant Deo, quarto de peccatis mortalibus, quae qui admittunt, excidunt gratia Dei. Quinto, quae sit necessitas et dignitas seu meritum bonorum operum.

Primum igitur docemus, requiri opera a Deo mandata et quidem non tantum externa civilia opera, sed etiam spirituales motus, timorem Dei, fiduciam, invocationem, dilectionem, patientiam, odium peccati, propositum non peccandi et similes motus ac virtutes, oportet enim in cordibus nostris inchoari legem Dei iuxta illud (Jerem. 31, 33): Dabo legem meam in corda eorum, et Christus inquit (Matt. 5, 20): Nisi abundaverit iusticia vestra plus quam pharisaeorum, non intrabitis in regnum coelorum, hoc est, oportet nos non tantum externa civilia opera facere, sed etiam habere spirituales motus consentientes legi Dei, timorem Dei, fidem, invocationem, sicut ait Paulus (Rom.

8, 14) : Qui spiritu Dei aguntur, hi sunt filii Dei. Haec novitas in hac vita tantum inchoatur, sed crescere eam oportet et nos magis magisque sanctificari, sicut ait Paulus (2 Cor. 5, 3) : Desiderantes superindui, si tamen induti, non nudi reperiemur. Oportet ergo in salvandis esse hanc inchoatam novitatem eamque confirmari et crescere

[The elucidation of the remaining four points covering about 150 lines has not much in common with the A. C. and the Apology.]

VI. *Quod ad decimum articulum* confessionis nostrae attinet credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis domini vere substantialiter et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini, et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et corporaliter exhibeantur et distribuantur omnibus illis, qui sacramentum accipiunt.

VII. *Quod ad undecimum articulum* attinet, profiteamur et docemus absolutione privata singulis applicari promissionem gratiae. Ideo docemus in ecclesiis privatam absolutionem necessario retinendam esse et docendos homines, ut eam petant. Nam vox illa absolutionis est vox evangelii, quod Christus per ecclesiae ministerium iussit annunciari multis et singulis, et vult, ut voci evangelii sonanti per ministrum credamus, tanquam voci Dei de coelo sonanti, quemadmodum testatur inquit (Joh. 20, 23) : Quorum remisistis peccata, remittentur eis. Item (Luc. 10, 16) : Qui vos audit, me audit.

Retinemus igitur confessionem arcanam, quae fit ministris ecclesiae, ut petatur absolutio propter consolationem uberrimam, et ut retineatur in ecclesia intellectus et beneficium potestatis clavium, quorum utrumque retineri maxime opus est, deinde et propter alias utilitates. Nam in ea confessione explorari fides indoctorum potest, ut instituantur, et saepe opus est imperitis consilio. Sed de hac confessione docemus, quod non sint onerandae conscientiae enumeratione delictorum, quia enumeratio illa non est praecepta in evangelio, sicut praecipui scriptores fatentur eam non esse iuris divini. Ad haec ista enumeratio, de qua praecipunt Romani pontifices, impossibilis est, qui iubent fieri enumerationem omnium peccatorum. Scriptum est enim (Psal. 19, 13) : Delicta quis intelligit?

Porro de satisfactionibus cum constet canonicas satisfactiones olim in ecclesia fuisse ritum publicae poenitentiae, de quo ipsi sancti patres senserunt eos ritus tum disciplinae, tum exempli causa institutos esse, non ut mererentur remissionem culpae aut compensarent mortem aeternam vel purgatorium, nos quoque sentimus, non esse plus tribuen-

dum illis ritibus, quam tribuerunt ipsi sancti patres recte intellecti et quam sinit evangelium, quod docet nos, solum Christum esse hostiam, solum Christi mortem esse oblationem, satisfactionem et compensationem, propter quam Deus et culpam et mortem aeternam nobis remittit.

Caeterum vera contritio mortificat carnem et nova obedientia debet coercere carnem variis exercitiis, sicut Paulus ait (1. Cor. 9, 27): Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo. Et haec non sunt opera indebita, sed debita.

Est etiam retinenda distinctio remissionis culpae et remissionis poenae temporalis. Cum enim deus saepe puniat peccata praesentibus et temporalibus poenis, valde prodest hoc quoque in ecclesia doceri, quod non solum consequamur vitam aeternam, cum agimus poenitentiam, sed etiam quod remissionem aut mitigationem praesentium poenarum et calamitatum poenitentia et bona opera nostra mereantur, sicut Paulus inquit (1. Cor. 11. 31): Si nos ipsi iudicemus, non iudicemur a domino, et Zacharias (Sacharja 1. 3): Convertimini ad me et ego convertar ad vos; et Esaias 58, (7, 11): Frange esurienti panem tuum etc., tunc eris velut hortus irrigans, et Deus remisit poenam Ninivitis propter ipsorum poenitentiam (Jon. 3, 10). Et de hac remissione poenarum vere intelligi potest (Tob. 4, 11. 12, 9): Eleemosina liberat a morte, hoc est, meretur remissionem praesentium poenarum. Haec sunt inculcanda ecclesiis, et ut excitentur ad bene operandum, et in his ipsis operibus exerceant et confirment fidem petentes et expectantes a Deo mitigationem praesentium calamitatum.

VIII. Quod ad tertium decimum articulum confessionis nostrae attinet, docemus, quod sacramenta instituta sunt, non modo ut sint notae professionis inter Christianos, sed magis ut sint certa quaedam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiae et voluntatis Dei erga nos, hoc est, per quae Deus invisibiliter operetur in nobis et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundat, if we use them aright; also that they are instituted to awaken and confirm faith in those who use them.*

Also we teach that we must so use the sacraments that besides heartfelt contrition and repentance there must also be faith, namely faith in the sense in which we spoke of it above, faith, that does not merely believe in a general way that there is a God etc., but that also believes these promises that are offered, given and transmitted

*[The remaining part of article VIII and articles IX, X and XI are missing in the Latin manuscript; we translate them from the German.]

by means of the sacraments. For we do not regard as accepted and right what some teach, namely that the sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato* without a good disposition on the part of the one who uses them, merely for the sake of the act of receiving, even though he who receives has no faith; for in the case of adults it is necessary that whoever receives the sacraments must bring faith with him, faith that believes these promises and receives the blessings that are offered in the sacraments. Such use of the sacraments is very consoling to pious souls and troubled minds.

IX. Of Ecclesiastical Orders. Concerning the eighth and fourteenth articles we teach with one accord that no one should teach publicly or administer the sacraments in the Church, unless he has first been rightly called to do so by those who have the authority to call and admit ministers to office.

Furthermore, we teach that, since the sacraments in the Church as well as the Word of God receive their efficacy, not by virtue of the worthiness of the minister, but by virtue of the ordinance, institution and command of Christ, they are just as efficacious when they are distributed by wicked ministers as they are when they are distributed by pious ministers. Therefore we condemn all those who deny it to be lawful to receive the Word and sacraments from impious ministers as if for that reason they were without power or profit.

X. Of Rites and Usages in the Church. Concerning the fifteenth article of our confession and the last part of the seventh article we teach that it is lawful for bishops or pastors to make ordinances and ceremonies, laws concerning holidays and degrees, that is orders of ministers etc. We also teach that to the end that all things be done peaceably and orderly, such ordinances and ceremonies, so far as they can be observed and are of profit for tranquility and good order, should for the sake of peace and Christian love be kept by all.

Moreover, we also teach that in such matters it is necessary to preserve the doctrine of Christian liberty and that the people are made to realize that such ordinances are not to be observed as if this were required to merit salvation, and that they have no reason to have a troubled conscience who here and there neglect to observe them, if only he who neglects them does so with a proper understanding, and not in a spirit of disregard for the offence he might create in others; for we should be moderate in the use of our Christian liberty in order that the inexperienced may not thereby be offended,

and on account of our abuse of liberty be deterred from the true teaching of the Gospel, and that without a reasonable cause nothing in customary rites be changed, but that for the sake of peace and unity, such old customs be preserved as can be observed without sin.

Concerning this matter we also teach that when bishops make their rules and teach that by their observance men should merit grace and forgiveness or make satisfaction for sin, thus making them snares of conscience and lead the people to believe that their observance is a service to God of a high order, and necessary to salvation, and that whenever they fail to observe them, even without contempt and without causing offence, they commit sin, we hold such a delusion to be utterly opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith and teach that no bishop has authority either to make such rules or to require their observance.

Finally, we also teach that just as little as it is necessary that traditions of the Church or ceremonies instituted by men, should everywhere be alike—for every land has its festivals and every parish its own custom and tradition that is not in every respect like that of another—just so little is the true spiritual unity of the Church violated or destroyed by such diversity; for to preserve that, it is enough to agree concerning the true doctrine of the Gospel and the proper administration of the sacraments and to live according to the Gospel in love toward one another. As St. Paul says [Eph. 4:5]: One faith, one baptism etc.

XI. Of Civil Affairs. Concerning the sixteenth article we teach first, that since the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, that is, since it is in the hearts of men where it works true knowledge of God, fear and faith, eternal righteousness and eternal life, therefore, it does not destroy the civil state, nor commonwealth, nor family but confirms their authority and commands that men should preserve them as divine ordinances and good creatures of God.

For God wills that we should make use of and be subject to every established political authority under which we live, and bids us by such obedience to prove our love.

Secondly, we teach that since such legitimate political government and authority pleases God, a Christian may according to divine ordinance, without sin bear civil office, sit in judgment, determine legal matters by imperial laws and other laws in force, appoint just punishment for criminals, engage in just wars, serve as a soldier,

buy and sell, hold property, take an oath when legally required to do so, marry etc. Finally, we teach that all Christians are necessarily bound to obey their authorities in all things, except when they give commands that cannot be obeyed without sinning; in such cases they ought to obey God rather than men. Acts 4 [5:29].

XII. De Missa. De lectionibus et precationibus in missa non est controversia. Cum enim Paulus (1. Cor. 14?) etiam in publicis ceremoniis velit recitari aliquas sacras lectiones utiles ad excitandas mentes ad timorem et fidem et addi precationes et graciaram actionem, hic mos in ecclesia non abolendus, sed diligenter conservandus est. Primum enim maxime pròdest in communi coetu fieri precationem, quia Christus nominatim ecclesiae dedit promissiones, cum ait (Matt. 18, 19, 20): Si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram de omni re, quamcunque petierint, fiet illis a patre meo, qui in coelis est; ubi enim sunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum. Invitat igitur nos Christus amplissima promissione, ut in precatione nos ecclesiae adiungamus, vult Deus, ecclesiam sic inter se devinctam esse, ut alii aliorum necessitate afficiantur et pro aliis orent, et promittit, se has preces exauditurum esse; ut hoc discamus et hanc fidem exerceamus, publica consuetudo ecclesiae in publicis precationibus, in missa et aliis ceremoniis monere nos debet. Jubet et Paulus 2. Corinth. 1, (11), per multos fieri precationes, ut vicissim multi agant gracias Deo, quod Deus exaudiverit preces, quod respexerit afflictos.

Deinde exemplum ecclesiae utilissimum est. Monet enim multos, ut ipsi quoque excitentur ad credendum et invocandum, praesertim si populus in concionibus admoneatur de promissionibus ecclesiae factis. Ita enim intelligent aliorum exempla, et mos ecclesiae pròderit ipsis ad aedificationem, ut docet Paulus 1. Corinth. 14.

Tertio prodest etiam exemplum ecclesiae, ut moneat singulos, quarum rerum cura affici et quid petere debeant. Nam populus non admonitus non intelligit publicas necessitates. Ibi autem non solum audit privata dona petenda esse, sed etiam discit, singulos debere affici publicis curis, orare pro universa ecclesia, ut liberetur ab erroribus, scandalis, dissidiis, impiis cultibus, ut propagetur vera doctrina, ut veri cultus praestentur deo, et nos regamur et sanctificemur per spiritum sanctum. Discit item deo placere precationes de rebus corporalibus, de pace, de felici gubernatione, de proventu frugum, contra pestilentiam et similia mala.

Huiusmodi precationes in publicis ceremoniis, in missa et aliis

sentimus pie et necessario institutas esse. Est enim mandatum Dei, et ut invocemus eum in omnibus periculis, et ut populus in publicis ritibus de hac invocatione doceatur, ut discat Deo credere et a Deo petere et expectare auxilium.

Sed de usu sacramenti corporis et sanguinis domini in missa, improbamus eos, qui sentiunt, usum sacramenti cultum esse applicandum pro aliis vivis et mortuis et mereri illis remissionem culpae et poenae, idque ex opere operato. Haec enim sunt ignota veteri ecclesiae et dissentiunt a scripturis sacris et obscurant doctrinam de fide et alieni operis fiduciam pariunt.

Sed cum Christus diverit (Luc. 22, 19): Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, instituit hoc sacramentum, ut ibi fiat vera fide recordatio mortis ipsius et beneficiorum, quae nobis morte sua meruit. Et haec beneficia per sacramentum applicantur sumenti, cum fidem hac recordatione exuscitat et credit, Christum vere nobis donare sua beneficia, cum tantum testimonium nobis exhibeat, quod nos sibi adiungat, quod nos velit tanquam sua membra servare, quod nos mundet suo sanguine.

Haec fides, qua accipiuntur beneficia Christi, est spiritualis cultus Dei, et quia cum ea fide debet esse coniuncta gratarum actio, qua corda vere pro remissione peccatorum et redemptione gratias agant Deo Patri (et) domino nostro Jesu Christo ideo vetus ecclesia hunc usum sacramentorum vocavit Eucharistiam, sicut Cyprianus suavissime inquit de communicantibus: Pietas inter data et condonata se dividens gratias agit tam uberis beneficii largitori, id est: Pietas utrunque considerat, quanta sit magnitudo beneficii nobis donati, gratiae et vitae aeternae, et e regione, quanta sit magnitudo malorum nostrorum, hoc est, peccatorum et mortis aeternae. Existit igitur ardens gratiarum actio, cum videmus, nobis ineffabili clementia tanta peccata remitti et nos insuper donari spiritu sancto et gloria illa aeternae vitae.

Et in hanc sententiam sentimus hanc sacratissimam ceremoniam vocari sacrificium a sanctis patribus, qui certe non senserunt id opus applicatum pro aliis mereri eis remissionem culpae et poenae idque ex opere operato, sed senserunt in usu sacramenti exercendam esse fidem et gratiarum actionem faciendam esse.

Cum igitur Christus sic instituerit usum sacramenti, ut esset communio, in qua porrigeretur aliquibus sacramentum, et hunc morem diu servaverit vetus ecclesia nec habuerit privatas missas, sentimus

nos, talem ritum, in quo fit communio aliquorum, pium et consensaneum esse evangelio.

Deinde privatae missae solitae sunt fieri cum illa opinione de usu sacramenti, quod necesse sit, existere in ecclesia hunc cultum applicandum pro aliis, ut mereatur eis remissionem culpae et poenae, tales igitur missae abrogandae sunt. Et ut haec scandala tollantur et Christi institutio, videlicet communio, servetur, sentimus, neminem cogendum esse, ut celebret privatas missas. Cum enim Paulus dicat (1. Cor. 11, 27), reos esse corporis et sanguinis domini illos, qui abutantur sacramento, summa cura praestandum est, ut pius et sanctus usus ad gloriam Christi et salutem ecclesiae restituatur.

Concerning the following articles (XIII. De utraque specie; XIV. De conjugio sacerdotum; XV. De votis monasticis; XVI. De invocatione sanctorum; XVII. De imaginibus) compare the historical introduction, chapter three.

60. THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES AGREED UPON AT LONDON, 1538.

I. De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum. De Unitate Essentiae Divinae et de Tribus Personis censemus decretum Nicenae Synodi verum et sine ulla dubitatione credendum esse, videlicet, quod sit una Essentia Divina, quae et appellatur et est Deus, aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientiâ, bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum visibilium et invisibilium, et tamen tres sint personae ejusdem essentiae et potentiae, et coaeternae, Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus; et nomine personae utimur ea significatione qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit. Damnamus omnes haereses contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manicheos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum: item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas, et omnes horum similes. Damnamus et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui cum tantum unam personam esse contendant, de Verbo et Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personae distinctae, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale, et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

II. De Peccato Originali. Omnes homines, secundum naturam propagati, nascuntur cum peccato originali; hoc est cum carentia originalis justitiae debitae inesse, unde sunt filii irae, et deficiunt cognitione Dei, metu Dei, fiducia erga Deum, etc. Et habent concupiscentiam, repugnantem legi Dei; estque hic morbus seu vitium originis vere peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque aeternam

mortem his qui non renascuntur per Baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum. Damnamus Pelagianos, et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum, et ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi. disputant hominem viribus naturalibus sine Spiritu Sancto posse legi Dei satisfacere, et propter honesta opera rationis pronunciari justum coram Deo.

III. De Duabus Christi Naturis. Item docemus, quod Verbum, hoc est Filius Dei, assumpserit humanam naturam in utero Beatae Mariae Virginis, ut sint duae naturae, divina et humana, in unitate personae inseparabiliter conjunctae, unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo, natus ex Virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem, et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis. Item descendit ad inferos, et vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad coelos, ut sedeat ad dextram Patris et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet credentes in ipsum, misso in corde eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat consoletur, ac vivificet eos, ac defendat adversus Diabolum et vim peccati. Idem Christus palam est rediturus ut judicet vivos et mortuos, etc. juxta Symbolum Apostolorum.

IV. De Justificatione. Item de Justificatione docemus, quod ea proprie significat remissionem peccatorum et acceptationem seu reconciliationem nostram in gratiam et favorem Dei; hoc est veram renovationem in Christo, et quod peccatores, licet non assequantur hanc justificationem absque poenitentia, et bono ac propenso motu cordis quem Spiritus Sanctus efficit erga Deum et proximum, non tamen propter dignitatem aut meritum poenitentiae aut ullorum operum seu meritorum suorum justificantur, sed gratis propter Christum per fidem, cum credunt se in gratiam recipi, et peccata sua propter Christum remitti, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis satisfecit. Hanc fidem imputat Deus pro justitia coram ipso. Rom. 3 et 4. Fidem vero intelligimus non inanem et otiosam, sed eam "quae per dilectionem operatur." Est enim vera et Christiana fides de qua hic loquimur, non sola notitia articulorum fidei, aut credulitas doctrinae Christianae duntaxat historica, sed una cum illa notitia et credulitate, firma fiducia misericordiae Dei promissae propter Christum, qua videlicet certo persuademus ac statuimus eum etiam nobis misericordem et propitium. Et haec fides vere justificat, vere est salutifera, non ficta, mortua, aut hypocritica, sed necessario habet spem et charitatem sibi individue conjunctas, ac etiam studium bene vivendi, et bene

operatur pro loco et occasione. Nam bona opera ad salutem sunt necessaria, non quod de impio justum faciunt, nec quod sunt pretium pro peccatis, aut causa justificationis, sed quia necessum est, ut qui jam fide justificatus est et reconciliatus Deo per Christum, voluntatem Dei facere studeat juxta illud: "Non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine, Domine, intrabit regnum coelorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei, qui in coelis est." Qui vero haec opera facere non studet, sed secundum carnem vivit, neque veram fidem habet, neque justus est, neque vitam aeternam (nisi ex animo resipiscat, et vere poeniteat) assequetur.

Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi Evangelii et porrigendi Sacramenta. Nam per verbum et sacramenta tanquam per instrumenta donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in his qui audiunt Evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita sed propter Christum justificet poenitentes, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi. Damnamus Anabaptistas, et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum praeparationes et opera.

V. *De Ecclesia.* Ecclesia praeter alias acceptiones in scripturis duas habet praecipuas: unam, qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium sanctorum et vere fidelium, qui Christo capiti vere credunt et sanctificantur Spiritu ejus. Haec autem vivum est et vere sanctum Christi corpus mysticum, sed soli Deo cognitum, qui hominum corda solus intuetur. Altera acceptio est qua Ecclesia accipitur pro congregatione omnium hominum qui baptizati sunt in Christo et non palam abnegarunt Christum, nec juste et per ejus verbum sunt excommunicati. Ista Ecclesiae acceptio congruit ejus statui in hac vita duntaxat, in qua boni malis sunt admixti et debet esse cognita ut possit audiri juxta illud: "Qui Ecclesiam non audierit," etc. Cognoscitur autem per professionem Evangelii et communionem sacramentorum. Haec est Ecclesia catholica et apostolica, quae non Episcopatus Romani aut cujusvis alterius Ecclesiae finibus circumscribitur, sed universas totius Christianismi complectitur Ecclesias, quae simul unam efficiunt catholicam. In hac autem catholica Ecclesia nulla particularis Ecclesia, sive Romana illa fuerit, sive quaevis alia, ex institutione Christi supra alias Ecclesias eminentiam vel auctoritatem ullam vindicare potest. Est vero haec Ecclesia una, non quod in terris unum aliquod caput, seu unum quandam vicarium sub Christo habeat aut habuerit unquam, (quod sibi jam diu Pontifex Romanus divini juris praetextu vindicavit, cum tamen revera divino

jure nihil amplius illi sit concessum quam alii cuiusvis episcopo,) sed ideo una dicitur, quia universi Christiani in vinculo pacis colligati unum caput Christum agnoscunt, cujus se profitentur esse corpus, unum agnoscunt Dominum, unam fidem, unum baptismum, unum Deum ac Patrem omnium.

Traditiones vero, et ritus, atque caeremoniae, quae vel ad decorem vel ordinem vel disciplinam Ecclesiae ab hominibus sunt institutae, non omnino necesse est ut eadem sint ubique aut prorsus similes. Hae enim et variae fuere, et variari possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus, ordo, et utilitas Ecclesiae videbuntur postulare: (Hae enim et variae fuere, et variare possunt pro regionum et morum diversitate, ubi decus decensque ordo principibus rectoribusque regionum videbuntur postulare; ita tamen ut nihil varietur aut instituat contra verbum Dei manifestum.)

Et quamvis in Ecclesia secundum posteriorem acceptionem mali sint bonis admixti, atque etiam ministeriis verbi et sacramentorum nonnunquam praesint; tamen cum ministrent non suo sed Christi nomine, mandato, et auctoritate, licet eorum ministerio uti, tam in verbo audiendo quam in recipiendis sacramentis juxta illud: "Quid vos audit, me audit." Nec per eorum malitiam minuitur effectus, aut gratia donorum Christi rite accipientibus; sunt enim efficacia propter promissionem et ordinationem Christi, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

VI. De Baptismo. De Baptismo dicimus, quod Baptismus a Christo sit institutus, et sit necessarius ad salutem, et quod per Baptismum offerantur remissio peccatorum et gratia Christi, infantibus et adultis. Et quod non debeat iterari Baptismus, et quod infantes debeant baptizari. Et quod infantes per Baptismum consequantur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, et sint filii Dei, quia promissio gratiae et vitae aeternae pertinet non solum ad adultos, sed etiam ad infantes. Et haec promissio per ministerium in Ecclesia infantibus et adultis administrari debet. Quia vero infantes nascuntur cum peccato originis, habent opus remissione illius peccati, et illud ita remittitur ut reatus tollatur, licet corruptio naturae seu concupiscentia manet in hac vita, etsi incipit sanari, quia Spiritus Sanctus in ipsis etiam infantibus est efficax et eos mundat. Probamus igitur sententiam Ecclesiae quae damnavit Pelagianos, quia negabant infantibus esse peccatum originis. Damnamus et Anabaptistas qui negant infantes baptizandos esse. De adultis vero docemus, quod ita consequuntur per Baptismum remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, si baptizandi at-

tulerint poenitentiam veram, confessionem articulorum fidei, et credant vere ipsis ibi donari remissionem peccatorum et justificationem propter Christum, sicut Petrus ait in Actis: "Poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti."

VII. De Eucharistia. De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini, vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.

VIII. De Poenitentia. Summam et ineffabilem suam erga peccatores clementiam et misericordiam Deus Opt. Max. apud Prophetam declarans hisce verbis, "Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus, nolo mortem impii, sed ut impius convertatur a via sua et vivat," ut hujus tantae clementiae ac misericordiae peccatores participes efficerentur, saluberrime instituit Poenitentiam, quae sit omnibus resipiscentibus velut antidotum quoddam et efficax remedium adversus desperationem et mortem. Cujus quidem Poenitentiae tantam necessitatem esse fatemur, ut quotquot a Baptismo in mortalia peccata prolapsi sint, nisi in hac vita resipiscentes Poenitentiam egerint, aeternae mortis judicium effugere non poterint. Contra (vero) qui ad misericordiam Dei per Poenitentiam tanquam ad asylum confugerint, quantiscunque peccatis obnoxii sunt, si ab illis serio conversi Poenitentiam egerint, peccatorum omnium veniam ac remissionem indubie consequentur. Porro quoniam peccare a nobis est, resurgere vero a peccatis, Dei opus est et donum, valde utile et necessarium esse arbitramur docere, et cujus beneficium sit ut veram salutaremque Poenitentiam agamus, et quaenam illa sit ac quibus ex rebus constet, de qua loquimur Poenitentia.

Dicimus itaque Poenitentiae per quam peccator a morte animae resurgit, et denuo in gratiam cum Deo redit, Spiritum Sanctum auctorem esse et effectorem, nec quemquam posse sine hujus arcano afflatu, peccata sua salutariter vel agnoscere vel odio habere, multo minus remissionem peccatorum a Deo sperare aut assequi. Qui quidem sacer Spiritus Poenitentiae initium, progressum, et finem, caeteraque omnia quae veram Poenitentiam perficiunt in anima peccatrice, hoc (quem docebimus) ordine ac modo operatur et efficit.

Principio, facit ut peccator per verbum peccata sua agnoscat, et veros conscientiae terrores concipiat, dum sentit Deum irasci peccato,

utque serio et ex corde doleat ac ingemiscat, quod Deum offenderit; quam peccati agnitionem, dolorem, et animi pavorem ob Deum offensum, sequitur peccati confessio, quae fit Deo dum rea conscientia peccatum suum Deo confitetur, et sese apud Deum accusat et damnat, et sibi petit ignosci. Psalm 31. "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non abscondi. Dixi, confitebor adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei." Atque haec coram Deo confessio conjunctam habet certam fiduciam misericordiae divinae et remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, qua fiducia conscientia jam erigitur et pavore liberatur, ac certo statuit Deum sibi esse propitium, non merito aut dignitate poenitentiae, aut suorum operum, sed ex gratuita misericordia propter Christum, qui solus est hostia, satisfactio, ac unica propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. Ad haec adest et certum animi propositum vitam totam in melius commutandi, ac studium faciendi voluntatem Dei et perpetuo abstinendi a peccatis. Nam vitae novitatem sive fructus dignos Poenitentiae ad totius Poenitentiae perfectionem necessario requirit Deus, juxta illud, Rom. 6: "Sicut exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiae et iniquitati, ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiae, in sanctificationem."

Atque haec quidem omnia, agnitionem peccati, odium peccati, dolorem pavoremque pro peccatis, peccati coram Deo confessionem, firmam fiduciam remissionis peccatorum propter Christum, una cum certo animi proposito postea semper a peccatis per Dei gratiam abstinendi et serviendi justitiae, Spiritus Sanctus in nobis operatur et efficit, modo nos illius afflatui obsequamur, nec gratiae Dei nos ad Poenitentiam invitanti repugnemus.

Caeterum cum has res quae Poenitentiam efficiunt maxima pars Christiani populi ignoret, nec quomodo agenda sit vera Poenitentia intelligat, nec ubi speranda sit remissio peccatorum norit, ut in his rebus omnibus melius instituatur et doceatur, non solum concionatores et pastores diligenter in publicis concionibus populum de hac re informare, et quid sit vera Poenitentia, ex sacris literis sincere praedicare debent, verum etiam valde utilem ac summe necessariam [Cranmer proposed: commodissimam] esse dicimus peccatorum confessionem, quae auricularis dicitur, et privatim fit ministris Ecclesiae.

Quae sane confessio modis omnibus in Ecclesia retinenda est et magnificianda, cum propter hominum imperitorum institutionem in verbo Dei, et alia commoda non pauca, (de quibus mox dicemus) tum praecipue propter absolutionis beneficium, hoc est remissionem

peccatorum, quae in hac confessione confitentibus offertur et exhibetur per absolutionem et postestatem clavium. juxta illud Christi. Joan. 20. "Quorum remiseritis peccata," etc. Cui absolutioni certo oportet credere. Est enim vox Evangelii, qua minister per verbum, non suo sed Christi nomine et auctoritate, remissionem peccatorum confitenti annuntiat ac offert. Cui voci Evangelii per ministrum sonati, dum confitens certa fide credit et assentitur, illico conscientia ejus fit certa de remissione peccatorum, et jam certo secum statuit Deum sibi propitium ac misericordem esse. Quae una profecto res Christianos omnes magnopere debet permovere, ut confessionem, in qua per absolutionem gr̃atiae et remissionis peccatorum certitudo concipitur et confirmatur, modis omnibus et ament et amplectantur. Et in hac privata absolutione sacerdos potestatem habet absolvendi confitentem ab omnibus peccatis, etiam illis qui soliti sunt vocari casus reservati, ita tamen ut ille privatim absolutus, nihilominus pro manifestis criminibus (si in jus vocetur) publicis judiciis subiaceat.

Accedunt huc et alia confessionis arcanae commoda, quorum unum est, quod indocti ac imperiti homines nusquam (commodius) aut melius quam in confessione de doctrina Christiana institui possint, (modo confessorem doctum et pium nacti fuerint). Nam cum animos attentos ac dociles in confessione afferunt, diligenter ad ea quae a sacerdote dicuntur animum advertunt. Quocirca et fides eorum explorari potest, et quid peccatum sit, quamque horrenda res sit, et quae sint peccatorum inter se discrimina, ac quam graviter contra peccata irascitur Deus, a doctis ac piis pastoribus seu confessoribus (ex verbo Dei) doceri possunt ac informari. Multi enim, propterea quod haec ignorent, in conscientiis saepe graviter anguntur, illic trepidantes timore, ubi timor non est, qui (ut Servator ait) "culicem excolantes, camelum deglutiunt"; in minimis levissimisque peccatis valde anxii, de maximis et gravissimis non perinde poenitentes. Sunt porro qui simili laborantes inscitia propter immodicum timorem et animi pusillanimitatem de peccatorum venia fere desperant. Contra sunt, qui per hypocrisim superbientes seipsos adversus Deum erigunt, quasi aut sine peccato sint. aut ipsos pro peccatis Deus nolit punire.

Jam quis nescit quam utilis et necessaria istiusmodi hominibus confessio sit, in qua hi verbo Dei dure increpandi arguendique sunt, ut peccatores se agnoscant, atque intelligant, quam horribiliter Deus peccata puniat. Contra, illis qui nimio timore desperant, suavissima Evangelii consolatio afferenda est. Ad haec in confessione (ex verbo Dei) doceri homines possunt, non solum qua ratione Diaboli tenta-

tiones vincant, et carnem mortificent, ne ad priores vitae sordes postea relabantur, verumetiam quibus remediis peccata omnia fugiant, ut non regnent in ipsis. Praeterea illa animi humilitas qua homo homini propter Deum sese submittit, et pectoris sui arcana aperit, multarum profecto virtutum custos est et conservatrix. Quid quod pudor ille et erubescencia peccati quae ex confessione oritur, praeterquam quod animum a peccato ad Deum vere conversum indicat, etiam multos mortales a turpibus factis retrahit ac cohibet. Postremo, ut ille qui simpliciter et tanquam coram Deo peccata sua ministro Ecclesiae confitetur, declarat se verum Dei timorem habere, ita hae animi humilitate discit Deum magis et timere et revereri, et innatam in corde superbiam reprimere, ut Dei voluntati facilius obsequatur et obtemperet. Jam vero, cum haec ita se habeant, nihil dubitamus, quin omnes viri boni hanc confessionem tot nominibus utilem ac necessariam, non solum in Ecclesia retinendam esse, sed magno etiam in pretio habendam judicent. Quod si qui sunt qui eam vel damnant, vel rejiciunt, hi profecto se et in verbo Dei institutionem, et absolutionis beneficium, (quod in confessione datur) et alia multa atque ingentia commoda Christianis valde utilia, negligere et contemnere ostendunt; nec animadvertunt se in orbem Christianum maximam peccandi licentiam invehere, et magnum in omne scelus ruendi occasionem praebere.

Quod vero ad enumerationem peccatorum spectat, quemadmodum non probamus scrupulosam et anxiam, ne laqueum injiciat hominum conscientiis, ita censemus segnem et supinam negligentiam in re tam salutari magnopere periculosam esse et fugiendam.

IX. De Sacramentorum Usu. Docemus quod Sacramenta quae per verbum Dei instituta sunt, non tantum sint notae professionis inter Christianos, sed magis certa quaedam testimonia et efficacia signa gratiae, et bonae voluntatis Dei erga nos, per quae Deus invisibiliter operatur in nobis, et suam gratiam in nos invisibiliter diffundit, siquidem ea rite susceperimus, quodque per ea excitatur et confirmatur fides in his qui eis utuntur. Porro docemus, quod ita utendum sit sacramentis, ut in adultis, praeter veram contritionem, necessario etiam debeat accedere fides, quae credat praesentibus promissionibus, quae per sacramenta ostenduntur, exhibentur, et praestantur. Neque enim in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis, nam in ratione utentibus necessum est, ut fides etiam utentis accedat, per quam credat illis promissionibus, et accipiat res promissas, quae per sac-

ramenta conferantur. De infantibus vero cum temerarium sit eos a misericordia Dei excludere, praesertim cum Christus in Evangelio dicat: "Sinite parvulos ad me venire, talium est enim regnum coelorum;" et alibi, "Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum coelorum"; cumque perpetua Ecclesiae Catholicae consuetudine, jam inde ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus, receptum sit infantes debere baptizari in remissionem peccatorum et salutem, dicimus quod Spiritus Sanctus efficax sit in illis, et eos in Baptismo mundet, quemadmodum supra in Articulo de Baptismo dictum est.

X. *De Ministris Ecclesiae.* De Ministris Ecclesiae docemus, quod nemo debeat publice docere, aut Sacramenta ministrare, nisi rite vocatus, et quidem ab his, penes quos in Ecclesia, juxta verbum Dei, et leges ac consuetudines uniuscujusque regionis, jus est vocandi et admittendi. Et quod nullus ad Ecclesiae ministerium vocatus, etiamsi episcopus sit sive Romanus, sive quicumque alius, hoc sibi jure divino vindicare possit, ut publice docere, Sacramenta ministrare, vel ullam aliam ecclesiasticam functionem in aliena diocesi aut parochia exercere valeat; hoc est, nec episcopus in alterius episcopi diocesi, nec parochus in alterius parochia. Et demum quod malitia ministri efficaciae Sacramentorum nihil detrahat, ut jam supra docuimus in Articulo de Ecclesia.

XI. *De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis.* Ritus, ceremoniae, et ordinationes ecclesiasticae humanitus institutae, quaecunque prosunt ad eruditionem, disciplinam, tranquillitatem, bonum ordinem, aut decorem in Ecclesia, servandae sunt et amplectendae, ut stata festa, jejunia, preces, et his similia.

De quibus admonendi sunt homines quod non sint illi cultus, quos Deus in Scriptura praecipit aut requirit, aut ipsa sanctimonia, sed quod ad illos cultus et ipsam sanctimoniam admodum utiles sunt, ac tum placent Deo, cum ex fide, charitate, et obedientia servantur. Sunt autem veri et genuini cultus, timor Dei, fides, dilectio, et caetera opera a Deo mandata. Ad quae consequenda et praestanda, quoties ritus et traditiones adjumentum adferunt, diligenter servandae sunt, non tanquam res in Scripturis a Deo exactae, aut illis veris et genuinis cultibus aequandae, sed tanquam res Ecclesiae utiles, Deo gratae, et adminicula verae pietatis. Et quamvis ritus ac traditiones ejusmodi a Christianis observari debeant, propter causas quas ante diximus, tamen in illarum observatione ea libertatis Christianae ratio habenda est, ut nemo se illis ita teneri putet, quin eas possit omittere, modo

adsit justa violandi ratio et causa, et absit contemptus: nec per ejusmodi violationem proximi conscientia turbetur aut laedatur. Quod si ejusmodi ritus aut ordinationes alio animo ac consilio instituuntur, aut observantur, quam ut sint exercitia quaedam, admonitiones, et paedagogiae, quae excitent et conducant ad eas res in quibus sita est vera pietas et justitia; nos talem institutionem et observationem omnino improbandam et rejiciendam esse dicimus. Non enim remissio peccatorum, justificatio, et vera pietas tribuenda est ejusmodi ritibus et traditionibus (nam remissionem peccatorum et justificationem propter Christum gratis per fidem consequimur) sed hoc illis tribuendum est, quod quemadmodum nec sine legibus politicis civitas, ita nec sine ritibus ac traditionibus Ecclesiae ordo servari, confusio vitari, juvenus ac vulgus imperitum erudiri potest, quodque ejusmodi ritus et traditiones ad pietatem et spirituales animi motus non parum adminiculantur et prosunt. Quod si ullae traditiones aliquid praecipiant contra verbum Dei, vel quod sine peccato praestari non potest, nos ejusmodi traditiones, tanquam noxias et pestiferas, ab Ecclesia tollendas esse censemus: impias etiam opiniones et superstitiones quae Christi gloriam ac beneficium laedunt atque obscurant, quoties vel populi ignorantia ac simplicitate, vel prava doctrina aut negligentia pastorum traditionibus ullis annectuntur et haerent, resecandas penitus et abolendas esse judicamus. Praeterea etiam hoc docendi sunt homines, quod ejusmodi rituum ac traditionum externa observatio Deo minime grata sit, nisi his, qui illis utuntur, animus adsit qui eas referat ad pietatem, propter quam institutae sunt. Ad haec, quod inter praecepta Dei, et ritus sive traditiones quae ab hominibus instituuntur, hoc discrimen habendum sit, nempe quod ritus sive traditiones humanitus institutae, mandatis ac praeceptis Dei (quae in Scripturis traduntur) cedere semper et postponi ubique debeant. Et nihilominus quoniam ordo et tranquillitas Ecclesiae absque ritibus et ceremoniis conservari non potest, docemus adeo utile esse et necessarium, Ecclesiam habere ritus et ceremonias, ut si ab Ecclesia tollerentur, ipsa illico Ecclesia et dissiparetur et labefactaretur.

Postremo ritus, ceremoniae, sive traditiones, de quibus antea diximus, non solum propter causas praedictas, verumetiam propter praeceptum Dei, qui jubet nos potestatibus obedire, servandae sunt.

XII. De Rebus Civilibus. Misera mortalium conditio peccato corrupta, praeceps ad iniquitatem et ad flagitia ruit, nisi salubri auctoritate retineatur, nec potest publica salus consistere, sine justa gubernatione et obedientia; quamobrem benignissimus Deus ordinavit reges,

principes, ac gubernatores, quibus dedit auctoritatem non solum curandi ut populus juxta divinae legis praescripta vivat, sed etiam legibus aliis reipublicae commodis, et justa potestate eundem populum continendi ac regendi; hos autem in publicam salutem deputavit Deus, suos in terra ministros, et populi sui duces ac rectores, eisque subjecit universam cujusvis sortis multitudinem reliquam. Atque ob eam causam multa ac diligenter de illis in Scripturis tradit. Primum quidem, ut ipsi coelestibus praeceptis erudiantur ad sapientiam et virtutem, quo sciant cujus sint ministri, et concessum a Deo iudicium et auctoritatem legitime atque salubriter exercent; juxta illud, "Erudimini qui iudicatis terram, servite Domino in timore." Deinde vero praecipit, atque illis in hoc ipsum auctoritatem dat, ut pro conditione reipublicae suae, salutare ac justas leges (quoad pro virili possint) provideant atque legitime condant, per quas non solum aequitas, justitia, et tranquillitas in republica retineri, sed etiam pietas erga Deum promoveri possit; atque insuper ut legis Dei atque Christianae religionis tuendae curam habeant, quemadmodum Augustinus diserte fatetur, dicens, "In hoc reges, sicut eis divinitus praecipitur, Deo serviunt, in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quae pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quae ad divinam religionem." Proinde principum ac gubernatorum potestas et officium est, non solum pro sua et reipublicae incolumitate ac salute justa bella suscipere, probos amplecti et fovere, in improbos animadvertere, pauperes tueri, afflictos et vim passos eripere, arcere injurias, et ut ordo et concordia inter subditos conservetur, atque quod suum est cuique tribuatur curare; verum etiam prospicere, et (si causa ita postulaverit) etiam compellere, ut universi tam sacerdotes quam reliqua multitudo officiis suis rite et diligenter fungantur, omnem denique operam suam adhibere, ut boni ad bene agendum invitentur, et improbi a malefaciendo cohibeantur. Et quamvis illi qui timore legum et poenarum corporalium cohibentur a peccando, aut in officio continentur, non eo ipso fiunt pii vel accepti Deo; tamen hucusque proficit salubris coercio, ut et illi qui tales sunt, interim vel minus sint mali, vel saltem minus flagitiorum committant, viamque nonnumquam facilius invenient ad pietatem, et reliquorum quies ac pietas minus turbetur, scandala et pernicioosa exempla auferantur a Christianis coetibus, et apertis vitiis aut blasphemiiis nomen Dei et religionis decus quam minimum dehonestetur.

Ad haec quia necessum est, ut auctoritatem principum, reipublicae atque rebus humanis summopere necessariam, populus tanquam Dei

ordinationem agnoscat et revereatur; idcirco Deus in Scripturis passim praecipit. ut omnes cujuscunque in republica gradus aut conditionis fuerint, promptam et fidelem obedientiam principibus praestent, idque non solum metu corporalis poenae, sed etiam propter Dei voluntatem; quemadmodum Petrus diligenter monet: "Subditi (inquiens) estote omni humanae creaturae propter Deum, sive regi quasi praecellenti, sive ducibus, tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero honorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei." Paulus vero in hunc modum; "Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, magistratibus parere, ad omne opus bonum paratos esse, neminem blasphemare." Quod si malus princeps aut gubernator quicquam injuste aut inique imperat subdito, quamvis ille potestate sua contra Dei voluntatem abutatur, ut animam suam laedat, nihilominus subditus debet ejusmodi imperium. quantumvis grave, pati ac sustinere, (nisi certo constet id esse peccatum,) potius quam resistendo publicum ordinem aut quietem perturbare; quod si certo constet peccatum esse quod princeps mandat, tum subditus neque pareat neque reipublicae pacem quovismodo perturbet, sed pace servata incolumi, et causae ultione Deo relicta, vel ipsam potius mortem sustineat, quam quicquam contra Dei voluntatem aut praeceptum perpetret.

Porro quemadmodum de obedientia principibus exhibenda Scriptura diligenter praecipit, ita etiam ut caetera officia alacriter illis praestemus, monet atque jubet, qualia sunt tributa, vectigalia, militiae labor, et his similia. Quae populus, ex Dei praecepto, principibus pendere et praestare debet. propterea quod respublicae absque stipendiis, praesidiis, et magnis sumptibus neque defendi possunt neque regi. Est praeterea et honos principibus deferendus, juxta Pauli sententiam, qui jubet, ut principibus honorem exhibeamus. Qui sane honos non in externa duntaxat reverentia et observantia positus est, sed multo verius in animi judicio et voluntate; nempe ut agnoscamus principes a Deo ordinatos esse, et Deum per eos hominibus ingentia beneficia largiri: ad haec ut principes propter Deum et metuamus et amemus, et ut ad omnem pro viribus gratitudinem illis praestandam parati simus: postremo ut Deum pro principibus precemur, uti servet eos, ac eorum mentes semper inflectat ad Dei gloriam et salutem reipublicae. Haec si fecerimus, vere principes honorabimus, juxta Petri praeceptum, "Deum timete, Regem honorificate." Quae cum ita sint, non solum licet Christianis principibus ac gubernatoribus regna et ditiones possidere, atque dignitatibus et muneribus publicis fungi, quae publicam salutem spectant, et undecunque promovent vel

tuentur, uti supra diximus, verum etiam quando in ejusmodi functionibus respiciunt honorem Dei, et eodem dignitatem suam atque potestatem referunt, valde placent Deo, ejusque favorem, ac gratiam ampliter demerentur. Sunt enim bona opera quae Deus praemiis magnificentissimis non in hac duntaxat vita, sed multo magis in aeterna, cohonestat atque coronat.

Licet insuper Christianis universis, ut singuli quique pro suo gradu ac conditione juxta divinas ac principum leges et honestas singularum regionum consuetudines, talia munia atque officia obeant et exerceant, quibus mortalis haec vita vel indiget, vel ornatur, vel conservatur. Nempe ut victum quaerant ex honestis artibus, negotientur, faciant contractus, possideant proprium, res suas jure postulent, militent, copulentur legitimo matrimonio, praestent jusjurandum et hujusmodi. Quae omnia, quemadmodum universis Christianis, pro sua cujusque conditione ac gradu, divino jure licita sunt, ita cum pii subditi propter timorem Dei, principibus ac gubernatoribus suis promptam atque debitam praestent obedientiam, caeteraque student peragere, quae suum officium et reipublicae utilitas postulat, placent etiam ipsi magnopere Deo, et bona faciunt opera, quibus Deus ingentia praemia promittit, et fidelissime largitur.

XIII. De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio Extremo. Credendum firmiter atque docendum censemus, quod in consummatione mundi, Christus sicut ipsemet apud Matthaeum affirmat, venturus est in gloria Patris sui cum angelis sanctis, et majestate, ac potentia, sessurusque super sedem majestatis suae. Et quod in eodem adventu, summa celeritate, in momento temporis, ictu oculi, divina potentia sua suscitabit mortuos, sistetque in eisdem in quibus hic vixerunt corporibus ac carne, coram tribunali suo cunctos homines, qui unquam ab exordio mundi fuerunt, aut postea unquam usque in illam diem futuri sunt. Et judicabit exactissimo atque justissimo judicio singulos, et reddet unicuique secundum opera sua, quae in hac vita et corpore gessit: piis quidem ac justis aeternam vitam et gloriam cum sanctis angelis, impiis vero et sceleratis aeternam mortem atque supplicium cum Diabolo et praevaricatoribus angelis. Praeterea quod in illo judicio perfecta et perpetua fiet separatio proborum ab improbis, et quod nullum erit postea terrenum regnum aut terrenarum voluptatum usus, qualia quidam errore decepti somniaverunt. Demum quod nullus post hoc judicium erit finis tormentorum malis, qui tunc condemnabuntur ad supplicia, sicut nec ullus finis beatitudinis bonis, qui in illo die acceptabuntur ad gloriam.

61. THE "AMERICAN RECENSION OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION," 1855.

Article I.—Of God: Our churches with one accord teach, that the decree of the Council of Nice, concerning the unity of the Divine essence, and concerning the three persons, is true, and ought to be confidently believed, viz: that there is one divine essence, which is called and is God, eternal, incorporeal, indivisible, infinite in power, wisdom and goodness, the Creator and Preserver of all things visible and invisible; and yet, that there are three persons, who are of the same essence and power, and are co-eternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. And the term person they use in the same sense in which it is employed by ecclesiastical writers on this subject: to signify, not a part or quality of something else, but that which exists of itself.

Article II.—Of Natural Depravity: Our churches likewise teach, that since the fall of Adam, all men who are naturally engendered, are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God or confidence towards Him, and with sinful propensities; and that this disease, or natural depravity, is really sin, and still causes eternal death to those who are not born again. And they reject the opinion of those, who, in order that they may detract from the glory of the merits and benefits of Christ, allege that man may be justified before God by the powers of his own reason.

Article III.—Of the Son of God and His Mediatorial Work: They likewise teach, that the Word, that is, the Son of God, assumed human nature, in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that the two natures, human and divine, inseparably united in one person, constitute one Christ, who is true God and man, born of the Virgin Mary; who truly suffered, was crucified, died and was buried, that he might reconcile the Father to us, and be a sacrifice not only for original sin, but also for all the actual sins of men. Likewise that he descended into hell, (the place of departed spirits) and truly arose on the third day; then ascended to heaven, that he might sit at the right hand of the Father, might perpetually reign over all creatures, and might sanctify those who believe in him by sending into their hearts the Holy Spirit, who governs, consoles, quickens, and defends them against the devil and the power of sin. The same Christ will return again openly, that he may judge the living and the dead, etc., according to the Apostolic Creed.

Article IV.—Of Justification: They in like manner teach, that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works; but that they are justified gratuitously for Christ's sake, through faith; when they believe, that they are received into favor, and that their sins are remitted on account of Christ, who made satisfaction for our transgressions by his death. This faith God imputes to us as righteousness. Rom. 3, 4.

Article V.—Of the Ministerial Office: In order that we may obtain this faith, the ministerial office has been instituted, whose members are to teach the gospel, and administer the sacraments. For through the instrumentality of the word and sacraments, as means of grace, the Holy Spirit is given, who, in his own time and place, (or more literally, when and where it pleases God) produces faith in those who hear the gospel message, namely, that God, for Christ's sake, and not on account of any merit in us, justifies those who believe that on account of Christ they are received into (the divine) favor.

Article VI.—Concerning New Obedience (or a Christian Life): They likewise teach, that this faith must bring forth good fruits; and that it is our duty to perform those good works which God has commanded, because he has enjoined them, and not in the expectation of thereby meriting justification before him. For, remission of sins and justification are secured by faith; as the declaration of Christ himself implies: "When ye shall have done all those things, say, we are unprofitable servants."—The same thing is taught by the ancient ecclesiastical writers: for Ambrose says, "this has been ordained by God, that he who believes in Christ is saved without works, receiving remission of sins gratuitously through faith alone."

Article VII.—Of the Church: They likewise teach, that there will always be one holy church. The church is the congregation of the saints, in which the gospel is correctly taught, and the sacraments are properly administered. And for the true unity of the church nothing more is required, than agreement concerning the doctrines of the gospel, and the administration of the sacraments. Nor is it necessary, that the same human traditions, that is, rites and ceremonies instituted by men, should be everywhere observed. As Paul says: "One Faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," etc.

Article VIII.—What the Church is: Although the Church is properly a congregation of saints and true believers; yet in the present life, many hypocrites and wicked men are mingled with them.

Article IX.—Concerning Baptism: Concerning baptism, our

churches teach, that it is "a necessary ordinance," that is a means of grace, and ought to be administered also to children, who are thereby dedicated to God, and received into his favor.

Article X.—Of the Lord's Supper: In regard to the Lord's Supper they teach that Christ is present with the communicants in the Lord's Supper, "under the emblems of bread and wine."

Article XI.—Of Confessions: (As Private Confession and Absolution, which are inculcated in this Article, though in a modified form, have been universally rejected by the American Lutheran Church, the omission of this Article is demanded by the principle on which the American Recension of the Augsburg Confession is constructed; namely, to omit the several portions, which are rejected by the great mass of our churches in this country, and to add nothing in their stead.)

Article XII.—Of Repentance (after Backsliding): Concerning repentance they teach, that those who have relapsed into sin after baptism, may at any time obtain pardon, when they repent. But repentance properly consists of two parts. The one is contrition, or being struck with terrors of conscience, on account of acknowledged sin. The other is faith, which is produced by the gospel; which believes that pardon for sin is bestowed for Christ's sake; which tranquilizes the conscience, and liberates it from fear. Such repentance must be succeeded by good works as its fruits.

Article XIII.—Of the Use of the Sacraments: Concerning the use of the sacraments our churches teach, that they were instituted not only as marks of a Christian profession amongst men; but rather as signs and evidences of the divine disposition towards us, tendered for the purpose of exciting and confirming the faith of those who use them. Hence the sacraments ought to be received with faith in the promises which are exhibited and proposed by them.—They therefore condemn the opinion of those who maintain, that the sacraments produce justification in their recipients as a matter of course, and who do not teach that faith is necessary, in the reception of the sacraments, to the remission of sins.

Article XIV.—Of Church Orders, (or the Ministry): Concerning church orders they teach, that "no person ought publicly to teach or preach," in the church, or to administer the sacraments, without a regular call.

Article XV.—Of Religious Ceremonies: Concerning ecclesiastical ceremonies they teach, that those ceremonies ought to be observed,

which can be attended to without sin, and which promote peace and good order in the church, such as certain holy-days, festivals, etc. Concerning matters of this kind, however, men are cautioned, lest their consciences be burdened, as though such observances were necessary to salvation. They are also admonished that human traditionary observances, instituted with a view to appease God, and to merit his favor, and make satisfaction for sins, are contrary to the gospel and the doctrine of faith "in Christ." Wherefore vows and traditionary observances concerning meats, days, etc., instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless, and contrary to the Gospel.

Article XVI.—Of Political Affairs: In regard to political affairs our churches teach that legitimate political enactments are good works of God; that it is lawful for Christians to hold civil offices, to pronounce judgment, and decide cases according to existing laws; to inflict just punishment, wage just wars, and serve in them; to make lawful contracts; hold property; to make oath required by the magistrate, to marry, and to be married.—Hence Christians ought necessarily to yield obedience to their civil officers and laws; unless they should command something sinful; in which case it is a duty to obey God rather than man. Acts 5, 29.

Article XVII.—Of Christ's Return to Judgment: Our churches also teach, that at the end of the world, Christ will appear for judgment; that he will raise all the dead; that he will bestow upon the pious and elect eternal life and endless joys, but will condemn wicked men and devils to be punished without end.

Article XVIII.—Of Free Will: Concerning free will our churches teach, that the human will possesses some liberty for the performance of civil duties, and for the choice of those things lying within the control of reason. But it does not possess the power, without the influence of the Holy Spirit, of being just before God, or yielding spiritual obedience: for the natural man receiveth not the things which are of the Spirit of God: but this is accomplished in the heart, when the Holy Spirit is received through the word.

The same is declared by Augustine in so many words: "We confess that all men have a free will, which possesses the judgment of reason, by which they cannot indeed, without the divine aid, either begin or certainly accomplish what is becoming in things relating to God; but only in "outward" works of the present life, as well

good as evil. In good works, I say, which arise from our natural goodness, such as to choose to labor in the field, to eat and drink, to choose to have a friend, to have clothing, to build a house, to take a wife, to feed cattle, to learn various and useful arts, or to do any good thing relative to this life; all which things, however, do not exist without the divine government; yea, they exist and begin to be from Him through Him. And in evil works (men have a free will), such as to choose to worship an idol, to will to commit murder, etc."

It is not possible by the mere powers of nature, without the aid of the Holy Spirit, to love God above all things, and to do his commands according to their intrinsic design. For, although nature may be able, after a certain manner, to perform external actions, such as to abstain from theft, from murder, etc., yet it cannot perform the inner motions, such as the fear of God, faith in God, chastity, patience, etc.

Article XIX.—Of the Author of Sin: On this subject they teach, that although God is the Creator and Preserver of nature, the cause of sin must be sought in the depraved will of the devil and of wicked men, which, when destitute of divine aid, turns itself away from God: agreeably to the declaration of Christ, "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own."—John viii. 44.

Article XX.—Of Good works: Our writers are falsely accused of prohibiting good works. Their publications on the ten commandments, and other similar subjects, show, that they gave good instructions concerning all the different stations and duties of life, and explained what course of conduct, in any particular calling, is pleasing to God. Concerning these things, preachers formerly said very little, but urged the necessity of puerile and useless works, such as certain holy-days, fasts, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, worship of saints, rosaries, monastic vows, etc. These useless things, our adversaries, having been admonished, now unlearn, and no longer teach as formerly. Moreover, they now begin to make mention of faith, about which they formerly observed a marvellous silence. They now teach, that we are not justified by works alone, but join faith to works, and maintain that we are justified by faith and works. This doctrine is more tolerable in their former belief, and calculated to impart more consolation to the mind. Inasmuch, then, as the doctrine concerning faith, which should be regarded as a principal one by the church, had so long been unknown; for all must confess, that concerning

the righteousness of faith, the most profound silence reigned in their sermons, and the doctrine concerning works alone was discussed in the churches; our divines have admonished the churches as follows:—

First, that our works cannot reconcile God, merit the remission of sins, and grace, and justification: but this we can attain only by faith, when we believe that we are received into favor, for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed our mediator and propitiatory sacrifice, by whom the Father can be reconciled. He, therefore, who expects to merit grace by his works, casts contempt on the merits and grace of Christ and is seeking the way to God, in his own strength, without the Saviour; who nevertheless has told us, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." This doctrine concerning faith, is incessantly inculcated by the apostle Paul (Ephes. ii), "Ye are saved by grace, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God," not of works, etc. And lest any one should cavil at our interpretation, and charge it with novelty, we state that this whole matter is supported by the testimony of the fathers. For Augustin devotes many volumes to the defence of grace, and the righteousness of faith, in opposition to the merit of good works. And Ambrosius, on the calling of the Gentiles, etc., inculcates the same doctrine. For thus he says, concerning the calling of the Gentiles: "Redemption by the blood of Christ is of little value, nor is the honor of human works subordinated to the mercy of God, if justification, which is of grace, is supposed to be merited by previous works, so as to be not the gift of him that bestows it, but the reward of him that earned it." But although this doctrine is despised by the inexperienced, the consciences of the pious and timid find it a source of much consolation, for they cannot attain peace in faith alone, when they entertain the confident belief that, for Christ's sake, God is reconciled (Rom. v.), "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God." This whole doctrine must be referred to the conflict in the conscience of the alarmed sinner, nor can it be otherwise understood. Hence the inexperienced and worldly-minded are much mistaken, who vainly imagine that the righteousness of the Christian is nothing else than what in common life and in the language of philosophy is termed morality.

Formerly the consciences of men were harassed by the doctrine of works, nor did they hear any consolation from the gospel. Some conscience drove into deserts, and into monasteries, hoping there to merit the divine favor by a monastic life. Others invented different

kinds of works, to merit grace, and make satisfaction for their sins. There was therefore the utmost necessity, that this doctrine concerning faith in Christ should be inculcated anew; in order that timid minds might find consolation, and know that justification and the remission of sins are obtained by faith in the Savior. The people are also now instructed, that faith does not signify a mere historical belief, such as wicked men and devils have; but that in addition to a historical belief, it includes an acquaintance with consequences of the history, such as remission of sins, by grace through Christ, righteousness, etc., etc.

Now he who knows that the Father is reconciled to him through Christ, possesses a true acquaintance with God, confides in his providence, and calls upon his name: and is therefore not without God as are the Gentiles. For the devil and wicked men cannot believe the article concerning the remission of sins. But they hate God as an enemy, do not call upon his name, nor expect anything good at his hands. Augustin, in speaking of the word faith, admonishes the reader that in Scripture this word does not signify mere knowledge, such as wicked men possess, but that confidence or trust, by which alarmed sinners are comforted and lifted up. We moreover teach, that the performance of good works is necessary, because it is commanded of God, and not because we expect to merit grace by them. Pardon of sins and grace are obtained only by faith. And because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, the heart of man is renovated, and new affections produced, that he may be able to perform good works. Accordingly Ambrosius states, faith is the source of holy volitions and upright life. For the faculties of man, unaided by the Holy Spirit, are replete with sinful propensities, and too feeble to perform works that are good in the sight of God. They are moreover under the influence of Satan, who urges men to various sins, and impious opinions, and open crimes; as may be seen in the examples of the philosophers who, though they endeavored to lead moral lives, failed to accomplish their designs, and were guilty of many notorious crimes. Such is the imbecility of man, when he undertakes to govern himself by his own strength without faith and the Holy Spirit.

From all this it is manifest, that our doctrine, instead of being charged with prohibiting good works, ought much rather to be applauded, for teaching the manner in which truly good works can be performed. For without faith, human nature is incapable of per-

forming the duties either of the first or second table. Without it, man does not call upon God, nor expect anything from him, nor bear the cross: but seeks refuge amongst men, and reposes on human aid. Hence when faith and confidence in God are wanting, all evil desires and human schemes reign in the heart; wherefore Christ also says, "without me ye can do nothing" (John xv.); and the church responds, Without thy favor there is nothing good in man.

Article XXI.—Of the Invocation of Saints: Concerning the invocation of saints our churches teach, that the saints ought to be held in remembrance, in order that we may, each in his own calling, imitate the example of David, in carrying on war to expel the Turks from our country; for both are kings. But the sacred volume does not teach us to invoke saints or to seek aid from them. For it proposes Christ to us as our only mediator, propitiation, high priest, and intercessor. On his name we are to call, and he promises, that he will hear our prayers and highly approves of this worship viz.: that he should be called upon in every affliction (I John ii.): "If any one sin we have an advocate with the Father," etc.

This is about the substance of our doctrines, from which it is evident that they contain nothing inconsistent with the Scriptures. Under these circumstances, those certainly judge harshly, who would have us regarded as heretics. But the difference of opinion between us (and the Romanists) relates to certain abuses, which have crept into the (Romish) churches without any good authority; in regard to which, if we do differ, the bishops ought to treat us with lenity and tolerate us, on account of the confession which we have just made.

[The "American Recension of the Augsburg Confession" knows only of these 21 articles.]

3a. THE GENUINE PROPOSITION FOR THE REICHSTAG
AT SPEYER, 1529.³

This proposition cannot be printed before the publication of the next volume of *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*; the right of publication is reserved for this work.

5. THE PROTESTATION OF THE EVANGELICAL
MINORITY AT SPEYER, APRIL 19, 1529.⁶

Illustrious King, honorable and most honorable Lords, noble, highborn, venerable, well esteemed, gracious and dearly beloved Uncles, Cousins, Brothers-in-law and Friends!

Whereas, in compliance with the summons issued by His Imperial Roman Majesty, our most gracious Lord, and in answer to Your Royal Highness' kindly invitation, we have, in submissive obedience to His Majesty and in friendly and humble respect for your Royal Highness, also for the welfare of all Christendom and the Holy Empire, come to this Diet, and together with Your Honors and all others listened to the reading of the instructions and the final decree set forth in His Imperial Majesty's name and by authority of Your Royal Highness and the other commissioners; and whereas we have, after an examination of His Imperial Majesty's summons to this Diet, discovered that the entire matter was to be settled in a most unsatisfactory manner by annulling that portion of the decree of the previous Diet held at Speyer which pertains to our holy Christian faith and to religious ceremonies, and by replacing said portion with other, very vexatious articles; but whereas Your Royal Highness and Your Highness' associates, plenipotentiaries, and Imperial commissioners, and all Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire and their representatives, at the previous Diet at Speyer, for sound Christian reasons and for the preservation of the Empire's peace and unity did unanimously decide and agree in reference to the religious question on the following proposition, "Pending a general Council or national Assembly each Elector, Prince, or Estate of the Empire shall, in matters pertaining to the Edict of Worms, so live, rule, and conduct himself as he hopes and trusts to answer for it to God and His Imperial Majesty"; and whereas Your Royal Highness, in your capacity as His Imperial Majesty's representative, together with other above mentioned commissioners, by authority and in the name of His Imperial Majesty have promised

that the decree just quoted should be held as fixed and inviolable and should be most carefully observed and executed, that it should be obeyed without evasion and question, that nothing contrary to it should be done or instigated, and that they would under no circumstances order or permit anyone to obstruct the execution of the decree in any way whatever; and whereas Your Honors, we, and other Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts, Lords, and the authorized representatives of Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and the Imperial Free Cities, have publicly proclaimed in the above mentioned decree that each and every article of the same has been discussed and adopted after due deliberation and with full realization of its import; that each and every one of the articles has been unanimously adopted; that we all have faithfully pledged ourselves, as far as each one's domain is concerned, to keep each and every article of the decree as true, fixed, unchangeable, and inviolable, and that we all promised to comply with each and every provision of the decree to the best of our ability and to live up to it at every risk—in conformity to the clear and explicit statements of the decree promulgated at the previous Diet at Speyer and solemnly signed by the representatives of His Imperial Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and other Estates of the Empire:

Therefore, in view of this decree, as previously adopted, accepted, signed, and sealed, and for the well-founded reasons which are mentioned below and which have in part been transmitted in writing to Your Royal Highness and the other Estates on the 12th day of April, we cannot and will not consent to the annulment of the above mentioned articles which we unanimously adopted and promised to uphold, nor to their alleged or supposed modification (which as a matter of fact is nothing of the sort):

First, because of the well-founded reason that we have no doubt whatever that His Imperial Majesty—being an honorable, fair-minded, and Christian Emperor and our most gracious Lord—and Your Royal Highness and your Commissioners, and the majority of the other Estates are, no less than we ourselves, agreed and resolved to keep to the letter all the provisions of the decree which you and we unanimously adopted, accepted, signed, and sealed; to hold it as fixed, solid, and inviolable; to comply with it; to make no attempt at modifying it, and to do nothing toward abolishing it. In this matter we seek to gain glory, prestige, and praise not only for ourselves but

first of all for His Imperial Majesty and for Your Royal Highness, and all Your Honors.

Second, we should not know how we could, with a good conscience, give answer to God Almighty, the sole Lord, Ruler, and Preserver of our holy Christian saving faith, or to His Imperial Majesty, as our Christian Emperor, if we were to acquiesce in this change.

For, although we know that our ancestors, brothers, and we have at all times exercised perfect, faithful, voluntary, and eager obedience in all matters in which we owed allegiance to the Roman Emperors—the deceased as well as the now reigning Emperor—and have always sought to further His Imperial Majesty's and the Empire's glory, prosperity, and welfare, and have been so eager to do this that without boasting and without minimizing the services of any others we yield first place in this respect to no one, and although we are, with God's help, henceforth till our dying day willing and ready to offer all due and possible obedience to His Imperial Roman Majesty, as our most gracious Lord, without sparing body or property, and to show all friendliness, favor, and impartiality to Your Royal Highness and Your Honors, our dearly beloved and gracious Uncles, Cousins, Brothers-in-law, Friends, and other Estates of the Holy Empire; yet, as Your Royal Highness and Your Honors know, these are matters which concern the glory of God and which affect the salvation of each and every one of us; here we must, by the command of God and for the sake of our consciences, by virtue of our baptism and His holy divine Word, acknowledge our Lord and God as the highest King and the Lord of lords, and we confidently trust that Your Royal Highness, Your Honors, and the other Estates will kindly, graciously, and benevolently hold us excused (as we petitioned before) if we do not agree with Your Royal Highness, Your Honors, and the Others in reference to the above-mentioned article and if we do not obey the majority in this respect, because we are convinced that the former decree of Speyer which states explicitly that it has been adopted **unanimously and not only** by a majority vote, cannot be properly and legally annulled except by a unanimous vote; furthermore, because in matters pertaining to the glory of God and the salvation of our souls, every man must himself give an answer to God for his conduct so that in this respect no man can conceal himself behind other people's acts or behind

majority resolutions; and for numerous other good and well-founded reasons.

And in order that Your Royal Highness, Your Honors and all others who may hear of this matter, may fully understand our grievance and the reasons why we cannot agree this time with Your Royal Highness, Your Honors, and the rest, we will state: It is evident and cannot be denied that for some time there have been many dissensions in Christendom concerning a large number of articles of our faith. What has caused such dissension is known to God first of all, to whose judgment we commit all things; but in part it has been admitted by the papal legate at the Diet of Nuremberg in his own solicitation and instruction, and also by numerous Electors, Princes, and other Estates of the Empire who at least in part belong to your side; and at said Diet at Nuremberg the secular Estates transmitted all our grievances in 80 articles to said papal legate, and later issued them in print—grievances and abuses which have not been removed but rather increased and multiplied.

And although this problem has been considered from all angles at that time and subsequently and also at the present Diet, the result of the deliberations at all the Diets has invariably been this that these difficulties could be solved only if at the earliest possible time a free, general Christian Council or at least a national Assembly would be held. To this we would hereby call attention in a faithful, Christian, friendly, humble and kindly spirit and for the purpose of informing and reminding Your Royal Highness and Your Honors and anyone else that if it is proper and meet for one party, prior to a free general Council, to judge and condemn another prince's doctrine which he, for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, regards as Christian and which he causes to be preached and taught in his country, then His Majesty's representatives, commissioners, and spokesmen, and the Electors, Princes, and other Estates of the Empire would surely not have talked so frequently and extensively about a Council nor would they now discuss the holding of a Council at which the doubtful and disputed doctrines and matters (about which they themselves are not at all certain) should be heard and determined.

But that now our party is to be treated in this manner, with respect to several disputed articles of faith, and that we are to be condemned not only secretly but even publicly, may be plainly seen from the following account:

What the several members of the Committee have proposed in

their original draft, which was revised on the 10th of April and changed several aspects, is this that Electors, Princes, and the other Estates, comprising us as well as Your Honors, have here and now resolved that those who hitherto have adhered to the above-mentioned Imperial Edict should also henceforth abide by it until the next Council and govern their subjects in accordance with it, and so forth. This, however, would be very burdensome for us who cannot with a good conscience comply with every stipulation of said Edict, as has been clearly set forth at previous Imperial Diets not only by ourselves but also by other Estates of the Empire; nor should we be able to answer to God, if, because of our acquiescence, anyone whether of high or low rank, should depart from the doctrine which we from a thorough study of God's eternal Word have learned to regard as divine and Christian, and if we, contrary to the voice of our conscience, should urge anyone to submit to said Edict.

We wish to have it distinctly understood that we do not at all interfere with the manner in which Your Royal Highness and anyone else among Your Honors, who do not share our views, execute the Edict; we on our part pray unceasingly and fervently to God that His divine grace would lead us all to a true knowledge both of Himself and of ourselves, that He would grant us His Holy Spirit Who will lead us into all truth whereby we shall be brought to unity in the true, right, lovely, saving Christian faith, through Christ, our only Mercy-seat, Mediator, Intercessor and Saviour. Amen.

For inasmuch as it is evident that there is dissension, and inasmuch as our opponents have themselves, at least in part, admitted that this dissension was caused by themselves, and inasmuch as our opponents have without any evasion admitted that many elements of our doctrine, which are affected by the Imperial Edict, are correct and that only some of them are subject to debate, it can easily be seen by anyone who has sound reason that by submitting to the judgment of Your Royal Highness and Your Honors and by adopting it, we should certainly be guilty of acting contrary to our own conscience in condemning the doctrine which in the past we have regarded as true and which we still firmly hold to be Christian, and in deciding that the Imperial Edict against our doctrine should be enforced.

This appears still more clearly from the self-contradictory clause which is appended to this article and reads as follows: "In those

dominions where the new doctrine has originated and where it cannot be abolished without violent disturbances and grave danger, the utmost care shall be taken to prevent the introduction of any additional innovations before the next Council." Arguing from this statement anyone could ascribe to us the confession that our doctrine, opinion, and attitude are so positively sinful that they deserve speedy extermination if that could be accomplished without too violent disturbances and dangers; at least, it would appear as though we were making the silent admission that our faith is not solidly founded or that some of its articles are unnecessary. But we are not at all ready to make any such admission unless we are shown to be in error by a Council or by the holy, pure, divine, biblical Scriptures.

What else would that be but publicly (and not only silently) denying Christ our Lord and Saviour and His holy Word which we possess in its truth and purity? Would we not thereby give the Lord Christ reason for not confessing us before His heavenly Father and for denying that He redeemed us from our sins, from death, Satan, and hell—as He threatens to do to those who do not freely and publicly confess Him and His holy Word before men? A true confession does not consist in empty words but in deeds, as may be proved conclusively if necessary.

Any fairminded Christian can easily imagine how much vexation, offense, and damnable apostasy would be caused not only among our own subjects but also among those of the opposing party, if it should become known that we had resolved together with Your Royal Highness and Your Honors to abide by the Edict and to govern our subjects in compliance with it—as though someone whom God the Almighty has illumined and led to the knowledge of His only saving Word, should or could be prevented from accepting the truth! And it can be easily seen that some of the rulers within your party might condone their attitude over against their subjects by pointing to our example if we should now join Your Royal Highness and Your Honors in your resolution.

Furthermore, by resolving together with Your Royal Highness and Your Honors that those who hitherto have adhered to the Edict, should continue to do so until the next Council, we should admit not only that your opinion is right, as stated above, but also that the Edict is still in force and shall be in force despite the fact that it has been suspended and annulled by the previous decree of Speyer

where it was decided that each and every Imperial Estate should so live and govern in matters pertaining to the Edict as he hopes to answer first of all to God and also to His Imperial Majesty. Hence we are no longer willing to be burdened with this undeserved yoke of the Edict.

Nor are we in doubt that this is not the intention and purpose of His Imperial Majesty. We hope and trust that when a complete and truthful account is given, we can well defend our teachings, our mode of living and governing, and all our actions before God Almighty and His Imperial Christian Majesty.

Equally troublesome, or even more so, is the article concerning the mass. Without doubt, Your Royal Highness and Your Honors are fully informed how our preachers and teachers, on the basis of holy, divine, invincible, inviolable Scripture, have assailed and demolished the papal masses which have been in use for some time past, and how they have in their place established the noble and precious Supper of our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, also called "the evangelical mass," precisely as Jesus, our only Master, instituted and used it and as His holy apostles administered it. If we should now acquiesce in such a statement concerning the mass as the one adopted by the Committee, then it would again appear as though we disagreed with the teachings of our preachers—which is not the case, for we hold them to be true and Christian—and as though we helped to condemn them which by the grace of God we are not at all inclined to do and which could not be done with a good conscience. We also ask Your Royal Highness and Your Honors and anyone else to consider that by permitting two conflicting kinds of masses to be used in our cities, villages, and dominions (even if the papal mass were not contrary to God and His holy Word, which, however, can never be maintained) we should bring about among the common people, especially those who have the proper zeal for the glory and honor of God, no end of contention, strife, tumult, rebellion, every kind of disaster, and anything but peace and unity.

It can be easily seen, however, that Your Royal Highness and Your Honors have in mind the papal masses, as used for some time, and that the decree refers to these papal masses; for the decree is directed exclusively to those regions where the so-called "other doctrine" has originated and in no way to the dominions of Your Royal Highness, Your Honors, and the others.

We are therefore greatly surprised that Your Royal Highness and Your Honors do not hesitate to prescribe to us and others who adhere to this doctrine (that is to say, the pure and unadulterated Word of God), by what standard we should govern our subjects and that Your Honors attempt to establish law and order in our cities, villages, and dominions whereas Your Royal Highness and Your Honors, if the case were reversed, would probably not be eager—we believe, altogether unwilling—to suffer similar interference on our part. It seems to us that you should be fairminded; that you should be much less opposed to our way of celebrating, in our cities and villages and dominions, the Lord's Supper as the evangelical mass, founded upon the divine Scriptures and administered according to the evident and unassailable institution by our Saviour Jesus Christ, than to any injunction against, or obstacle to, celebrating, in your cities and villages, the papal masses or anything similar which is contrary to the divine institution and the usage of the apostles and is founded solely upon human inventions and devices.

Therefore and inasmuch as our doctrine is founded upon the invincible Word of God and thus proclaimed throughout our dominions over against the papal masses, and since this article is one of the most important ones to be discussed at a Christian Council, and since neither the Imperial summons to this Diet which is dated at a later time than the aforementioned letter of authority and the instruction, contains any mention whatever of this and similar articles, therefore we had no idea that it should now come up for discussion though we had formerly frequently called attention to it.

Although it is perfectly well known, and now superfluous to repeat, what is being preached and observed in our dominions with reference to the holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, nevertheless we wish to repeat here that on account of many good and Christian reasons and considerations we do not deem it advisable or expedient that any such decree concerning contrary doctrine should be passed at the present Diet, particularly because the Imperial summons makes no mention of it and because those whom the matter affects have been neither summoned nor heard. And it certainly should be duly considered when such important and weighty articles are discussed prior to the next Council and when an attempt is made at establishing a definite order without allowing all those involved to be heard properly and fully, that such action may not redound at all to the honor of His Imperial

Majesty, Your Royal Highness, Your Honors, and the other Estates of the Empire.

When the decree, furthermore, states that the preachers should preach and teach the holy gospel according to the interpretation found in the writings approved and accepted by the holy Christian Church, this might pass if we were all agreed as to what the holy Christian Church is. But inasmuch as this matter is involved in much dispute, and since nothing is safer in preaching or teaching than to cling to the Word of God, and since by the command of God nothing else should be preached, and since one text of holy Scripture should be explained and interpreted by another, and since this Holy Scripture, in all those parts which a Christian ought to know, is found to be sufficiently clear and lucid to enlighten every kind of darkness, therefore we intend, with the help and grace of God, definitely to abide by this that nothing but the Word of God and the holy gospel of the Old and New Testaments, as contained in the biblical books, should be preached in purity and simplicity and nothing contrary thereto. For he who follows this, the only truth and the right standard of all Christian doctrine and life, cannot err or fail, and he who builds thereon and abides thereby, will stand against all the gates of hell, while all human additions and fictions must crumble and cannot stand in the sight of God.

Furthermore, that the decree will not promote but rather subvert the peace and unity of the Empire in the interval between now and a general Council, may be clearly seen from the following. In the first article it is stated that those who in the past have adhered to the Imperial Edict shall also in the future adhere to it; and according to the wording no provision is made how far the obligation to obey said Edict and to suffer the punishment for disobedience is to extend. We may mention that in a number of instances other magistrates, under the cloak of said Edict and contrary to the provisions of Speyer, have withheld from our pastors who for conscience's sake refused to comply with said Edict, the lawful income, tithes, rents, and revenues from property located within their domains and deprived them contrary to law of their money or inheritance. It will be well to consider how many more acts of force may be perpetrated under the cover of this Edict and to what acts of retaliation this may lead. It would certainly not be conducive to the preservation of peace and unity; to say nothing of what would happen if some of your party, under the pretext of this Edict and with the intention

of carrying out the double-ban against us, were to act violently against us and attempt to compel us to do what we regard as contrary to God, His holy Word, our soul's salvation, and a good conscience. Anyone can easily understand what the Christian magistrates are expected to do for the preservation of God's Word, glory, and honor, and for the protection and welfare of their subjects' property and life. Therefore it will always be expedient to abide by the decree of Speyer which abolished and annulled the Edict in the interest of peace and unity.

From all this it appears perfectly clearly that the decree of the previous Diet of Speyer is more conducive to peace and unity than the article discussed above, precisely as was stated in the instruction which at the time was presented to His Imperial Majesty and which was adopted by the Electors, Princes, and all other Estates of the Empire. Consider, moreover, that after the decree had suspended and abolished the Edict, nevertheless some members of your party have under the pretext of said Edict oppressed some of our party and deprived them of their lawful property; what, then, would our adversaries, who in part at least seek nothing but dissension, strife, and dispute, now do if the former decree of Speyer should be abolished and the door of the Edict should again be opened to them!

Nor will it be possible for Your Royal Highness and Your Honors to prove that the decree of Speyer is merely interpreted and not annulled by the proposed article. It is evident that the previous decree is abolished and that the Christian Estates are no longer permitted to govern themselves in all matters according to the Word of God and their own good conscience, as they hoped and trusted to answer for it to God and His Imperial Majesty; and, on the other hand, it cannot be shown with reason that the terms of the article allow everyone, pending a Council, to do exactly as he pleases—as some people claim who very probably think very little of God's righteous and severe judgment.

If there is anyone who accuses us of misusing said decree, we herewith express our readiness to submit at any time to a fair trial at law. Nor will we raise any objections to giving a Christian interpretation of this article if some harbor the suspicion that it may become a cover for new un-Christian doctrines; we ourselves have given such an explanation and submitted it to the Committee, but

we insist that the decree must not be annulled, as you propose, but remain in honor and force to the letter.

And we have the perfect and unfailing confidence that His Roman Imperial Majesty, our Christian Emperor and most gracious Lord, would not have consented to the decree if His Majesty had been fully informed on those matters which we have in part recounted; moreover, the Imperial summons to this Diet, to the best of our knowledge, declares that ways and means of preserving peace and unity were to be considered at this Diet; and God the Almighty, the Searcher and Knower of all hearts is our witness that we on our part have above all sought to promote the glory of God, to safeguard our soul's salvation, and to preserve the peace and unity of the Empire. Therefore, if the intention had been simply to abide by the instruction as read, the Committee would not have needed to engage in so many deliberations, discussions, and resolutions whereby, as a matter of fact, you have also deviated from the instructions and from the Imperial summons.

In view of all this, we once more kindly petition Your Royal Highness and Your Honors, our gracious Uncles, Cousins, Brothers-in-law, and Friends, to consider this subject and study our grievance together with the reasons which we have adduced, and we ask you not to act contrary to the decree which had been unanimously adopted, accepted, sealed, and signed, because nobody has the right or authority to modify it as we have shown on good grounds and as we could have shown on many more grounds which we thought expedient to omit.

But if Your Royal Highness and Your Honors refuse to accept this third announcement of our serious grievances, then we herewith PROTEST and testify publicly before God our Maker, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, Who searcheth and knoweth the hearts of us all and Who will judge in righteousness, and before all men and all creation, that we for ourselves and our subjects and in behalf of all, each and every one, do not consent nor agree to any action or resolution whatever that is contrary to God, His holy Word, our soul's salvation, and our good conscience, and contrary to the decree of the previous Diet of Speyer, and we declare, on basis of the above mentioned reasons and other just grounds, every such resolution or action to be null and void; moreover, we issue this protest publicly, and we fully and truthfully inform His Imperial Roman Majesty, our most gracious Lord, concerning this matter, just as

we issued a hurried protest yesterday as soon as the decree had been published—a protest which we hereby repeat; nevertheless we express our readiness, pending a free general Council, with the help of God to live and rule, in accordance with the decree of Speyer, in such a way as we hope and trust to be able to justify before the Almighty God and our most gracious and Christian Imperial Majesty. In reference to the rents, tithes, interest, revenue of the clergy and in reference to maintaining peace, as set forth in the decree of Speyer, we shall prove ourselves blameless. Likewise, in respect to the subsequent articles, such as the Anabaptists and printing of books, we shall, as we completely agreed at this Diet with Your Royal Highness and Your Honors, use every effort to observe the pertinent articles. Furthermore, we claim the privilege of extending our remarks concerning our grievances and our protestation and whatever else may be found necessary.

In all these respects we hope and trust that His Roman Imperial Majesty will prove to be a Christian Emperor, loving God above all things, and manifest himself as our most gracious Lord in view of our Christian, honest, sincere, and unchanging devotion and obedience. And whatever good service we may be able to render to Your Royal Highness and Your Honors, our dear and gracious Uncles, Cousins, Brothers-in-law, and Friends, that we are willing and inclined to do out of friendship, voluntary obedience, goodwill, Christian love and dutifulness.

Done at Speyer on the twentieth day of April, and in the 1529th year after the birth of Christ, our dear Lord and Saviour.

(Signed) JOHN, Duke of Saxony, Elector; GEORGE, Margrave of Brandenburg; ERNEST, Duke of Lueneburg; PHILIP, Landgrave of Hesse; WOLF[GANG], Prince of Anhalt.

23. CAMPEGIUS' INSTRUCTION TO THE EMPEROR, MAY 9, 1530.²⁵

Nothing is more appropriate, most august and invincible Emperor, for the truly Catholic prince, as Your Imperial Highness undoubtedly is, than to practice true and sincere piety toward our God and the holy Catholic faith. You possess temperance, justice, kindness, and magnanimity; these virtues, united in Your Highness, make you worthy of the highest praise. However, these virtuous practices are far surpassed by the first named virtue, since the affairs of this world are considered to be inferior to those divine.

In a certain part of Germany, with whose government Your Catholic Majesty has been most deservingly endowed by God and by the powers of the world, has arisen within the last few years a certain heretical sect which, under the pretense of doing good, refutes all the sacred Christian institutions and perverts the honest Catholic mode of living. And if not quickly proceeded against, there is cause for fear, that this devilish pest, will not only spread over the rest of Germany but contaminate the whole Christian world.

Everyone, however, must praise the noble intention of Your Majesty in leaving your vast empire, your illustrious and beloved wife, and the dear children, in order to devote yourself wholly to the welfare of the people, to the service of God, and to the honor of the Catholic faith. You are now in Germany in order to wield a powerful hand, to cut off the root of this contagious disease, and to bring back your German realm to its original purity and health. Careful consideration sustains your very wise judgment that no other prince is capable of this undertaking. Moreover, one is led to believe that this decision came to you through divine judgment, to a just, consecrated, and truly Catholic prince, commanded by God to mend this evil on earth and to work for the preservation and increase of His holy faith.

Due to the position which I hold, and by the order given to me by His Holiness Clement and the holy Apostolic Chair, I propose to Your Majesty several remedies which in my judgment are opportune in this present affair. Not because I thought that Your Majesty would not know better than I do, how to take proper action, but in order to show my sincere and devout attitude toward the holy Catholic faith and also toward Your Majesty.

Before I continue, I pray, however, to the unbounded compassion

of our God, to consider well and carefully all ways and means which may be proper in this holy Catholic and truly Imperial undertaking. May your Majesty enter upon this task with a burning and glowing heart; and in spite of your magnanimity may you be determined not to turn back until your work is accomplished in every detail. You need not fear! By your own infinite virtues and a happy fate which has followed you from your birth to the present day in all your undertakings, and with the help of God, you will attain the goal. These will be with you to an even greater degree because you are not concerned with human power and kingdoms, but you are striving to return the holy Catholic and Christian rites to that part of Germany which has been led astray and foully contaminated by a bad man with his crooked and devilish way. Although this cursed, devilish, heretical pest is mainly named after Luther, there are many more bound up in it and chained by the devil. There are, for instance, Oecolampadius, Mathias, a commoner in Strassburg, John Schisser [Speiser], preacher in Augsburg, Paul [Phrygius], commoner in Schlettstadt, Urbanus Regius, Philipp Melanchthon, Ulrich Zwingli, Fabricius Capito, and many others; these and their sinful opinions will be mentioned again at the proper time. Some of them write, others preach, and still others teach, thus bribing men and women. They give the people new precepts and rules of conduct, as if they were sent by God as new Moses, lawgivers or temporizers of His holy faith. However, he who examines more carefully what they say, write, or preach, will realize that they have no other goal in view than the debasement and destruction of the Christian faith and the holy Apostolic Chair, against which they openly direct their hostile and vicious views. Furthermore, it is known from actual experience, that they are endeavoring to assume all secular power and rule. In order to carry out this design more easily, they have corrupted several German princes and aroused them to rebellion. They have won over only a few, whom their falsehoods made believe, that they were suffering oppression from the holy Apostolic Chair. We will deal with this later. They have convinced these princes that they have cause to become estranged from the old Christian institutions in which they have lived a god-fearing life for such a long time. They have employed not human but devilish methods, and they are still using them in their appeal to counts, barons, and nobles. They are putting forth the most strenuous efforts and vilest means, in order to corrupt the common people and the middle class

in the cities, even the peasants in the rural districts. They tell the people, created by God, that it is improper and even dishonest to submit to and to serve all princes, secular as well as ecclesiastical. They goad the people on to win back their freedom and to refuse their obedience to secular and ecclesiastical authorities. These actions, cleverly hidden behind the pretense of freeing the people from slavery, have caused much confusion of which Your Majesty is well aware. This revolt is supported by the evangelical law which (as they falsely state) desires that there shall be neither superiority nor servitude, but all shall be equal, as if our creator Jesus Christ had not himself said: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." They spread these and many other heretical and dishonest customs which are acclaimed by all who desire to live in such freedom, namely one without law and one where reason is subjected to speculation. Through this, Your Majesty, they have brought it about that the noblest member of Christendom, our Germany, has been thrown into disorder. Upon instigation of these heretical evil doers, all Christian rites have been abolished in several districts of the realm, rites which have been established and handed over to us by the Church Fathers. The sacraments are no longer imparted, vows are no longer kept, the marriage ceremony is distorted, and matrimonial alliances are entered into between relatives whose wedlock is definitely prohibited by the law of God. Murderers, thieves, robbers, the sacrilegious, and the incendiary are on top. The churches, the monasteries, the monks, the sacred relics, become their prey. Obedience is not only refused to the secular princes and the highest ecclesiastics, but insult and outrage is heaped upon them. They do not even respect Your Majesty, and worse still, not Jesus the Christ, the Blessed One.

It is evident, that if Your Majesty had not departed for Spain, this devilish sect could not have grown in such degree, because your virtue and power would have uprooted and destroyed it. But our Lord and God, who guides and rules everything with wisdom, has decreed, that Your Majesty should depart from Germany; that after you had visited and pacified your realms you would come to Italy, in order to bring that country, devastated by many wars and wholly dejected, the long wished for peace and quiet; that you would then visit his Holiness who, in his fatherly kindness, had longed for that day; and that you would then return to Germany not only crowned with the worldly crown but also with a heavenly and godly one.

There is no doubt, that after all these holy, pious, and well directed efforts, God has prepared one for you in heaven. When Your Majesty has returned to Germany, God will grant you in his grace, that you stop this devilish rage. The power from God has been your companion and protector in all your other undertakings and it will not desert you in this one. God will unite the hearts of all German princes and turn them back to the things that Your Majesty has instituted and ordered; and they will work for the common welfare in your noble realm with zeal and enthusiasm. Although this impudent monster had at first presented a terrifying and treacherous appearance it need not be feared. This is God's cause and if God is with us who can fight against us? May Your Majesty employ the customary wisdom and skill and warn the people and princes against this error in which they have been ensnared by these malicious and perverted persons. Let it be made clear to them that they can neither win freedom nor power through such procedure and devilish method. Furthermore can be said, that Your Majesty's power would not be increased by these changes, as these heretics have declared, but the direct opposite would happen. Actual experiences in the free districts have substantiated this. There, magistrates have been disregarded and shamefully treated; authority has not been augmented, but has lost even the power it had, through the machinations of these cursed ones. However, it is to be hoped that the princes and cities, deceived by the false persuasion of these persons, will bow to the honorable desire of Your Catholic Majesty. They should do this from a natural devotion which they have always had for you, and on account of their advantage and honor. This will gain them the obedience of their own people which has been entirely lost. My most gracious Ruler, attack this honorable and magnanimous undertaking with a firm and unconquerable will. Act in such a manner that the world will recognize that you are, in name and in holy Christian deeds, the real and true successor of Charles the Great, that emperor, whose memory on earth is today fresher and more vigorous than ever before. Your Majesty should deliberate well about the ways and means before you carry out this most holy enterprise. This will then determine the beginning, course, and end, in order to bring everything back to the desired harbor.

After these preliminary deliberations, I offer my humble opinion: the first and most necessary step is to probe in a most skillful and suitable manner the intentions of the German princes, secular

as well as ecclesiastical. Those well disposed should receive suitable favors due them. Your Majesty, together with Your illustrious brother, should bring about a close understanding and a firm agreement for the extermination of these heresies and revolts. Those who are not willing to meet the wishes of Your Majesty, but remain stubborn, should be convinced through the use of your authority, that they would not want to be the cause of such disorder and evils. The attempt might be made to bring them back on the right path of almighty God either through certain offers, or, in case of necessity, through threats. Nothing would be more fruitful for the undertaking than to win away one or more of the princes from this devilish sect. Without the princes, the middle class and the common people are like an army without leaders. When the decision is made, then let this glorious and honorable undertaking make its start with the aid of our Lord and God. There is no doubt that such procedure and means will lead to the desired end. As soon as the cities, which have been contaminated by this devilish pest, such as Nuernberg, and others, realize the firm and permanent purpose of Your Highness, they will yield and desist from their obstinate views, although not prompted by love of God but by fear of punishment. If it is necessary, I shall pursue them with ecclesiastical punishments, and leave nothing undone to deprive all heretical beneficiaries of their benefices, and to expel them from church membership through excommunication. In addition to this, the just and powerful interdict of Your Imperial Highness will threaten them with terrible destruction, and will force them to return to the holy Catholic faith, or to witness the loss and destruction of their possessions and even their lives. However, I feel convinced, that the imperial cities which respect and admire Your Majesty, as I have said before, will yield as soon as they recognize your firm determination. They will not wait until the interdict and confiscation of their possessions has been announced. As soon as your written order has assured and convinced them, that this is your irrevocable decision, they will prepare to carry out your Majesty's orders.

One other point must be carefully observed. Under no condition should any of them be permitted to say, "Aside from affairs touching upon religion, we will obey Your Majesty." Doing this, they may omit some fundamental item of our centuries' old faith, which has been prescribed and explained by our popes, church fathers, and doctors, after the holy gospel had proclaimed it. These have com-

prehended the teaching correctly; they also have strained every faculty to receive the Holy Ghost through holiness of their lives, and through observation of the divine commandments. Under his inspiration, no doubt, they have made regulations for all church affairs and rites, and have instituted customs which are endowed with great mysteries. Who, most illustrious Emperor, could have so little sense—except these cursed ones whom God permitted to sink into such a confused and evil state of mind on account of their sins—as to believe the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures given by these evil-minded people burdened with all vices and villainy, rather than accept the interpretation of our holy popes and the above mentioned church fathers. Theirs has been commonly accepted for many centuries by all Christians, and especially by the pious and Catholic Germany. Furthermore, Your Majesty should remember this: the papal bull, issued by Pope Leo, of blessed memory, against these heretics; and the solemn and just orders which Your Imperial Highness, with the agreement of the entire large nation, had published at the diet at Worms. After all this, it would seem improper to deviate from your sacred and well considered decision.

The confiscation of properties should also be accepted and carried out by the most illustrious King of Bohemia and Hungary throughout his realms. Your Majesty could also use your authority, to the end, that his holy Majesty, the most Christian King of France, the magnanimous King of England, and also the other Christian rulers introduce the same procedure. It is, indeed, an honorable course to confiscate the properties of the heretics and the possessions of the people who publish, sell, or buy these cursed books.

One more point should be considered, Your Majesty. Ought these negotiations be carried on peacefully and with mildness or with fire and sword? Of course, these heretics are by nature extremely stubborn and unwilling to be conquered by reason, as one may read here and there. Therefore, I have alway been of the opinion, and am so still, that one should not argue with them. Experience has shown that this does more harm than good. In spite of this, it might be well for Your Majesty, to use care and skill in an attempt to return them to sound reasoning. You might pardon those who have erred but are now willing to return to the right path. One must, however, keep one's eyes open, for they may pretend, for the moment only, a willingness to be good Catholic Christians due to fear of Your Majesty's just and severe judgment and not to reverence of

God, and when you have departed, they may return again to their vomit. Those who will have become determined and consistent champions of the Catholic faith, Your Majesty could reward adequately with favors and advantages. Should there be some—which God forbid—who stubbornly continue in their devilish ways, then use fire and sword and exterminate these poisonous plants. Before using these means, however, I believe, Your Majesty should practise the usual wisdom and skill in determining when the opportunity and time for proper action has arrived. Should one use these remedies of fire and sword for one ill, and do so at the wrong time, they might bring no relief but make the wounds and sores incurable. But, if, at the proper moment, you add to kindness, advice, and reasonable reasoning, a rod made of iron; and if divine providence is in your favor, great good will come to you through this enterprise and the extermination of these heresies. If, Your Majesty should decide to take bolder action against some of the princes and cities which continue in their stubbornness, e.g. Nuernberg and Strassburg, and which have disregarded Your Majesty's orders and the apostolic punishments, you might proceed in accord with the old custom. All those who support this corruptible sect should be cited before a court where they can be reprimanded and warned of the church punishments. The next step is the confiscation of their properties whether secular or ecclesiastical. Does such action seem necessary then the above mentioned "rod of iron" [the "rod of iron"=an instrument to pierce the tongue of the heretics, also term for a certain series of torture methods applied by the inquisition] will be found suitable. Thus, the spiritual weapons of former days will regain their strength, which is becoming to the rule of Your Majesty.

In all reverence and humility, I remind you of something else. The execution of this holy and Christian undertaking is Your Majesty's duty. You must put forth every effort possible to force obedience. It is an even greater duty than the one recognized by Your illustrious grandfather, of happy memory, in his gloriously completed action against the Count Palatine. (Compare Fr. v. Bezold, *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation*, 61ff.; H. Ullmann, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, 1884, II, 178ff.) After this, he was always feared and respected, and he met with complete obedience. Your Majesty will succeed even better because God is your guide. In His boundless compassion, He will disregard our own errors, and bestow so much blessing upon this undertaking, that it will be accomplished speedily

and successfully. When this affair is ended, Your Majesty, supported by your most illustrious brother, will then begin the holy and long desired action against the common enemy of God and all Christendom. Not only will you reconquer Hungary, but many more realms, which the Turk unjustly has in his power. This later undertaking will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, unless all disorders and the many rebellions are ended, which these cursed heretics have brought about in our German realm. Some of these heretics, as I know, have openly deserted all faith and also the Apostolic Chair. Others pretend to be loyal and Catholic, but they are still spreading their heretical views. Your Majesty must guard against these especially. They are rapacious wolves who roam about in sheep clothing. I have discovered, that among these are many courtiers, secretaries of princes, counsellors, and town senators. When such people are sent out with orders by their various employers, much evil can be caused by them.

During the last few years, preachers, both lay-preachers and regular priests, have appeared in several districts, and in their ignorance they have spread among the people a thousand nonsensical teachings. The time has come to select some suitable, pious, and good preachers who are masters of Holy Scriptures. If it pleases you, my illustrious Lord and Master, several Catholic ecclesiastical scholars might be called together in an assembly. After they have pondered over this matter and counseled with me, we could decide upon the matter and form of preaching, and lay down such definite rules which the appointed preachers could not overstep or violate. This would govern the common priests and monks. In the meantime, arrangements should be made that only those may preach who are entirely free from heretical influences and without suspicion of heretical contamination. If furthermore, all heretics and suspected persons are prevented from preaching, the best results will be obtained. I believe, it will also be necessary to instruct the monks of all Dominican orders to take this task upon themselves, and to preach freely, without consideration or fear of any thing, even death. This is one way in which the loyal ones may be manifested and become known. The disloyal ones, and those who have left the confines of their monasteries, will be forced to return to their offices. In case of refusal, appropriate and severe punishment should be meted out, unless a just excuse is presented which God-fearing Catholic judges have accepted as valid.

It is well known to me, that the heretics have made a determined effort to point and publish, in distorted form, all the considerations and decisions made by the Diet at Worms. I, therefore, advise that all the procedures be collected in one book or volume, together with all that was written and spoken against Luther in the presence of Your Majesty, the other princes, and the Right Reverend Archbishop of Trier. The documents must be officially available at Trier. When the documents have been carefully examined, they are to be printed and published without undergoing any changes.

As soon as Your Imperial Highness, together with the other princes and with the help of God, has begun this magnanimous, Catholic enterprise, it will be practical to appoint, a few days later, pious holy, and Christian inquisitors. These must use zeal and skill in ferreting out all such, God forbid that there are any, who persist in these devilish and heretical views and refuse to renounce them. If such a case is found, the heretic must be chastised and punished in accordance with the rules observed in Spain, against the Marrans [=Moors, the inquisition against them was renewed under King Ferdinand of Aragonia and Queen Isabel; compare W. Maurenbrecher, *Studien und Skizzen zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit*, 1874, p. 16ff.], so that in the course of time, this pestilence may be completely exterminated. No opportunity must be granted this devilish pest to break out again and to contaminate everything anew. The greatest effort must be used in the German lands, because there are those who cling most tenaciously to their views. The truth of this is demonstrated by the actions of Charles the Great against the Saxons. It will also be practical to publish a decree to all princes and prelates. They must be instructed to obey the orders of the Apostolic bull and the injunctions of Your Majesty against the heretics in their countries. The obstinate ones must be deprived of all their privileges. This should be done in consideration of the fact that obedience to the bull and to Your Majesty's orders in all the realms of Your Majesty, the Margrave of Brandenburg, Electors, the Dukes of Bavaria and certain parts of Austria, has spared all these districts of this heresy, so that none or only very few have been affected by it. The University of Wittenberg and all those who have studied there after the announcement of the bull and your orders, should be punished with excommunication and malediction. If beneficiates are among them, they should be deprived of their benefices and all apostolic or imperial favors. All books written and printed by here-

tics should be placed under an edict, collected and burned. Whether or not such countries, which have been contaminated by this pestilence, should be punished by the interdict must be carefully considered.

Surely, no remedies will help unless Your Majesty will see to it that all courts of princes and prelates are thoroughly cleansed and purified. This is the first step needed and must be carried out with all energy. I have learned that these courts are filled with people who are devoted to these heretical views and who follow them. They have no reverence of God or of their princes; they slander the Catholic religion and the holy Apostolic Chair; and with their wicked ways they destroy all the sacred Christian rites and customs. When these persons are punished and driven out, when they reap harm and shame, it will become evident that their princes possess a good and pious disposition. Through such a holy and noble example all good Catholics will be encouraged, the evil and corrupt heretics, on the other hand, will be thrown into confusion. Again I remind Your Majesty, and with all due respect, that it is impossible to carry out the complete extermination of the depraved sect without a rigorous campaign and stern imperial commands. This has been demonstrated by the audacity of the citizens of Augsburg. They are so corrupted that, in the very face of Your Majesty, they insist upon chains. They are contemplating the training of city troops. This and other mischief they may be carrying out even now.

My illustrious Lord, you will have to consider whether this is the proper time to call together the diet in the city mentioned above. I have heard that the duke of Saxony, his son, and several other princes, all of whom have been affected by the evil, are meeting in that city, and they have brought with them four thoroughly Lutheran doctors. He permits them to preach alternately in his presence, and my opinion is that this is done in contempt of our Lord and God, the Christian religion, and Your Imperial Highness. The duke gains thereby the good will of the people, and he rejoices that the foolish people, named the "many headed beast," call him the most pious and most Christian prince of Germany.

I must not forget to remind Your Majesty that Judas is not asleep. These evil doers attempt with might and main to prevent the arrival of Your Majesty and to frustrate all preparation against possible disturbances. Unanimously they have agreed to see to it that Your Majesty is forced to halt, or that you will have to face

the undertakings against the Turks and the Lutherans at the same time. They are convinced that the necessity of a march against the Turks, and the efforts to obtain subsidies for this cause, might interrupt the preparation against the heretics and bring them to naught.

Your Majesty may well bear this in mind. After due deliberation, I repeat what has been said before: nothing good can be accomplished unless this cursed sect is first of all completely exterminated. I am certain that it will be necessary to use weapons and fire. Seen in this light, Your Majesty will commit no cruelties against the people but will take action against some of the main leaders. Above all, they must pay heavy fines in money, and this will furnish the large sums needed for an expedition against the Turks.

May Your Majesty deem it prudent to give these affairs your most careful consideration and then take suitable steps to serve God, free your German realm of this sinful sect, and thus preserve and increase the authority and glory of your name. I assure you, that when this is done, God will grant Your Majesty His full grace and will preserve your life in prosperity and happiness.

These, my illustrious Emperor, are the few thoughts that have come to my mind. It is my humble judgment that they are appropriate for your Catholic Majesty's holy and glorious undertaking, you, my Imperial Master, may change or enlarge these in accord with your opinions, your great wisdom, sagacity, and boundless goodness.

2. Summary. May, 1530.

Most august Majesty! Knowing that Your Majesty is occupied with various most important affairs, it seemed proper to submit a summary of the suggestions which I have lately put down in writing and to bring out the main issues of this matter. I do this, so that Your Majesty may read and ponder at your leisure and with ease and no loss of time, what my humble understanding suggests for this holy and necessary undertaking.

First of all, may Your Majesty come to the courageous decision to take up the glorious undertaking of exterminating these heresies. Then, remember, that God has spared Your Majesty for the purpose of leading your German realm back to its original religion; and to preserve for it the faith, the rites, and the ceremonies, which the holy Catholic Church has approved.

Resolve not to desist until the undertaking has come to its proper and successful ending.

The method of procedure must be determined and in case of necessity you must decide to have the stubborn rebels executed.

Consider and determine the methods by which the nation may be kept on the right path after she has been brought back, so that she may not return to her vomit after Your Majesty's departure.

The loyal people, laymen as well as priests, should be commended, honored, and rewarded.

Make a selection of and a firm agreement with the good princes, secular and ecclesiastical, for the extermination of these heresies.

Try with good words and rewards, if necessary with threats, to win back one or more of the infected and most sensitive princes to the right way and to obedience toward Your Majesty. Have care that their return to the right path is true and not only pretense.

Deliberate and decide to move against the stubborn rebels with the Imperial ban and ecclesiastical punishments. Your Majesty should decide that all have to return to the true, old Catholic faith which has been obeyed and accepted for so long by the whole Christian world. Under no circumstance should it be permitted to change, in whole or in part, the articles of faith, the rites, or the ecclesiastical ceremonies, which have been observed up to the present moment.

The orders and the bull issued at Worms by Leo, of blessed memory, should be observed everywhere voluntarily and truthfully, without any reservation, distortion, or omission.

Steps should be taken against the heretical princes and cities. They should be deprived of their domains, their privileges, and their standing. Their possessions and they themselves should be turned over to the court. This should not only be done in the realm and various domains of Your Majesty and his Royal Highness, your brother, but the other kings, princes, and republics of Christendom should proceed in a similar manner. One might begin with the threat of suitable punishment. After this actual steps should be taken against the stubborn ones and those who refuse to obey.

Debates about matters of faith, rites, and church ceremonies, must not be permitted. Their observation, however, must be enforced.

Your Majesty must deliberate and decide not to interrupt or discontinue the undertaking against the heretics on account of any fear of the Turkish affair. My opinion is, that nothing can be accomplished against the Turks, unless the heresies which lodge in the bowels of our state are completely exterminated. Your Majesty

should be moved by the example of your illustrious maternal grandfather, of sacred memory. He interrupted his undertaking against the unbelievers in Africa, which had been prepared at great expense, in order to put an end to the schism which during the time of pope Julius, of sacred memory, had arisen in Christianity. (Compare W. H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic, of Spain*, 1858, II, 337ff.; L. v. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, 1924, III, 813ff.).

Good catholic preachers should be provided who are permitted to preach unhampered. Heretics and all those suspected of heresies should be forbidden to preach.

The faithless ones, and also the monks, should return to their monasteries. In case of refusal they are to be suitably punished.

An imperial order and ban should provide that all heretical books, printed or written with pen since the beginning of these heresies, are to be turned over to the bishops of the dioceses or their vicars for burning. Printing them anew must be prohibited. Efforts should be made to punish those who do not present them, and to reward those who report the existence of such books. The source of the report should remain secret.

All documents pertaining to actions taken at the diet at Worms in the presence of Your Majesty and the other princes, also the most reverend Archbishop of Trier and his officials, should be printed in their entirety. This in consideration of the fact that the heretics have printed and published them in corrupt form. In order to clear matters completely, an inquisition, similar to the one in Spain against the Marrans, should be ordered.

After deliberation the following should be determined: are the heretical universities and districts to be punished by an interdict; are teaching privileges to be withdrawn from the university of Wittenberg; should the students at these places be deprived of their benefices and lose their rights to obtain offices and honors?

Care must be taken to cleanse the courts and the immediate circles of the princes of all sectarians. Especially must those be watched who are rapacious wolves in sheeps clothing.

Deliberate and decide about safety methods for the place where the diet is to be held.

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